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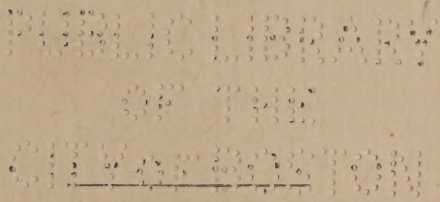

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

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SOUTH END.

THE INCOME TAX ON CORPORATIONS.

BY THE HON. WILLIAM L. WILSON, CHAIRMAN OF THE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE.

THE Government of the United States is confronted with a present and growing deficit of revenues. The excess of income over expenditures for the year ending July 1, 1893, was only two million dollars. During the five months succeeding that date, receipts have fallen behind nearly thirty millions. An administration put into power by the people, with the express and unqualified commission to reduce the tax burdens, is pressed for means to meet the daily expenses of the public service. To falter in the great work of tariff reform would grievously disappoint the expectations of the people, and end the most inspiring contest in American politics with a ridiculous fiasco.

Were our system of federal taxation based upon enlightened economic principles, and our revenues gathered by any equitable rule of contribution, it would be an easy task to deal with any temporary shrinkage of income, due to the present commercial crisis, by the issuance of some form of government obligation or treasury certificates, to be taken up as soon as a return of business prosperity restored the normal volume of public revenue. But the very depression which to-day hardens the struggle for the necessaries of life is in itself the strongest call for a readjustment of taxes, and the asphyxiation of production and trade

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within the confines of the home market demands that they should be given a larger freedom and a more abundant life. A Democratic administration, true to the traditions of the party, and following the precept and example of Mr. Jefferson, will earnestly attempt to substitute economy for taxation; but even when this has been done to the utmost limits that a judicious frugality will permit, it must still confront, as successfully as it can, the always unpopular duty of providing some new subject of taxation, not only to carry us through the existing crisis, but as a reliance for the few years during which our customs revenue may be lessened by the proposed reform of the tariff.

It is well to give a brief recital of the stages by which the federal treasury has been brought to its present straits and to put the responsibility where it justly and historically belongs. The surplus revenue for the year 1889 was estimated by Secretary Fairchild in his last report at $104,000,000. It proved according to the first report of his successor, Mr. Windom, something over $105,000,000. When the Cleveland administration went out of office on the 4th of March, 1889, it turned over an available cash balance which, if stated in the form of treasury statement used for the past two years, amounted to $184,829,190.29. This included, of course, the gold reserve. During the four years of the Harrison administration the form of the public debt statement was twice changed, first by Mr. Windom to conceal the fatness, and later by Mr. Foster to conceal the leanness, of the treasury. Let us examine, now, how this splendid surplus with which it began housekeeping was scattered, and new methods of bookkeeping became necessary to force any balance in its accounts.

The Democratic party had made an honest but unsuccessful attempt to relieve the treasury of surplus revenue by freeing the people of unneeded taxes. The full control of the government secured by the Republican party in the election of 1888 gave it an opportunity to deal with a treasury surplus according to genuine protectionist methods and ideas. Any tax that escapes into the public treasury without being tolled by some private tax-gatherer is an offence to those ideas. The protectionist lawmaker is ever seeking some device by which he can tap its current, and the more of it the better, into some private reservoir. Failing in this he will generally abolish it altogether. Such was the manner in which the McKinley bill dealt with the surplus reve-

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nue. It discovered that tobacco had "come to be regarded as a necessity by the poor as well as the rich," and it proceeded to reduce internal revenue taxes on that prime and indispensable necessary of life, and to abolish the special taxes on dealers and manufacturers. Raw sugars were our chief revenue-producing article on the customs list, and so it wiped out the duties upon them, with the virtuous cry of "a free breakfast-table for the workingman." Both these taxes were in a just and proper sense revenue taxes. The tobacco tax should not have been touched, because it went directly into the treasury from the pocket of the taxpayer, and was burdensome upon no one. The sugar tax might very properly have been reduced, but should not have been entirely abolished, because of all the items in the tariff it carried the largest proportionate amount of what the people paid into the treasury, and the least proportionate amount as incidental protection to the home producer; and the direct bounty with which the McKinley bill replaced the incidental protection has been far more burdensome to the taxpayer. But while taxes on tobacco were remitted because it had become a necessity for the poor man, new and heavier taxes were laid on the woollen clothing indispensable to his health and his productive energy, and to the health and comfort of his family, taxes so merciless that I venture to say they have no parallel in the world to-day. While sugar was untaxed to give the American workman a free breakfast-table, new taxes were placed on his cups and saucers, his plates and dishes, his coffee-pot, his knives and forks, his canned food, his omelet, and his tablecloth. In a word he was relieved of part of the taxes he paid to his government, in order that he might be made to pay much greater and more oppressive taxes to the gentlemen who were graciously permitted to frame the McKinley bill.

Except for the release of these revenues, which in the interval since their release would have given us over $150,000,000, we should not be confronted with a deficit to-day. The demands of the sinking fund for the past ten years could have been met, and there would yet be in the treasury a large balance, instead of less available cash of all kinds than the amount heretofore set apart as a special gold reserve to maintain the integrity of our paper money. But this does not tell the whole story. There was still the splendid surplus handed over by the previous administration, and accruing under the laws in force

up to the passage of the McKinley bill. How was that to be gotten out of the way? A large part of it was used to redeem, at a premium, bonds which had not yet fallen due. The purchase of such bonds, while effecting some saving to the government in future interest payments, depleted the treasury, so that it could not pay bonds which fell due a little later, and on which no premium could be demanded. Between the 4th of March and the 1st of October, 1889, Secretary Windom purchased $66,954,551, paying for 4½ per cent. bonds of 1891 premiums ranging from 5 to 8 per cent., and for 4 per cents due 1907 premiums ranging from 27 to 29 per cent. His report made December 1, 1890, showed that since June 30 of that year he had disbursed $98,276,682.10, and had redeemed $75,828,200 of bonds. The difference between these two sums was represented by $12,000,000 prepaid interest and over $10,000,000 premiums on bonds redeemed. The declared object of these prepayments was the necessity that large additional amounts should be at once returned to the channels of trade to avert threatened financial panic and disaster. But all this did not dissipate the surplus and the LIst Congress tried its hand upon it. It refunded the direct tax to the States, a mere log-rolling scheme to get at the treasury surplus, which Mr. Cleveland had vetoed when it was attempted in the previous Congress. This was a pure gratuity, but it took over $14,000,000. Next came the sugar-bounty act, under which payments amounting to some $170,000,000 have been made to sugar-growers. But chief of all as a means for emptying the treasury was the dependent pension act of June 27, 1890, the swelling disbursements under which have done so much to cause our present embarrassments. Under the operation of that law alone, our annual pension appropriation has risen more than $60,000,000.

Such is the story of our depleted treasury, and the real purpose of all these gratuitous bestowals of public moneys, and these immense additions to our annual burdens, is not far to seek. They were but part of a general plan to fasten on the American people, in perpetuity, the harsh and gigantic scheme of private taxation embodied in the McKinley bill; no possible precaution against its reformation or repeal being omitted. I cannot help quoting and applying to our tariff policy the well-known words in which John Bright described the foreign policy of his own country, when he said that wars had been multiplied, taxes in-

creased, loans made, public expenditures augmented, in order that the great families of England enthroned in legislation "might have the first pull at it and the largest profit out of it."

"There is no actuary in existence," he declared, "who can calculate how much of the wealth, of the strength, of the supremacy of the territorial families of England has been derived from an unholy participation in the fruits of the industry of the people, which has been wrested from them by every device of taxation."

Is it to be wondered at that months before the close of Mr. Harrison's administration the treasury was in distress, and that, too, notwithstanding the large additional sum which the Sherman bill put at its disposal—a trust fund of over fifty-four million dollars, deposited by national banks to redeem their notes—and which had been used so fully that just before the present administration came into power over twenty-two millions were still due holders of banknotes. Nor need we wonder that Secretary Foster changed the form of treasury statement, and put to the credit of his cash assets some twenty millions of minor and subsidiary coin in June, 1891, or that the requirements of the sinking fund were only in part met in 1891, and not met at all in 1892 and 1893, except by counting payments for the redemption of banknotes—out of their own trust fund in reality—as payments towards the sinking fund, under another ruling, to which, if I mistake not, Mr. Foster was driven by the stress of circumstances. When to the more than $200,000,000 used and made away with by the last administration, we add the loss of revenue from the two articles of sugar and tobacco alone, which amounts to more than 150 millions, it is not hard to understand why we have now an empty treasury, and how impossible it has been for Mr. Carlisle to maintain the gold reserve and yet meet the daily expenses of the government.

Such also are the supremely difficult conditions under which the Democratic party undertakes the duty of tariff reform. In attempting the great work which it has so eagerly sought permission to perform, it is brought to face an empty treasury and a permanent scale of colossal expenditures. It finds itself thus compelled not only to hold on to taxes it wishes to repeal or to reduce, but actually to seek out new sources of public revenue.

New taxes are always unpopular taxes, and no matter where we may turn for them we are sure to meet a chorus of vehement and angry protest. Especially has this been true as to the prop-

ositions to increase the internal tax on beer and to impose a moderate personal income tax. The theory of the income tax is a just theory, and has the approval of leading economical writers. Its trial in this country throws little light upon its practical operation, for it lived too short a time, and was too often changed to become a familar and workable part of our fiscal system. Its early repeal was carried by a very narrow margin in both houses, which would not imply that it was specially unpopular. Senator Sherman was among these stoutly opposing this repeal. In a speech made in the Senate in May, 1870, he declared it "the most just and equitable tax that is now levied in the United States of America, without exception." Equally strong words of approval were spoken in the House by General Hawley, of Connecticut, and Mr. Kerr, of Indiana.

The place of the income tax in the English system has been stated by Mr. Noble, in his "National Finance," as follows:

> "The enormous service which it has rendered in the liberation of trade from a multitude of onerous and oppressive burdens has been already referred to; its existence has rendered possible the great reform of our system of indirect taxation which has been the foundation of our modern commercial progress. It has the transcendent merit over duties of customs and excise, that it does not interfere with the processes of industry or the course of trade, and that the whole amount which it costs the taxpayer is devoted to the service of the state. It is, at present, almost the only impost by means of which any substantial contribution is levied from the increasing wealth of the country; and its repeal without any effective substitute would aggravate the pressure of taxation upon those classes which are least able to bear the burden. It has its inequalities, but they are by no means so flagrant and unjust as the inequalities of indirect taxation."

But despite these strong arguments in favor of an individual income tax, and the unquestionable equity of its general theory, there are very grave counter-reasons which rise up before a legislature who seeks to embody it into our federal tax system. Aside from the very natural objection of those who might have to pay such a tax, its administration is necessarily accompanied by some exasperating and some demoralizing incidents. Our people have so long and so generally been free from any public scrutiny into their personal incomes, and even from any personal contact with federal tax collectors, that they resent the approach of either. Moreover, like the personal property tax, which is so universally evaded, a personal income tax would easily lend itself to fraud, concealment, and perjury, and prove, as Mr. Mill said, a

tax upon conscience. And finally, in a country of the large geographical dimensions of the United States, it would be difficult to put into smooth and effective working order the necessary machinery for its thorough collection.

It is not, in my judgment, however, liable to the charge that it is class taxation. Taxes upon consumption are taxes upon the poor, and it is one of the capital enormities of our present tariff laws that they place the chief burden of supporting the federal government and of paying pensions upon the labor of the country. The balance of taxation ought to be weighted by some taxes drawn from the property of the country. But there is one class of our citizens who own and control a very large and increasing part of the property of the country; who enjoy certain public franchises of a very substantial character, and who therefore have no right to object to some public scrutiny of their incomes. A small tax imposed upon the incomes or earnings of corporations, while not burdensome in any individual case, and not often bearing sensibly upon the interest of any private shareholder in them, would produce a revenue sufficient to cover a large part of the gap now opening between receipts and expenditures. Such a tax would not be a tax upon individual thrift, energy, or enterprise, but in the main upon the earnings of invested capital; and in view of the exemption from personal liability of stockholders, and other privileges which corporations enjoy, but which the individual business or professional man cannot enjoy, the equity of a tax upon their net earnings seems the more apparent, while the ascertainment of those earnings would generally be easy and reasonably accurate, and free from the offensive inquisition so much declaimed against in the case of the individual. The very limited public supervision incident to the assessment and collection of such a tax would not work any wrong or any interference with their lawful operations, while as a necessary part of a tax law, and used only for that *bona-fide* purpose, it might be salutary in its influence. Such are some of the reasons which, as I write, are impelling some members of the Ways and Means Committee to favor resort to a small tax on the earnings of corporations. Should, however, the final action of that committee on internal revenue matters not contain such a provision, it must not be taken as at all inconsistent with what I now say.

WILLIAM L. WILSON.

REPUBLICANISM IN BRAZIL.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE BRAZILIAN MINISTER AT WASHINGTON,
SALVADOR DE MENDONCA.

WHEN, on the 15th of November, 1889, the telegraph announced to the world that a republic had been proclaimed in Brazil, "in the empire of good old Dom Pedro," the astonishment was general. It was like a thunderbolt from a cloudless sky. The opinion was universal that the Brazilian nation, which, on the 22d of September, 1822, had received its independence from the hand of Dom Pedro I., and two years later its constitution, was enjoying, after sixty-five years of parliamentary government under a monarchy, an enviable prosperity. There was a vague knowledge, it is true, that the first emperor of Brazil had been forced to abdicate in 1831 by a forcible expression of the popular will; but the idea generally entertained of Pedro II., based on his really lofty moral qualities, but propagated and exaggerated by those whose interested admiration was given rather to the monarch than to the man, had surrounded his name and his reign with an aureole so brilliant that the whole world regarded as indisputable the excellence of the monarchical government of Brazil.

To such as were intimately acquainted with the internal condition of the empire, the absorption of all the constitutional powers by the crown, the farcical character of the electoral system which indorsed every act of the monarch, the intensified centralization which was stifling the provinces of the empire in the political embrace of the court, the atrophy and decay of the several members of the body politic, out of reach of the vitality of the centre, the constant deficits in the budget covered by the chronic abuse of national loans,—to those, above all, who knew that the heiress to the throne prided herself on her resemblance to her grandfather, the impetuous, irritable, tyrannous Pedro I., rather than

to her father, whose good-nature was only equalled by his political incapacity—the wife of a prince of the Orleans family, remarkable only for his avarice and his ignorance of the art of government,—to such the imperial legend did not inspire the same confidence in the future of the Brazilian nation.

The doubts that hovered over the third reign grew thicker as the infirmity of the aged Emperor increased, in the period beginning in 1887. He was constitutionally incapacitated for the exercise of the functions of his high office. After his return from Europe, in 1888, his attendant physician, Dr. Motta Maia, was employed near him in the discharge of duties not provided for in the constitution. He acted as a sort of chancellor, arranged the audiences given by the Emperor to his ministers, who no longer met in council with the chief of the nation, and the latter dispatched the business of each portfolio as far as permitted by his watchful attendant, and as well as his enfeebled faculties would allow.

At that time, full of apprehension even for those who were interested in the maintenance of the monarchy, and while the Joam Alfredo cabinet was still in power, a combination of the partisans of the empire in the Liberal and Conservative parties was suggested, whereby the Emperor should be declared physically incapacitated to reign. At that time, however, the palace of the imperial princess in the little city of Petropolis was the scene of chicanery and conflicting intrigues, and the future chief of the ministry, the Viscount of Ouro Preto, was already sure of succeeding Joam Alfredo, supported by the zeal of two friends in the princess' household, and it was thought more prudent to make haste slowly and to gather the fruits of the inauguration of the third reign under the direction of the Liberal party, rather than share them with political adversaries. It was by this arrangement alone that the old monarch was spared the fate of another King Lear.

The history of the Brazilian monarchy, as well as that of the evolution of republican opinion in Brazil, are yet to be written, particularly in its relation to the strife which in that part of the American continent was carried on for a century between monarchical and democratic principles.

The present writer disturbed and full of anxiety at this moment in which a crisis is approaching in the combat which must

end sooner or later in victory for the republic, and while the friends of free institutions on this continent are waiting more or less anxiously for the result, does not propose to write that history. Nevertheless, it does not appear inopportune to delineate briefly the general features of that struggle begun in the colonial period and continued to this day.

Republicanism in Brazil has its heroes and its martyrs worthy of historic mention when the annals shall be written of that nation to which was apportioned a territory as vast as that of the great North American Union, and which in the next century is destined to play in South America the same part as that which in this century and in this portion of the continent has been taken by the United States.

Even before the French invasion of the Liberian peninsula had, in 1808, forced the royal family of Portugal to take refuge in Brazil, already in the free mountains of Minas the seed scattered to all the winds by the movement for independence in North America had germinated.

In an almost forgotten page of the diplomatic correspondence of this country, one of the founders of the great American Union refers to that fact in language which under the present circumstances it is pleasant to recall. Thomas Jefferson, writing to John Jay from Marseilles on May 4, 1787, alludes to an interview which he had recently had in Nismes with a young Brazilian student who had come to consult him in regard to a proposed republican movement in Brazil. The young man had represented to him that many enlightened and patriotic men in his country were eager to follow the example of the United States and rid themselves of the oppressive yoke of the mother-country. The difficulties in the way of such an attempt would be almost insuperable unless they were supported by some friendly nation, and for such support they naturally turned to the great American republic.

The movement in Minas, although without the aid of the most enlightened men of Rio de Janeiro and the north, had at its head a band of magistrates, men of letters and patriots, among whom were Colonel Alvarenga Peixoto, Judge Thomas Antonio Gonzaga, the lawyer Claudio Manoel Dacosta, poets all three, whose writings were the beginning of our national literature, and Silva Xavier, commonly known as Tiradentes.

Betrayed and denounced to the Portuguese governor, they were arrested, tried, and convicted. Claudio Manoel was strangled in prison for fear that the eloquence of his defence would light the flames of independence in the hearts of the oppressed people; Gonzaga was banished to Africa and ended his days in exile; Maria I. of Portugal commuted the death penalty in the case of Alvarenga Peixoto and sixteen of his companions, whose banishment for life was considered as an act of royal mercy; but the rigors of the law were visited on Tiradentes, who was hanged in Rio de Janeiro. His body was quartered and his members distributed among various cities of the interior, his house was razed to the ground and its site sown with salt, while his descendants were declared infamous forever.

The impression left upon the people by the martyrdom of these patriots had not yet been effaced when the royal family of Braganza, flying from Lisbon, arrived at Rio de Janeiro. The head of the family was the prince regent Dom Joam, afterward Joam VI. of Portugal, a cowardly prince, whose chief claim to distinction was the number of roast chickens he ate daily, while leaving the direction of political affairs to his wife, the princess Carlotta, a Spaniard by birth, who at once involved Brazil in political intrigues on the Rio de la Plata.

Between his stupid father and ambitious mother grew up the prince Dom Pedro, badly educated, licentious, and ambitious for power. This royal trio came to plant in America the principles of absolute monarchy which the storm of the French Revolution had swept from Europe. For the growth of such a plant the climate of America could not be propitious, and but few years had passed when the first note of resistance was sounded in the north of Brazil.

Republican revolutions broke out in Pernambuco in 1817 and in 1821, in Bahia in the latter year, and in the states of the north in 1824. The last-named revolt took the name of the "Confederation of the Equator."

Although these attempts at republican independence ended in disaster, they were evidence of the spirit of freedom that existed in Brazil; and the names of those who took part in them, of Domingos Martins, the priests Roma and Caneca of Ratcliff, and Carvalho, all victims of the monarchy, have never been forgotten by the people.

The patriots of Sao Paulo, Minas, and Rio, after the return of Joam VI. to Portugal, encouraged the ambition of Prince Dom Pedro, and by offering him the empire brought about the independence of the country in 1822. They had secured from the prince the promise of a representative government under a constitution; but when the constitutional convention elected for that purpose had framed a constitution, it was dissolved by force of arms, and the assembly was dispersed under the menace of a park of artillery posted in front of the building where it was sitting.

Instead of a constitution adopted by the representatives of the people, Brazil was given one dictated by the prince, into which was introduced the so-called moderative power belonging exclusively to the crown, and which effectually overshadowed all the other powers of the charter.

Pedro I. governed Brazil with the same whip with which he drove his carriage horses, and whose lash was more than once felt by the press. His complaints in the circle of his favorites against the radical press instigated the assassination of Libero Badaro in Sao Paulo.

In the desire of securing the election of his minister Maia by the vote of the people already estranged from him, he made a visit to the State of Minas, where, instead of the rejoicing with which he had been received in the interior at the proclamation of independence, he met with a cold reception from a tax-burthened people who had lost their illusions, and listened to masses of requiem chanted for the murdered republican journalist.

Returning to Rio de Janeiro he was forced by the people of the capital assembled in the public square to remove from his head the imperial crown on the 7th of April, 1831. The exotic monarchical plant appeared to have reached the end of its brief existence, but the leaders of the revolutionary movement, or at least the most influential of them, as Vergueiro and Evaristo da Veiga, advised the continuance of the existing form of government.

The son of the deposed emperor was not yet six years old; a tutor was appointed for him, and a regency established which lasted ten years, and under which the scope of constitutional liberty was considerably broadened while the evolution of the republican idea still went on. Some time after, during the reign of Pedro II., when the ex-Regent Feijô engaged in the revolution of of Sao Paulo, crushed as well as that of Minas by General Caxias,

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he declared with bitterness that the error of the Brazilians had been in warming in their bosom the viper of monarchy whose victims they had become.

The reign of Pedro II., which began in 1841, is divided into three distinct periods: the first is that of his apprenticeship in the art of government under the influence of those who were charged with his tuition, of whom one was a bishop and the other a courtesan; the second is that of the conservative predominance characterized by the reaction against the liberal advances of the regency; and the third is that of a pseudo-philosophy in which the monarch attempted to compensate for the public liberties more or less suppressed, by improved material conditions.

The writer of this article, who was personally well acquainted with the second emperor, and who knows by experience that the liberty of the press, at least, was respected under his reign, will be the last to refuse to do him justice.

As the period of the regency has bequeathed to Brazilian history the names of Feijó and Bernardo de Vasconcellos, so the reign of Pedro II. has furnished those of illustrious Brazilians, who, under the very monarchy, have materially advanced the cause of liberty.

Not to lengthen too much the historic roll, it will be enough to mention here Eusebio de Queiroz, the typical constitutional minister; Carneiro Leam, the advocate of the policy of conciliation, which ended the ostracism of the liberal party; Rio Branco, the originator of the legislative movement for the abolition of slavery, and José Antonio Saraiva, who gave Brazil the electoral law the sincere execution of which would be sufficient to lead to a republican form of government.

Indeed, in all the long reign of Pedro II. there are only three things in his political conduct which reach the altitude of his moral stature—the liberty of the press, the abolition of slavery and the disinterested patriotism which in the last days of the government inspired the aged emperor, as was shown by his willingness to abdicate in favor of the republic.

This consent to abdicate, unique of its kind, deserves more particular mention, since it offers an opportunity for throwing light upon the present political situation in Brazil.

In 1869 certain men of undoubted political sincerity who had lost faith in the programme of the liberal party, which, while in

opposition identified itself with the most radical and extreme opinions, and when called to power became the subservient instruments of the personal power of the crown, abandoned their former leaders, and through the press and clubs took up again the advocacy of republican principles. From the publication of the manifesto of the new party to the proclamation of the republic, on the 15th of November, 1889, the republican cause gained ground rapidly. Men like Saldanha Marinho, Quintino Bocayuva, Aristides Lobo, Felicio dos Santos, Campos Salles, Prudente de Moraes, Assis Brazil, Americo Lobo, Rangel Pestana, Lucio de Mendonca, Demetrio Ribeiro, Paes de Carvalho, Martins, junior, Alexandre Stockler, Silva Jardim and Lopes Trovam, in the press, in the parliament and in public meetings for twenty years fearlessly defended their principles.

These apostles of the republican doctrine demanded the amendment of the monarchical constitution in the ways provided for by that document; they desired the advent of the republic by means of victory gained at the polls—in a word, they aimed at the establishment of the republic in and by the parliament.

In May, 1889, the Joam Alfredo cabinet was overthrown, and when the Viscount of Ouro Preto had already reached an understanding with the imperial princes in regard to the twofold succession of the cabinet and the throne, the old emperor unaware of this arrangement, sent for the statesman Saraiva, the most loyal of the prime ministers of his reign.

Saraiva, with the clearness of perception that characterized this statesman, saw that the republic was inevitable and close at hand, and was afraid that it would come accompanied by civil war. Answering the summons of the Emperor, he advised him to make terms with the cause that was destined to triumph. He told him that his prime minister should offer in the Parliament plans of reform so radical that the transition from monarchy to republic could be effected without a shock. This could be done by means of a federation of the provinces with governments having largely increased powers. The Emperor accepted the advice of the old statesman, invited him to carry this policy into effect, and made ready in this way to surrender his power into the hands of popular sovereignty.

Saraiva refused to accept this charge; for he knew that Ouro Preto had already determined upon another plan, and that he

could not depend upon the support of the majority of his own party.

So instead of Saraiva, Ouro Preto became chief of the cabinet, and the Brazilian monarchy, instead of bequeathing to history a fair page of disinterested patriotism on which the person of Pedro II. would have figured at the head of all monarchs, it left that in which are recorded the thanks of Count d'Eu to the provisional government for the settlement of the imperial succession for the sum of two and a half millions of dollars.

In its haste to carry into effect the original purposes of its programme the historical republican party allied itself with the military class, and, supported by it, unexpectedly proclaimed the republic. The enterprise was not difficult, for the empire had not a single defender left. Was it wisely or unwisely done ? The answer is not easy to give. In the very Parliament elected under the Ouro Preto ministry, Saraiva could have easily obtained the predominance and carried out his plan for a federation of the provinces, and the following legislature would have with the same ease voted for the establishment of the republic. Such would doubtless have been the dictate of prudence; as in that case the new institutions would be the natural outgrowth of the representative system. But what is done cannot be undone. If the step was taken hastily, it was at least in the right direction.

The chief danger would be in looking backwards. The revolution has given to Brazil republican institutions which must be defended at all hazards, leaving whatever defects they may have to be remedied by wisdom after the safety of those institutions has been assured.

Were the republic as bad as its worst enemies paint it, it would still be preferable to any monarchy that could be set up on its ruins. No restoration, however, is now possible in Brazil.

The efforts to effect it would undoubtedly excite a civil war whose bitterness would be intense and duration indefinite, but whose result no republican can doubt.

SALVADOR DE MENDONCA.

AFTER-THOUGHTS OF A STORY-TELLER.

BY GEORGE W. CABLE.

THE author of a few novels not among the "hundred most popular" drops his pencil upon his tablet in the joy of having finished another. To him this is achievement, and triumph and rest are as sweet to the feeble as to the strong. Finished, he says. A score or two of magazine pages have yet to be written, and he feels he must write them while he is still vibrating to the key of the story's chords; but to-morrow will serve for this beginning of the end, since he has now only to elaborate what is fully planned, to consummate what fate—or art, the two are one—has at last clearly ordained. Such a moment tempts the story-maker to reminiscence and makes the how-do-you-do-it of a reader almost as flattering as the how-do-you-do of a princess—or publisher. Yet it is not proposed here to tell how novelists go about their work or, indeed, to enter into heavy explanation of anything.

The first impulse toward the production of a novel—does it have to be inspiration? I think not. If it be inspiration—whatever that is—it is more apt to be an inspiration of the will than of the constructive imagination. The word of the muse may come unto me saying, Write; but it will probably never say more until I sit down in the spirit of a toiler, saying, What shall I write? I know one writer who even for a short story has sat for weeks in feline patience and tension at the mouse-hole of his constructive powers, knowing only that the inspiration was in there and had got to come out. Inspiration does sometimes come with *almost* inexplicable spontaneity; but if it does not come with hard hammering of the brain, it comes after it; never before, so far as this writer knows.

The primary impulse toward my first sustained novel was an

ambition kindled by the unexpected invitation of a magazine's editors. The next was the good-morning word of a sanguine friend. I can still hear him calling down the stairway from the door of his office: "Begin it! Never mind how it's to come out; you have abundant invention; trust to that." And, if I remember aright, the story was written without a single preliminary memorandum of its scheme.

Yet I had a scheme clearly in mind; a scheme in which one of the first things decided was how the tale should end. For the rest it consisted mainly in a choice and correlation of the characters I designed to put upon my stage. The plot was not laboriously planned. It was to be little more than the very old and familiar one of a feud between two families, the course of true love fretting its way through, and the titles of hero and heroine open to competition between a man and his friend for the one and a mother and daughter for the other. Upon this well-used skeleton I essayed to put the flesh and blood, the form and bloom, of personalities new to the world of fiction. To do this and to contrive a plausible variety of scenes and incidents that should secure to these children of the fancy the smiling acquaintance of the reading world, were far more than a sufficient tax on the supposed redundancy of my powers of invention. That fountain never overflowed. It dribbled steadily, and from then till now it has rarely done more. To-morrow, always to-morrow, it will; surely it will! But it never does.

If slowness only meant excellence! Speed is bad, yes; the best tales are not by the swiftest writers; and yet the product of nearly all the best story-writers has been abundant. Forgive the sigh—but I have never heard of any story-producing pen so slow as the one here writing. The novel it is just completing stands for nearly eighteen months of work and was begun three years ago. Perhaps it is as well for everybody that not all the novelists are "abundant in invention." Those who write five or six hundred ten-word lines per day when they write, surely must spend long periods without writing at all. If I could write two hundred lines a day I should write four novels a year!

Death early took from me the generous prompter of my stimulating delusion. It is very pleasant, this opportunity to speak of him with sincere gratitude. He helped me to make a very valuable mistake. To be emboldened by his compliments

was easy, for he was a distinguished physician, of high literary attainments, and had been the friend of Pinckney, Timrod, and William Gilmore Sims. I never put more than a hint or two of him into any fictional character, but his partner, a man of more picturesque idiosyncracies, became Doctor Sevier.

I wrote occasional short stories for three years before essaying a twelve-months serial, and they were a good stepping-stone. Yet sometimes now they bother me. While I may be writing a novel the best way I know how, some pertinent, or even impertinent, short story will haunt my elbow, saying, "Put me in, too." But I know better. "I have study that out," as the model for Narcisse really used to say. Somebody awhile ago started the notion that it is as difficult and creditable to write a short story as a sustained novel. Oh, my! Is a little boat as hard to build as a big ship? Is a melody as great a musical achievement as a symphony? One does not quite prove or disprove his talent for the long story by succeeding or failing with the short one; and still, until he has given the short one a thorough trial, he had better let the long one alone. But literary beginners show an inordinate tendency to attack the long story first. However, better that than to let a short story into a long one. It is almost sure to prove a parasite.

Whether a long story has ever embraced one, and only one, short story without some damage, I have not read enough to know, but only to doubt. The question is, possibly, more curious than important. A single long story made of several short ones is perfectly practicable, but is it ever its author's best? Not often, I think. I tried this in *Bonaventure*. The pastoral nature of the subject favored the scheme, and I am not sure that I need regret the outcome. But once is enough, and the novel I am now finishing has at least this claim on my hopes: that it is one story, and only one.

In *The Grandissimes*—three syllables, yes, not four—there is a short story, to and around which the whole larger work is built. It is the episode of Bras-Coupé, which was written much as it stands before the novel was begun. I do not know that any one has ever resented this piece of incorporation, yet I mention it to disclaim all present approval of such methods. The only method I know by experience to be worse is the expanding of a *true* story into a novel, which I did in *Doctor Sevier*. Fact and fiction are

twin handmaidens of truth, but the man who takes them both to wife at once will not get the best of either. I have not done it since, and shall never do it again. But how easy and pleasant are contrition and confession when one has no further use for his sin!

Certain authors are often congratulated upon their having "discovered a new field." The congratulators really mean not a field in which no one, or dozen, have tried to write before, but only a field in which no one before has reaped large success. Truth is, the only discovery worth making in this direction is not a new field of romance with geographical or chronological boundaries, but the fact that the field of romance is wherever man is, and its day every day; that wherever in place or time there is room—and where in the habitable earth is there not?—for wars of the heart against environment, circumstance, and its own treasons, there is the story-teller's field; and though old as Nineveh or as hard trodden as Paris, it will be, to his readers, just as fresh or stale, as small or great, as his individual genius, and no more. He may draw attention for a while to his new field of time and place; but if that is all, or the most of him and his work, his literary remains will not live. They will barely fossilize.

The plot of the novel I am just completing is, I believe, more my own than any I have before put into a sustained work; but its field, as to time and place, though both early and lately familiar to me, is not mine by any right of first discovery or occupancy. Possibly the work may prove all the worse for this. If so, I have made my own bed and must lie on it, and if I perish, I perish. Why not? A writer, as a writer, cannot die till his time comes; and if it ought to come soon, where is the gain in filibustering for postponements? Least of all ought any "field" to save him, except the field of his own inner gifts.

We have spoken of a novel whose end is in sight, scarcely fifty pages away, as though the rest of the journey were easy. It is, and it isn't. For as the writer looks forward to the final conflict of passions, endeavors, and destinies to which his complicated correlation of imagined lives and loves has brought him, he knows that he has got to suffer and enjoy it all—all! before he can so produce it on the page that what he writes shall stay written. Great is sentiment. For sentiment is but good Latin for feeling, and feeling is living. But despicable is sentimentality, which, even when

it is not a conscious lie, is at best but a feeling after feeling. If only—to mention an extreme case—if only the average reporter would perceive this and cease to load his columns with periods which, because unfelt by himself, suffocate the emotions he seeks to arouse! No author, from whatever heaven, earth, or hell of actual environment he may write, can produce a living narrative of motives, passions, and fates without having first felt the most of it, and apprehended it all, in that invisible life which every man and woman, in degree, lives in and by the imagination.

Of course, the story-teller may find and use living models and will be grateful whenever fortune brings them to him; but when she does not, he has the memory of countless disembodied traits and whims, and, better still, he has himself. For let him find ever so complete a model, he can never make that model live again on the page of fiction by merely reporting him or her. He cannot, successfully, paste photographs into a novel. Whatever richness or sterility, baseness, beauty, or grotesqueness, of mind or soul, the exigencies of his story require him to portray, he is likely—he is bound—to find somewhere in himself, at last, his own best model; and as he lays down his pen at the conclusion of a long story he is forced to confess in his heart, "My name is Legion, for we are many."

Models are good; notebooks are advantageous. I only say, out of my not too extensive experience, that the model within the author, and it only, is indispensable. As for notebooks, *Bonaventure* is my only fiction in which a well-filled notebook proved of any direct service. Some artists make sketches and then tear them up. What they cannot thereafter forget is all they need to remember. I fancy this is the only way I shall ever again be able to make a notebook useful. It is not sight the story-teller needs, but second sight. We do not need to have seen everything in order to feel it, but we do need to feel whatever we would have a reader see. My "Posson Jone'" (Parson Jones) is made entirely without a model, while his friend Jules St. Ange is made from two, one for his moral theories and one for his sunny presence. In *Madame Delphine*, only her daughter, not she, nor Père Jerome nor any other character, is drawn with reference to a living model. In *Bonaventure* the hero and Tarbox are portraits—not photographs, I hope,—while the curé of Carancro, made with no model either in sight or memory, turned out to be a surprising

likeness, in person, traits, and life, of a parish priest laboring within fifteen miles of the place, whom I have had the honor to meet, but whom I had never seen or heard of till after the story was printed. It was the Bonaventure of actual life, not of the novel, who cried to me :

"Some people say that Victor Hugo is an in-fiddle. Oh, sir, sir!—he—he perspires rheligion!"

And it was he, the actual, who, when told by Mr. Kemble, the illustrator, that he had been put into a book as an unmarried man, exclaimed in distress : "Sir, it must not be, for I am the fatheh of six chil'run !"

In *The Grandissimes* every prominent character is drawn from a model—including Frowenfeld—except Clotilde, who, I think, any reader will say, is both more real and more attractive than the apothecary. Aurore's model was at least as beautiful and charming as she is portrayed, and in the same ways. I was once her next-door neighbor. A very ugly old line fence between us had either to be repaired or replaced, and I suggested a low, invisible lawn fence. She sweetly bade me suit my caprice entirely ; but the new fence was hardly in place before she erected, close against it, another, of feather-edged, hard pine boards, seven feet high.

In *Doctor Sevier,* Narcisse is partly from a model ; closely as to his graces, beauty, and philosophy ; but as to his moral shortcomings and sinuosities he is drawn from—ahem !—the author himself. Until he wrote the novel whose last number is still in his hands, the writer has never tried to portray a life-sized villain ; maybe he has not yet done so ; but he has never thus far drawn upon his own inner consciousness for a scamp and had his check dishonored. There's something to be proud of !

For the man who holds their confirmation within himself models never spoil ; they keep like mummies. Mrs. March, in my new novel, is mainly the restoration of a person whom I have scarcely seen for twenty years. Of what use are models outside one's self to a writer who cannot do without them ? You—the reader—you do without them. You say Shakspere depicts remorse with amazing trueness. How do you know ? You never had remorse. And yet you do know. You know remorse by sight the moment he shows it to you, because when he holds the mirror up to nature he holds it up to your nature ; you can

waive experience. If you could know remorse without having to be shown it by either Shakspere or experience—could feel it without having felt it—you would be Shakspere, in degree; as, in point of fact, you and all of us are, or even Shakspere would have no readers. This is the way, if not the only way, in which it is true, as Mr. Drake has just said in his beautiful story of *The Yellow Globe*, that "only a man with a haunted heart can paint a haunted house." Not actual experience, not actual observation, but the haunted heart; that is what makes the true artist, of every sort. Now and then it even makes a critic.

On the other hand, the story-teller finds that what he reveals of himself comes not from that which is himself alone, but which is only, and recognizably, so many phases of the universal self. These he clothes in any idiosyncracies, whether of self or of others, which, as a cunning costumer, he finds will so drape them in the garments of individuality as not to conceal, but exaltedly to adorn, emphasize, and reveal, the humanity within. The artistic necessity that he should be wholly free to do this is what so often makes the marriage of fiction to biography an unhappy match. It is only in its eclectic use of the idiosyncratic that fiction needs to be fiction at all. In its presentments of the universal self it is as firmly bound by art as history is by morals, to be true to the very white of truth. Seest thou a man free in the one realm and faithful in the other? He shall stand before kings; he shall not stand before Sunday-school library committees.

These drafts of his art upon his own inner experience teach the novelist to see and reverence the romance and majesty, comedy and tragedy, of all the human life about him, through its numberless disguises of culture, of unculture, or of commonplace. For he soon discovers this odd yet most natural thing, that in drawing from those inexhaustible springs of the universal heart he will sometimes think the ascending bucket on the wheel is his own heart and find it is another's, or think it is another's and lo! it is his own. We never know what we can do till we try, they say. Add this: Neither we nor our story-writing friend can half know what we are till he has put us into a story; when, by virtue of his very fiction about us—his grotesque exaggeration of our idiosyncracies—we stand revealed. How many a true gentleman never suspected there was a whole Bartley Hubbard hid away in him until Howells nailed that fellow's ear to the public

whipping-post! That good physician who, out of his own experience, told me the story of *Doctor Sevier*, never noticed that he was the true hero of it, nor did I, until I had begun to write it. True heroism does not see itself, any more than a good eye does; nor does even our oculist notice what a good eye we have until he throws an extravagant light into it and searches it with a terrible goggle on his own. I never knew two such persons as old Manouvrier and his wife to have any such experience as that which makes my late short story, *The Taxidermist*. Nor did I remember that I had ever known two such characters at all, until a married pair—old friends—sent me their kind commendations, whereupon I instantly recognized in them the models whose spiritual likenesses I had unconsciously painted. Had they not spoken I might never have suspected them. They will never suspect themselves.

The larger work, whose end lies just before me in its first completeness, is full of model-drawn characters. It is time I turned back to it from this road to nowhere. What it is to be when it is too late to mend it, the writer cares, of course, immeasurably more than the reader. I wish I knew. But what I wish it were is this: A pleasing story of the heroic in imagined lives; truth of the passions and affections, not advocated, but portrayed; a book with every page good prose, and each of its chapters, as a chapter, good poetry; a book able to keep you—not me, merely—always emotionally interested, and leave you profited; a story written for all readers, to all, and at none. I should call that a good novel, but alas!——

G. W. Cable.

ARE THE SILVER STATES RUINED?

BY THE HON. DAVIS H. WAITE, GOVERNOR OF COLORADO.

As a result of the financial policy of the government since 1873, culminating in the repeal by Congress in October last of the Sherman Act, the prosperity of the silver producing States has been greatly injured—so much, that the inquiry is sometimes made, Does that injury amount to ruin?

Colorado is not ruined. With its vast area of 275 miles by 380 miles, our State possesses every variety of soil and climate which belong to the temperate zone. The valleys along our rivers in the lower altitudes produce in abundance fruit of the most excellent quality; the grape, the peach, the apple, and the melon attain, in their season, nearer perfection than in any other State; the San Luis Valley, greater than all Massachusetts, and partially irrigated, produced this year wheat which commanded the premium at the late Columbian Exposition over all competing specimens of wheat from the whole world; in portions of the eastern part of our State, in the plains region, generally supposed to be fit only for pasturage, good crops of grain for several years have been produced by a sort of trench system of cultivation without irrigation; our mountains and cañons outcrop with granite and limestone, and our hills and valleys often abound with marble and onyx; our coal deposits rival in quantity and quality those of Pennsylvania and Tennessee combined. Colorado has reservoirs of oil upon both sides of the Rocky Mountains, and probably more extensive oil-fields than have previously been discovered in the United States; and it has mines of the baser metals, and of silver and gold unsurpassed in richness and extent by any mineral producing region of equal area on the face of the globe. But, our State has had its peculiar misfortunes. When the price of bullion silver declined to 72 cents, the mines were compelled to shut down; the miners lost

their employment. Some of them were young men at work for wages, but a large proportion were men of middle age, who came to the Rocky Mountains years ago on the invitation of President Lincoln after the civil war; they had made their settlement on the unsurveyed lands of the Government in the most precipitous defiles and the wildest cañons, and paid four times the price per acre of the public lands of the United States when they secured a patent. They have also paid ten dollars' worth of work per acre, per annum, to retain a possessory title to unpatented mining properties. These men had invested their earnings in houses and lots, in homes, stores, shops, and all kinds of improvements in the mining camps, to give their families the advantages of schools and churches, and found themselves not only deprived of employment, but also of the value of all their property.

Our agriculturists, who for years have had in the mining camps of the State the best market in the Union, almost at their very doors, find their market closed, and the prices of their staple products so reduced as hardly to pay freight when shipped east of Kansas and Nebraska. The stock-raisers are largely in the same condition, and the merchant, mechanic, and professional man find their sources of income destroyed. The annual production of 27,000,000 ounces of silver cut off by the closing of the mines has deprived Colorado of about $24,000,000 per annum—its hitherto chief resource for cash to pay debts, interest on debts, living expenses, necessaries, and luxuries. In the depressed condition of the silver mines there is little profitable demand for our coal, iron, marble, lime, and oil, which so liberally abound in our hills and valleys. Our gold-fields are being extensively prospected and will nearly double the yield of the previous year, but this does not help the silver mines or restore the lost value of property in the silver camps.

Now comes the question, Is there a remedy?

Great Britain, which demonetized silver in 1816, secretly procured, in the American Congress, the passage of an act, in 1857, providing that "No foreign gold or silver coins shall be a legal tender for the payment of debts." At this time there was no pretence that the foreign silver dollars were of depreciated value. In fact the bullion silver in these coins was then actually worth more than their coin value. The act of 1857 removed an ancient landmark, and reversed the policy of this

government for eighty-one years—thirteen years under the Continental Congress, 1776 to 1789, and sixty-eight years under our present form of government, from 1789 to 1857. All this time the Spanish milled dollar, and, after the yoke of Spain had been thrown off, the dollars of Mexico and South America, containing not less than 371¼ grains of fine silver, had been legal tender in the United States by tale at 100 cents each.

The right of Congress to coin money is conceded, also that the right is *exclusive* so long as the right is *exercised*. The States made the concession in 1789, not that the right might be destroyed, but that it might be exercised. Prior to the adoption of the present Constitution of the United States, the mints of the several States were open to all who desired to have coined either gold or silver bullion, and this privilege of the people of all the States was given to Congress by the States, that the right of free coinage might be continued, only the United States Mint was to take the place and perform the office of the State mints.

The right to regulate the value of domestic and foreign coins was conceded to Congress, as all contemporary history proves, in order that there might be a uniformity of value of money in the different States, and an equality as to debtor and creditor rights in contracts, the equity of which largely depends on the fixed value of money. The right "to coin money, regulate the value thereof and of foreign coins" was not given to Congress to be arbitrarily exercised, or changed or withheld at executive or congressional whim or caprice. When Congress, in 1792, created a money unit for the United States, and specified 371¼ grains fine silver as composing that unit and the American dollar, the trust given to Congress by the States to fix the value of the American dollar and of foreign coins was executed, and thenceforth neither the trustor (the States) nor the trustee (Congress) had any power whatever to recall or change the performance of the trust. Mr. Blaine said, February 7, 1878, in the United States Senate (*Cong. Record*, vol. 7, part 1, page 820):

"I believe gold and silver money to be the money of the Constitution—indeed the money of the American people anterior to the Constitution—which that great organic law recognized as quite independent of its own existence. No power was conferred on Congress to declare that either metal *should not be money*. Congress has therefore, in my judgment, no power to demonetize silver any more than to demonetize gold; no power to demonetize either, than it has to demonetize both."

He then quoted that greatest of constitutional lawyers, Daniel Webster, as saying that:

"gold and silver, at rates fixed by Congress, constitute the legal standard of value in this country, and *neither Congress nor any State* has authority to establish *any other standard* or to *displace that standard.*"

The right to regulate the value of foreign coins is also in Congress, and must also be considered exclusive, unless the right "to make gold and silver coin a tender in the payment of debts," which right is expressly declared by the Constitution of the United States to be in the States, does not, in order to make that right of any practical use, include the right to regulate the value of the coin when made a legal tender. The right to make gold, silver, or paper money a legal tender is not specifically granted to Congress by the Constitution of the United States, but the right "to coin money, and regulate the value thereof and of foreign coins," expressly given to Congress in the United States Constitution, has been held by the courts to include the right to make those coins a legal tender.

The right of a State to make gold and silver coin a tender in payment of all debts collectable within that State cannot be denied. It is true that the right is enumerated among the restrictions of Section X., Art. 1, of the Constitution, and it was a restriction of the right of the States to make legal tender. Prior to the adoption of the United States Constitution, the States had the right to emit bills of credit, and to make them, as well as gold and silver coin, a legal tender. The right to make paper money or bills of credit a legal tender was taken away from the States, but the right to make gold and silver coins a legal tender was not.

The words "No State shall make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in the payment of debts," in view of the fact that previously the States possessed and exercised the right to make gold, silver, and bills of credit a legal tender, restricts the States only from making paper money or bills of credit a legal tender. The right to make gold and silver coin a legal tender is not derived from the Constitution of the United States. That power was already in the States when that Constitution was adopted, and by the use of the word "but," in the negative statement of the clause above quoted, the power was affirmed. The United States Constitution leaves the right of a State to make gold and silver

coins a tender in the payment of debts precisely as it was before that constitution was adopted. Prior to the adoption of the United States Constitution, all the States made both domestic and foreign coins a legal tender; indeed, the bulk of the silver circulation in the United States was foreign coin, and remained so for many years after the establishment of the present government. Until 1857, the United States always recognized the Spanish milled dollar and the dollars of Mexico, Central and South America, containing not less than 371¼ grains fine silver, as legal tender by tale. There can be no doubt of the right of any State to make gold and silver coin tender in the payment of debts collectable in that State. It is equally clear that this right extends to foreign coin, because at the time the Constitution was adopted, and for several years after, there were no national coins. It may be said Congress enacted in 1857 that thereafter no foreign coins should be a legal tender in the United States. *But no act of Congress can deprive a state of a constitutional right.* Admit that the right of the United States is concurrent with that of the States, and that Congress could lawfully pass the statute of 1857, that statute is only entitled to its legal effect. It is good in all territory over which the United States has exclusive jurisdiction; it is good in all States which have not or do not avail themselves of their constitutional right to make foreign gold and silver coin a legal tender, but cannot possibly take away that right. It may also be said that the right "to fix the value of domestic and foreign coins," being directly ceded to Congress, is taken away from the States, or, conceding that the States have an undoubted constitutional right to make foreign and domestic coins a legal tender, that the States cannot fix the value of those coins for legal tender purposes. The United States has no direct grant in the Constitution to make anything a legal tender, but the right to make legal tender has been conceded to Congress because it was necessary to make valid and effectual the grant "to regulate the value of domestic and foreign coins."

The word "tender" in this connection is defined by Webster as "that which is offered as money." A tender of money is unmeaning unless it includes a specification of value. The design of making legal tender is that it shall be a stable measure of value and thus be a fair and permanent register of indebtedness. In the history of the world at various periods and among differ-

ent nations, almost everything valuable has been made legal tender; but in every case the value of the legal tender was specified. The words "legal tender" imply that an offer to the creditor is of that which is made tender at a fixed valuation, which the creditor is compelled to take, or lose his claim. If the right to make gold and silver coins a legal tender does not carry with it the right to fix the value of the coins so made a legal tender, then the first right is wholly nugatory, and the decision of the U. S. courts "that a specific grant of power carries with it every other power necessary to make that grant valid and effectual" is false.

As a matter of constitutional law, there can be no doubt that the concurrent right of the national government to make legal tender does not in any way affect the right of a State to make gold and silver coins, domestic and foreign, a legal tender within its borders; and yet there is no necessity that there should be any conflict of authority between any State and the general government. In 1792, Congress enacted that 371¼ grains fine silver should constitute the money-unit of the United States, or the American dollar. This power was given by the States to Congress in order that it might create a legal uniformity of value of money in all the States, and, such a money-unit having been created, there is high authority that the trust given to Congress in this respect is executed, and can neither be changed by Congress nor the States.

Daniel Webster recognized the constitutional right of a State to make a legal standard of money, but held that the value of such tender must be the money unit established in 1792. So long as the general government made the silver dollar of the United States and the foreign dollars of our sister-republics in North and South America legal tender at not less than 371¼ grains fine silver to the dollar, there was no necessity for any State to legislate as to legal tender.

The remedy is for each State to enact that the silver dollars of the United States and of our sister republics in North and South America, containing not less than 371¼ grains fine silver, shall be a legal tender by tale, or at 100 cents each, for all debts, public and private, collectable within that State.

DAVIS H. WAITE.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE SCHOOL FUND.

BY THE RIGHT REV. WILLIAM CROSWELL DOANE, BISHOP OF ALBANY.

On Sunday, November 19th, 1893, in the *The Sunday Democrat*, a "Weekly Family Journal devoted to the Propagation and Defence of Catholic Truth, Irish Home Rule, Literature, Politics, Etc.," published in New York City, there appeared the following petition and text of a proposed law:

LET JUSTICE BE DONE.

It is proposed to circulate the following petition in the 901 parishes of the State of New York, and secure the signature of the majority of the voters of the State:

"TO THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

"Petition of the Taxpayers and the People of the —— Assembly District.

"The petition of the parents and friends of the children attending the parish schools attached to the church of —— showeth that we, the undersigned, desire to bring before the Legislature parental claims and grievances in respect to the education of our children, for which we crave consideration and redress.

"As the State has made education compulsory, we desire to insist upon a fuller recognition by the State of the parental right, given by the law of nature, to educate our children in schools which possess our entire confidence, without our being subjected on that account to financial loss or embarrassment. Our conscientious repugnance to send our children to any but Catholic schools for their education is insuperable.

"The continually growing difficulties placed in the way of the maintenance of our Catholic schools, by the increasing number of children who attend them, make it every day more difficult to maintain those schools which alone meet our legitimate requirements.

"The compulsion to pay rates towards the exclusive support of schools which our religious convictions do not approve is an injustice which we pray your honorable body to redress.

"Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray that the school fund be distributed, in due proportion, to every school whose efficiency in secular in-

struction shall satisfy the Education Department of the State—proper facilities being afforded for securing the right disbursement of the money paid over from the rates, while the Catholic management of our schools shall remain intact. And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray."

The following bill will be proposed by a Republican Senator at an early session of the next Legislature:

"AN ACT FOR THE PROMOTION OF EDUCATION THROUGHOUT THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

"(Drafted by DENIS A. SPELLISSY, of the New York Bar.)

"The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

"SEC. 1. That whenever any individual, or body or association of individuals, or any organization of persons, incorporated or unincorporated, shall have established a school for the free education of youth in the primary branches of education, to wit, reading, writing, and arithmetic, and such school shall have been in existence for the term of at least one year, with not less than fifty pupils in regular attendance, and shall have been submitted to a satisfactory inspection and examination thereof by the State or local board of school trustees, or such other persons as may from time to time be designated for the purpose, the person or persons, association or organization conducting or managing such school, shall be entitled to receive from the State (or city, or county, or district) each year a share of all State and other moneys now directed to be apportioned and distributed among the common schools, the same to be apportioned and distributed among them as directed to be apportioned and distributed among the common schools by Chapter 555 of the Laws of 1864.

"SEC. 2. Such sums shall be paid annually from time to time; *provided*, that such school shall be always open at reasonable times for inspection, as aforesaid, and that the pupils shall have passed a satisfactory examination at such stated times as may be determined by the board of school trustees in accordance with usages and regulations in force for the public schools of the State.

"SEC. 3. The provisions of this act shall apply only to primary and grammar schools, or schools in which the course of study is substantially equal to that in use in the public schools of the State."

It is said now that this bill prepared for introduction into the New York Legislature, distributing the public moneys raised for common-school education among all sorts and conditions of schools, has not been submitted to the officials of the Roman Catholic diocese of New York, and that the petition prepared and to be sent to the nine hundred and one parishes (R. C.) in this State is irregular and no notice should be taken of it unless the bishops give their consent. So say the interviewers in the New York papers. So far, so good; but with or without the consent of the bishops (R. C.), notice has been taken of it, and will be, and ought to be.

The Roman Catholic Church, the world over, is singularly skillful and subtle in political arts; and it is possible at least that Mr. Spellissy and the editor of the *Catholic Herald* have been used for an end. Little elephants are often sent in first to try the depth of a river which the herd intends to cross; and if *they* do not get drowned, the big elephants venture safely. This particular stream of strong, united, American public feeling about the common-school system is deep enough, I think, to drown the biggest elephants there are in America. Whether the Spellissy bill is now discredited, and whether it will be withdrawn from consideration, remain to be seen; but the thing that is really discredited is the attempt to sectarianize public education, and that cannot be withdrawn from consideration. I desire to deal with this question purely from the point of view of an American citizen. If I were dealing with it on the platform of a church congress, or in a periodical in the interests of the portion of the Catholic Church to which I belong, there are a good many things that I should feel bound to say which are out of place in an article of this sort. I should feel bound to *enlarge* upon the assumptions and assertions of the Roman Church, as witnessed over and over again, by utterances of her chief Bishop in Rome and of her leading clergymen in America; as to her right to interfere in the politics of every country in which she is placed; as to the supreme authority of the Bishop of Rome to claim their allegiance before any allegiance which they owe to the government under which they live; as to her emphatic and entire condemnation of the whole theory of public-school education; as to the groundlessness of her claim to be, to the exclusion of all other Christian people, the Catholic Church, which Protestants have foolishly allowed her to do by giving her the name of *Catholic*, instead of the name *Roman*, which she herself chooses in the Tridentine creed of Rome; and so on. But I am speaking now simply as a citizen, and not as an ecclesiastic, and addressing, not members of any one religious body, much less of that to which I belong, but the American people.

The Roman Catholic Church in America has posed a good deal before the public in civic affairs. She seems to be keeping a sort of perpetual feast of *Assumption;* and her attitude in regard to getting control of public moneys for her own ends is too patent to be denied. The miscalled "freedom of worship bill" passed two

years ago in New York with a part of its sting taken out, and the enormous disproportion of money secured by her in Washington for her Indian schools, are evidence enough; and now she is looking after the educational funds of the State. What Roman Catholics really think about common school education is not easy to discover because of the contradictoriness of their utterances on the subject. Just now Cardinal Gibbons, a Paulist Father, a layman of the New York Bar, and the editor of "a weekly family journal devoted to the propagation and defence of Catholic truth, Irish home rule, literature, and politics," speak with the most distinct determination and with the most positive assurance, as to the rightfulness and necessity and possibility of securing this State aid for the support of Roman Catholic schools. On the other hand, the distinguished Archbishop of New York, with the lay trustees of his Cathedral, is understood to deny all knowledge of the bill and all sympathy with the movement. And the Baltimore *Sun*, whose proprietors are pronounced Roman Catholics, deals with the case in a most able and temperate editorial as to what they call "the unwelcome signs of a disposition on the part of a number of zealous but impractical people to revive the public school question in the acute form." I am glad to quote later on the closing words of this most admirable article, earnestly desiring that we all might come to agree with its principles; and that any discussion of the subject may be conducted with the same temperate courtesy which marks the language of the editor of the Baltimore *Sun*.

Behind this present difficulty of discovering the real opinions of Roman Catholics on this subject, are previous, and more official, inconsistent and contradictory statements. There are three apparent propositions recently brought before the minds of American citizens. First, the insistence that all Roman Catholic children shall be kept away from common schools and forced to attend their own parochial schools. So far as a person outside could read the Decrees, this seemed to be the plain statement of the Council in Baltimore. Secondly, that the State should take charge of the parochial schools and support them, the buildings with their teachers and furniture being handed over bodily, with the understanding that religious teaching should be given to the pupils out of school hours. This is the so-called

Faribault plan, as plain people understand it. Between these two things the infallible Head of the Roman Church has recently decided in a manner worthy of the oracle of Delphi, cordially supporting *both* plans, in spite of their absolute antagonism. And now comes the third scheme—to take the money raised for the education of all the children in the State and distribute it, *pro rata*, among all sorts of schools, private, religious, irreligious, anything, so the school is a year old and has more than fifty pupils. Minnesota has spoken with no little emphasis against Archbishop Ireland's plan. I am disposed to think that before long New York will be not less emphatic as to the last scheme of these "irresponsible persons." And it looks as if the Roman Catholics would have to do what the rest of us do, support their own denominational schools. But the question has been raised, and it cannot be put down, either by supercilious misunderstanding of the English language on the one hand, or by the use of violent language on the other.

The Roman Catholic Church throughout the world is really two or three absolutely distinct and different things. Whatever one may feel about the schism which it is, and the schisms it has caused; or, however deeply one may deplore the novelties with which it has overlaid the old faith (which, like all novelties, being on the top are the things most thought of and most dwelt on by her people), these are not matters for discussion here or now. In spite of these, she is to every intelligent mind an ancient and venerable portion of the Christian Church; and in her discharge of her ecclesiastical and religious duties, is to be protected and respected, teaching other Christians many lessons of devotion, consistency and courage, which we should do well to learn. Beside this, she is a factor in the lives of thousands of people, citizens of our country, who are kept from evil living by her ministrations and control; and when we consider the fact that the enormous majority of the crowded poor belong to her communion, that perhaps the most turbulent element in our citizenship owes at least a faint and nominal allegiance to her authority, that without the control of her priesthood, we should be powerless to deal, except by brute force, with great masses of the workingmen of America; we must certainly be ready to secure to her every opportunity for doing the legitimate work of a great Christian Church. Over and above this—and I say it

with no unkindness—since an overwhelming proportion of the inmates of our institutions of reform consist of her people, it seems right to me, provided no money for the support of religious services comes from the State funds, that her clergymen should have access to the inmates of these institutions under proper regulations. The Roman Church is also a beneficent institution, with multiplied and manifold Orders and agencies of mercy and charity, in the support of which, and in their methods of administration, she is not only to be protected, but greatly admired and imitated by others. But beside all this the Roman Church is a tremendous piece of human machinery cleverly and cunningly devised, and sticking together with a coherency which, in spite of innumerable divisions of belief, opinions, and parties, presents an apparent organic, cohesive unity, which gives it great power. It is beyond a peradventure that it is a great political force and factor. It is able to mass its adherents on almost any question, and it does not hesitate to say so in advance. The boast is made that this proposed petition, not yet, we are told by authority, sent out, will receive 800,000 signatures from the 901 parishes (R. C.) of the State of New York. And one of the Paulist Fathers says that 10,000,000 Roman Catholic citizens insist upon educating their children in their own system. Of course this is not an intelligent expression, either of 800,000 or of 10,000,000 of individuals. It is merely a great flock of sheep following, not so much, the shepherd as the bell-wether. It is like the calling together of thousands of men on a strike, because a self-chosen leader orders it, though the individuals prefer to go on as they are.

With her theory of the essential importance of definite religious teaching, as part of any thorough education, I have the most entire sympathy; and while she founds parochial schools and maintains them herself, I have the most absolute respect for her consistency. But she has no reason to come, *in forma pauperis*, to ask the State to aid her in this. For while multitudes of the poorest people are in her communion, she has enormous wealth, both in personal membership, in wisely acquired property, and, if rumor speaks true, in very large assistance from the Roman Propaganda. At this moment millions of her money are spending in Washington, Hoboken and elsewhere, on her educational institutions, which she is abundantly able to support.

It seems inconsistent with a spirit of any real martyrdom to complain of the hardship of what she is doing, as a witness to her convictions of duty and truth. When she comes, *in forma ecclesiæ*, to demand or to ask for help to train her children in her own way, then we say not only she has no reason, but she has no right to come.

We may dismiss the question of the effect of breaking up this educational fund into various appropriations; though it must be patent that it would destroy the efficiency of our chosen system of public schools; would foster sectarian rivalries, and deepen the lines of religious division. The editor of the *Sun* suggests what I think is plainly involved in this, that if the public money were to be divided between parochial and public schools,

"an immediate demand would be heard from Protestants that Catholic (R. C.) teachers should retire from the public schools, along with the Catholic (R. C.) pupils. This would be the practical destruction of our common-school system. It would divide the nation's children, its future citizens, into two opposing camps, and breed in time the same sharp and bitter antagonisms that have proved such fruitful sources of disturbance to the political and social peace of European countries."

We may also dismiss the apparent generalness of the bill, in providing that all or any other people may ask for and get the same thing. The title of the bill answers itself. The American way "to promote education" is to increase common schools, and not to multiply private enterprises; and the fact remains that among the most fundamental principles of this general government is the absolute separation of Church and State. And the use of State money for Church uses is at once the lowest and the most dangerous place to begin to break it down. Make out of it what one will, it is impossible to escape the fact that every penny of public school money given to any religious body for education is using the power of the State to tax, and the result of that taxation to further and support the religious tenets of that body. We can afford, it seems to me, to take and hold a firm and quiet stand upon this inherent principle.

Next to this is the other question of "rights." We are very much given to talking about this word as implying a good many things to which it is not applicable. We ought to be far more concerned with duties than with rights. It is the duty of the State to protect itself and its people from the misery and sin of ignorance, but it is not the right of any child to demand this

from the State. It is the duty of every Church and of every Christian parent to protect itself and its children from the misery and sin of irreligion ; but this must be done by the Church or by the parent; and it is neither the duty of the government to do it, nor the right of any individual or of any Church to ask it of the government. The steady, quiet maintenance of these two principles is an irresistible vantage-ground.

I am forced to say a word about the distinction, which some of us are said to make between Roman Catholics and Americans. It is quite true in certain ways that they are American citizens, by naturalization or by birth ; by the right of protection from the flag under which many of them fought gallantly ; and in many instances, by their loyal love of their adopted country. Very many of their people, left to themselves, would forget their other allegiance. But their leaders keep it up. The bishop across the sea has no idea of letting go of it. Their public documents assert it positively ; and their strong religious associations, their virtual separation from all the rest of American citizens in their religious life, their undisguised contempt for all Protestant bodies, their religious exclusiveness, their clannishness, make them a sort of "empire within an empire." And if the question ever came, which God forbid, between their yielding obedience to the American republican principles, or obedience to the Roman authority, large numbers of them would be almost compelled to surrender political loyalty to what they thought the higher law. The alienism of Roman Catholicism does not depend upon the citizenship of its people, three-fourths or all of them, by birth or by adoption for two generations or for twenty. It depends upon the fact that their first allegiance is owed to a foreigner, stripped of all temporal power even in his own country, but convinced that it belongs to him by divine right, and claiming an absolute and infallible authority and control over everybody and everything everywhere. And it depends no less on the effect produced upon conscience and character, by its peculiar system of mental and moral training. No system of any kind ought to be judged by its results, where they have been wrought out under circumstances and conditions which limit or control them. Anarchy, for instance, is not as bitter or as blasphemous in America as it is in Russia, because it is modified by a certain atmosphere of national freedom ; but at heart, it is really

as much set against the limited authority of our free institutions, as against autocracy itself. Unbelief is less blatant in a Christian country than it was in unmitigated heathendom, because necessarily it is modified by its Christian surroundings, of which it partakes, and which it imbibes, and is influenced by, to a degree. And in the same way, extreme Romanism, partly from policy and partly from unavoidable influence, is less absolutely papal, in certain appearances, in America than it is in Mexico or in Spain. It is held in abeyance. But, as it can, and where it may, the essential tendencies will betray themselves. I do not believe that the majority of the Roman Catholic people are at heart un-American, any more than I believe that the great majority of workingmen who go on a strike act intelligently or willingly. But the leaders in both cases are extremists. They have control, and they use it; and the wise thing now to do is to go behind professions, behind general statements of loyalty, behind exterior proofs of it, like the claim of the number of Roman Catholics in the northern army during the civil war; and to see what are the inflexible assertions of her unchanging policy. Agnostics, indifferentists, may afford to be careless as to religious results. But the civil questions concern every citizen; and Roman Catholic citizens ought to weigh this as well as all others. Two or three specimens of the root principles and claims of Rome must suffice. The episcopal oath of allegiance to the Bishop of Rome contains the promise "to persecute to the utmost heretics, schismatics, and rebels against the pope." The Encyclical of Pius IX. anathematizes almost every proposition of what we know as civil or religious liberty, *e. g.*, liberty to profess the religion a man believes, the system of instructing youth apart from the Catholic faith, the separation of Church and State. This is the paper of which Mr. Gladstone said that it "required every man to forfeit his moral and mental freedom and to place his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another."

I feel, as strongly as any man can, the unfortunateness of introducing any question that touches upon religion into civil and political matters. But if Rome chooses to introduce it, she must take the consequences, and not vituperate those who oppose her schemes. Out of this contention and controversy, indiscriminate abuse and violent denunciation certainly ought to be

kept. But truth must be stated baldly and plainly; and it is somewhat difficult to avoid strong and almost severe language, under the excessive provocation of Roman arrogance and assumption. I think that we outsiders are largely responsible for this. To begin with, she has been allowed without protest to take and use the name of "the Catholic Church," when really her own self-chosen definition in the creed of the Council of Trent is "Roman." In this very last year, we have rather applauded and certainly accepted her claim, which has put her into curiously public prominence, that we are indebted to her for the discovery of America; without stopping to think of the foolishness of each part of the claim, either that Columbus discovered North America, or that it was in the interests of the Roman Church and so gives her a pre-emptive right of ecclesiastical possession and control. Some few people have protested against this, but their voices have been drowned in the popular clamor, which played chorus to the loud assertions of the Church. And in this same year, with a sort of feeling that really we have been complimented and honored by a great personage, our newspapers have been taken up, either with the difficulties of Dr. McGlynn or Dr. Burtsell, or with the differences between Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Corrigan, or with the movements of Monsignor Satolli, who could not have been more notorious, if he had been Plenipotentiary Extraordinary from all the sovereigns of Europe to all the United States; instead of being the powerless envoy of a single bishop, to settle or unsettle the ecclesiastical quarrels of his own Church. And while in all these ways, and in some other ways by no means so creditable, the Jesuits are trying to Romanize America, we sit by, delighted with the dream that somebody is Americanizing Roman Catholicism. Such things make it hard to use temperate language in denouncing the tireless and vigorous schemes of self-aggrandizement. But we are on the defensive in this matter behind good breastworks, with an overwhelming majority on the American side, when the issue is finally raised.

The Roman Catholic Church is committed by a tradition of centuries, by the history of almost all countries in the world, to perpetual political interference. It has cost her the choicest jewels of her crown in England, on the continent of Europe, and in Japan. But she cannot let it alone. And we cannot afford not to read

the experiences of the past into the appearances of the present. Thank God, the day is passed when religion can resort to the secular arm to maintain its demands. And let us pray God that the day is passed when such demands may be met by the violence of men. But it will not do to say that the "riotous burnings and murders of the know-nothing period" were due to the violence of Protestant denunciations. They were due to what lay behind the denunciations, the intrusions and interferences of Rome in public and civil affairs. It is very easy for Ahab to say to Elijah, "Art thou he that troubleth Israel?"; but the truth is that Rome was the troubler then, and will be now, unless all temptation to this kind of thing is positively removed. Let me quote again the wise language of the Baltimore *Sun*:

"We regard this whole agitation, therefore, as unwise. Catholics and Protestants have lived together in peace and mutual respect, and their children have met on the neutral ground of the free public school, with the inevitable result of knitting them in the bond of a common patriotism for forty years past. To array them now against each other will be a lamentable thing. We want no more fuel provided for a second know-nothing conflagration. Let the public schools alone. Leave private schools of every sort and name to be carried on by private enterprise, and let us have peace."

Such words give one almost the hope that there is power in the appeal, to remind Rome to keep within the limits of her legitimate sphere. Even if that may not be, the appeal ought to be heeded, which the present opportunity makes to all intelligent, non-Roman citizens, to arrest the movement at the start, and to put up now a barrier which shall prevent the recurrence at any future time. Take away the possibility, and the attempt will not be made. Once let it be seen and known that the enormous majority of American citizens, willing to respect the Roman Catholic Church and to protect her in her rights, will not tolerate any ecclesiastical interference, foreign or domestic, with our established system of education, or with our national and political affairs, and the agitation will stop. And the only way to do this, is neither by interviews, nor violent controversy, nor by the defeat of the movement in a single year; but by submitting, as a test question to the people of America, an amendment to the Constitution; and, this year, by submitting to the Constitutional Convention in this State, an amendment to our State Constitution, absolutely prohibiting the use of any State patronage or public money in the interests of any religious body at all.

WM. CROSWELL DOANE.

DINNERS AND DINERS.

BY LADY JEUNE.

THE feasts and banquets of former days are, mercifully for us in these later times, relegated to public occasions only, and are regarded as a doubtful pleasure by those who are obliged to partake of them. Hospitality, which used to be dispensed wholesale, is now spread over a larger and wider area; but dinner has become the distinctive repast of England, and the giving of dinner is the way in which English people best like to entertain and show hospitality to their friends. In other countries hospitality is dispensed in other ways, though, indeed, among certain classes in society abroad dinner is as important an event as with us. In England both the size of our houses and our daily occupations prevent those who live in towns from receiving strangers as their guests. Our English country life represents among our people that particular form of hospitality, but in London we are driven perforce to confine our hospitality to the dinner-hour, and it is at an English dinner-table that we exhibit one of the most pleasant aspects of English life. There is no prettier sight, none more characteristic of the ease and luxury in which we live, than a large, well-arranged dinner-table in London; and this is not in any way the monopoly of the rich, for nowadays, when the decoration of rooms is not expensive, when flowers are fairly cheap, and when the taste of Englishwomen has so much improved, it is in the power of every hostess to make her entertainment as pretty as she can desire. The clean white cloth, the sparkling glass, the shaded light, the smell of the fresh flowers, and the well-dressed women surrounding the table form a brilliant centre to the finely decorated dining-rooms of most of the houses in London.

Nothing can be more different than the dinner of to-day to

that of thirty years ago, and the change is in every way an advantage. A long table, covered with empty silver *entrée* dishes, on each of which in due time eight, or ten, or more *entrées* and joints, according to the number of guests, were deposited, to be solemnly taken round in turn, is the part most vividly impressed on one's memory. One had always the most profound pity for the host and hostess, who were obliged to carve the joint at their respective ends of the table, the duty in the hostess' case generally falling to the unhappy man who took her in to dinner, and who consequently got no dinner himself. The cooking was heavy and coarse and the food most substantial; for quantity, not quality, was the distinctive characteristic of the repast. The art of carving was a necessary accomplishment, and it was wonderful to see the dexterity and neatness with which a good carver could minister to the wants of a large party from a very ordinary sized joint. As dinner was served upon the table, artistic cooks had great opportunity to devise pretty looking dishes, and there was always plenty of scope for their talents in the endless array of puddings, jellies, etc., which came at the end of the feast. To families who were possessed of fine plate, a dinner-table in those days was a magnificent sight, covered as it was with all the treasures of the family plate-chest, and the heavy cut-glass was also in its way an embellishment. In houses where there is a fine collection of plate, it is even now always used for decorating the table. Nothing can be more gorgeous or brilliant than the display of silver and gold at Windsor at state dinners, when the Queen's plate, which is the finest in the world, is exhibited.

The custom of removing the tablecloth after dinner and arranging the dessert on the plain mahogany table has also passed away, and in many ways one regrets it. Nothing looked prettier than the brown mahogany table, burnished almost to the brilliancy of a looking-glass, covered with large silver dishes of fruit, and silver candelabra, with its fringe of bright color from the dresses of the women sitting around it. The modern fashion of covering the table with flowers has made the retention of this custom impossible, and it is rarely seen now except in houses where an old mahogany table is still looked on as a precious relic of the ancient customs.

In former days the real business of the evening only began with the removal of the cloth and the retirement of the ladies, for

not until then did the men of the party really devote themselves to what was considered the important part of the evening's amusement. It was when the ladies had retired to the drawing-room for the long, dreary time before the men appeared, that the host produced the treasures of his cellar for his guests, and that they in return gave up a large portion of the evening to their consumption. In fact, dinner was an occasion in which everything was sacrificed to the one object of having a "heavy drink." The wines drunk were of a much heavier kind than now, and much more was drunk after dinner. Champagne, sherry, claret, and burgundy were drunk during the meal, the two latter, as well as port, during dessert. There was no smoking after dinner, for cigarettes were unknown, and so, facing a phalanx of bottles in silver stands, the men drank on steadily during the evening. How well one remembers the long time after dinner, when all the jokes and scandal were exhausted, and in sheer desperation a "little music" was proposed in the vain hope that the warbling sounds might tempt the faithless revellers away. For the moment the heavy wines of those days are no longer drunk. Champagne is the fashionable wine, and it is drunk almost universally during and after dinner. The possessors of fine cellars may grumble, as they do, at the degeneracy of to-day, but after a cigarette and a glass or two of champagne, every one wants to get to the drawing-room, and many are the complaints one hears of the bottles of claret opened after dinner and left untouched.

The serious, dull, heavy, and expensive dinner, had its doom sealed when the custom of serving dinner *à la Russe* came into vogue. The conservatism of English society would have struggled much longer against the innovation but for the fact that its adoption reduced the expense of entertaining enormously. Instead of heavy joints, endless *entrées* and puddings, a dinner could consist of as little or as much as the hostess felt inclined to give. The trouble of carving was obviated, and in all ways the fashion was a distinct improvement. For some years old-fashioned people struggled against it, and even now there are perhaps one or two houses where the host still clings to his old prejudices, but the instances are so few one can hardly name them. With the introduction of dinners *à la Russe* the whole condition of cooking changed, and the lighter but richer *cuisine*

of the French was adopted. The time of transition was a terrible one to those who remember it, for the English cooking of some thirty years ago was very bad, as English cooks were not *artistes*, and for one good dinner there were hundreds of very bad ones.

But let us be thankful that the period of transition is passed and that English people have realized that good plain cooking is infinitely to be preferred to an ambitious bad French *cuisine*, and that a good plain dinner is within the reach of every one. The National School of Cookery at South Kensington has done much towards improving the English *cuisine*, and though it is vastly worse and more extravagant than that of any other country, it is not nearly as bad as it was. There is great room yet for improvement, for our dinners are still much too long and we give too much to eat. Persons dining alone would never dream of consuming the amount of food they eat every time they dine out, and there can be no possible reason why any one should eat more in company than when alone. Some attempts are being made to reduce the quantity of food and the time taken to consume it, and dining, as we do now, at half-past eight must doubtless help to shorten it; otherwise a dinner would last well on into the night.

No dinner should consist of more than eight dishes, viz., soup, fish, *entrée*, joint, game, sweet, *hor-d'œuvre*, and perhaps an ice, but each dish should be perfect of its kind, and no dinner should last more than an hour and a quarter if properly served. Instead of this, dinners are constantly two hours long, and we double the quantity of food I mention. Can anything be more wearisome, tiring to the digestion, and wearing to one's self and one's neighbors than two hours' conversation with no chance to escape, without even the privilege, if one is bored, of being silent? Even the greatest wit, the most brilliant *raconteur*, becomes monotonous after such a trial. Nothing can be in worse taste and more wearisome than a long heavy repast, which is served with great ostentation, and where the guests are made to feel that their duty is to direct time and energy to the sole task of getting through and tasting each dish that is brought to them.

There are some houses, indeed, where the dinner is so proverbially good that to expect to be amused and also well fed is to be guilty of real ingratitude; while in others, though gastronomically one does not fare as well, one is better entertained. Such

dinners as the latter are becoming more exceptional, for the average cooking in England has so much improved one rarely runs the risk of being poisoned, and the great mixture of society prevents one from being insufferably dull.

A really pleasant dinner-party ought never to be a very large one, but the rapidly increasing size of London society almost entirely precludes people who entertain a great deal from enjoying the pleasure of a small one. The golden rule of hospitality should be always to return the civility of others, and one should not dine at the house of any person whom one does not intend to invite in return. However strictly people may adhere to this rule, the size of society makes dinners, as well as all other forms of entertainment, large, and the number of guests is generally limited only by the size of the dining-room. The traditionally ideal dinner, which ought to consist of eight or ten people, well known to one another, and all good talkers, at a round table, so that the conversation may be general, has become a dream of the past; and in its place we have the large dinner of to-day, at which general conversation is out of the question, and where one is limited to the society of one's next-door neighbors.

Sometimes where there is space, two tables are an ingenious way of dividing guests, and of diminishing the sense of oppression which a very larg dinner always gives. But we have not adopted the plan with any great alacrity in England, from the strong objection any social change always encounters at its initiation in this most conservative country. Many people object to it from an idea that the company at the other table is more amusing than at theirs, and others object when the tables are multiplied (as they sometimes are) indefinitely, on the ground that it is like a restaurant. It is, however, in many respects a better way than arranging the dinner at the large ordinary dinner-table, where anything like general conversation is out of the question. Conversation can be more or less general at a table of eight, ten, or twelve guests; besides this is a less formal mode of entertainment. The great length of dinners in London, and their lateness, have been mainly brought about by the late hour at which after-dinner society begins, for no one goes to a ball before midnight, and the evening has to be killed in some way or other; and thus dinners grow later every year. Now a quarter past eight is the usual invitation,

and half past eight or a quarter to nine is not too liberal an interpretation of the invitation.

The composition of a dinner is one of the most important matters; and on that much of its success must depend. It is always a mistake to compose a dinner entirely of brilliant people, by that I mean intellectually brilliant. They are generally envious, critical of one another, and for these reasons none of them is seen at his best. One generally finds the pleasantest dinners are those composed of average people, for though a brilliant galaxy of guests gives a dinner a certain distinction, it is just as likely as not to be a dull one. I have a very vivid recollection of a dinner composed of people each of whom was distinguished in every sense of the word. A prime minister, two cabinet ministers, a distinguished soldier, one of the greatest ecclesiastics of the day, a brilliant scientific man, a great journalist, a distinguished lawyer, added to several agreeable and pretty women, made up a dinner which at first sight seemed to promise a rare feast of intellectual delight, but which one of the guests declared was the dullest dinner he had ever sat down to. If such were always the case, one would despair of the arrangement of any dinner, and indeed the conviction is often forced on one that a judicious mixture of ordinary and brilliant people affords on the whole the best chance of giving a pleasant and successful one. Among a large number of guests a very brilliant talker is thrown away, for it is only at a small table when all the guests can hear and see and, if required, add their *quota* to the general flow of conversation that that such a person adds to the general enjoyment, though it should not, also, be forgotten that very often such a guest frightens others less brilliant than himself, absorbing all the attention, and stifling the efforts of his companions. What is required at dinner is that every one should be quick and sufficiently well educated to keep up the battledore and shuttlecock of small-talk, and that no one should be so much more brilliant and egotistical as to swamp every other person's individuality.

If we were to ask the majority of men what they consider the dullest kind of dinners, they would certainly say those where there are no women; and women would naturally express the same opinion as regards dinners only of their own sex. The former is, of course, common enough, as business and professional men give such dinners, and there are many occasions when they are un-

avoidable. Women's dinners are not customary yet, nor indeed have they been much tried in England. Now and then some venturesome women have attempted to gather together a few enterprising sisters, and have banished the male element, and despite of the chaff and ridicule of the "lords of the creation," these are pleasant enough. With higher education and greater freedom of thought and conversation, the society of intelligent women in England is sufficiently enjoyable without the presence of men, though I know that this is an opinion in which there is no general concurrence. We have been brought up with the conviction that no form of entertainment is complete without men, and as the hour of dinner, the arrangement, the care bestowed on it, and the improvement of cooking have all grown out of that feeling, it requires courage not only to say this, but to believe it.

Girls are much more generally invited to dinners now than formerly, and they enjoy it enormously, but that, again, is the result of the great changes that have come over the intellectual position and interest of women in England. Thirty years ago few girls would have chosen a dinner in preference to a ball; now there are hundreds who would not hesitate for a moment as to their choice, for the range of thought and conversation is so wide, the subjects of discussion so varied, that a well-educated girl is well able to hold her own and take a part in the discussion of almost all the topics of the day. The presence of pretty girls enlivens and brightens up a dinner-table, and no man, however great and clever, need fear being bored by having only a girl to be his neighbor at a dinner-table.

The old saying as regards giving dinners in London, "Cutlet for cutlet," has fortunately long ceased to be true ; no one is invited to dinner only because a dinner is expected in return. People are invited for every reason but that, and it is in the mixture and variety we meet at a dinner-table that the secret of its success rests. This gives it piquancy ; and interests and even animosities, political differences, and social bitterness disappear under the soothing influence of "*Crême de volaille,* woodcock, Pommery, and cigarettes" and the society of pleasant and pretty women. It is idle to disguise that, of all social influences, none is more potent than the dinner-table. Every hostess will necessarily be careful not to invite impossible combinations; but in England, most people, however divergent their opinions or

occupations, forget them all under the softened light and soothing surroundings of an agreeable dinner-party. The story of how the present Speaker of the House of Commons, with rare tact, decided to waive all regulations about evening dress, and invited the advanced party in the House of Commons who abjured general society to dine with him at his official residence, is so well known that there is no indiscretion in alluding to it. One has heard over and over again how they met, and under the soothing influence of a good dinner, wine, and graceful hospitality, the conflicting elements were brought together and they passed an evening as unique as it was hilarious. Dinner is the great levelling institution of society. A party or a ball is an entertainment people are pleased at being invited to; but nothing brings classes together, nothing levels distinctions, nothing gives satisfaction, so much as dining at the same table. Hospitality is dispensed widely and lavishly enough in England, and the houses of the rich are open to the most cosmopolitan of crowds; but such society is outside and apart from that which is composed of the people one asks to dinner, and a dinner invitation is a sign that a recruit has been added to the ranks of the society which only bestows that recognition on a favored few. As I said before, the excellence of the *cuisine* is a point not to be disregarded; but given that the food is well cooked, people never think of it in comparison to the society they meet. The saying "I do not know what the dinner was like; I only know I enjoyed the evening very much" is the greatest tribute to the success of a host or hostess in amusing friends.

The best test of popularity is the number of invitations to dinner which people receive, and as, owing to the increasing size of society, dinners are exceeding in number every other form of invitation, popular people need rarely, if ever, dine at home; and their going out is simply limited to their powers of endurance and digestion. It must be this cause which has made it the fashion to give very long invitations to dinner; five or six weeks is not unusual in the season, and three weeks or a month is the usual time. Some people are unprocurable except at such a distance of time. To the entertainer it does not practically matter on what day his dinner is given, but the length of invitation often makes a refusal impossible; and cruel fate, which so loves to play mischievous tricks with us often sends another, if not more than one,

pleasant invitation for a date to which we are bound. It is impossible, except for a royal command, to throw over a dinner invitation; it is the one social sin which we in England, who are indulgent enough in other respects, resent very keenly. Wednesdays and Saturdays are the days in London on which dinners are most frequent, as they are the only evenings on which the House of Commons does not sit, and it is impossible to get any member of the government to dine on any other evening during the session. On these evenings, therefore, the preponderance of guests is political. One of the few indications of the existence of Sunday observance in England still shows itself in the fact that few dinners are given on Sunday. The religious feeling against them still remains, and among business men, lawyers, and such like the idea that Sunday should be indeed a day of rest is still very strong, while among servants there is a great dislike to Sunday festivities.

With the rapidly increasing size of society in England it would be impossible for any kind of intimacy or friendship to grow up in the huge crowds where movement and conversation become daily more difficult, and therefore dinner has become and will continue to become a more important and more frequent event in our social life. It is the easiest and quickest way of getting people together and of bringing into contact those who otherwise would never meet—in some ways the most economical—and on all sides it is accepted as the pleasantest way of passing the few hours of leisure our busy life affords for recreation and rest. The real success of a dinner, however, must always rest on the hostess; she is the presiding genius of the feast, and on her tact, cleverness and discretion must its fortunes depend. The secret of being a good hostess lies very much in a woman's thoroughly enjoying society. If she is happy and amused, her satisfaction spreads to her guests, and the whole party is inspired by her condition of mind. A nervous woman or one who does not really enjoy society never makes her dinner as pleasant, for she is continually haunted by the thought that something will go wrong or she is tired and bored, and her moods equally react on her surroundings. Nothing is more infectious than pleasure or *ennui*, and a hostess in either frame of mind makes or mars her party.

MARY JEUNE.

HOW TO PREVENT A MONEY FAMINE.

BY THE HON. JAMES H. ECKELS, COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY.

It is not proposed in this paper to undertake either a scientific discussion of the so-called "currency problem" or to institute a historical research into the currency conditions of either our own or other countries. The object sought is to state as briefly as possible certain propositions which, it is believed, are at least worthy of passing consideration and which now seem pertinent.

Following in the wake of every period of financial distress, business depression, and money famine there is always the currency agitator, who sees in the operation of existing currency laws the source of all this embarrassment, and in their entire abolishment or complete change the only remedy for past misfortunes and safe guarantee against future disaster. The present time is no exception, and once more he is abroad in the land, with the same zeal and pertinacity, preaching the same old doctrines which in their day served the advocate of an unlimited issue of greenbacks and the fiatist, and are now taught by the Farmers'-Alliance adherent, many of the proponents of the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and not a few of their aiders and abettors.

In the light of many of the suggestions upon the cause of and the cure for our financial ailments made by these champions of a new and different order of things, the truth of Professor Jevons's assertion that "Currency is to the science of economy what the squaring of the circle is to geometry or perpetual motion to mechanics" is fully demonstrated, and we may well believe, with him, that:

"If there were a writer on currency possessing some of the humor and learning of the late Professor De Morgan, he could easily produce a budget of currency paradoxes more than rivalling De Morgan's circle-squaring paradoxes. There are men who spend their time and fortunes in endeavoring to convince a dull world that poverty can be abolished by the issue of printed bits of paper. I know one gentleman who holds that exchequer bills are the panacea for the evils of humanity. Other philanthropists wish to make us all rich by coining the national debt, or coining everything. Another class of persons have long been indignant that, in this age of free trade, the mint price of gold should still remain arbitrarily fixed by statute. A member of Parliament lately discovered a new grievance, and made his reputation by agitating against the oppressive restrictions on the coinage of silver at the mint. No wonder so many people are paupers when there is a deficiency of shillings and sixpences, and when the amount merely of the rates and taxes paid in a year exceeds the whole sum of money circulating in the kingdom."

How familiar all these personages are to the student of the history of American finance! From the time that John Winthrop, the younger, first suggested the use of paper money in this country to the very present, they have gone up and down the land teaching and preaching the healing efficacy of great issues of currency, until we wonder, not at the disaster wrought by them, but that the devastation has not been more widespread. Fortunately in these latter days the good sense of our people has defeated many of the schemes of those who, by the necromancy of finance, would wipe out all indebtedness, and in the twinkling of an eye make riches abound to all. But here and there has crept into our monetary system some trace of their doctrines, though so strong in the past has been the consensus of public opinion when once aroused that John Stuart Mill, commenting upon it, said:

"It has been shown by many examples in the recent history of the United States that an agitation for something wrong and mischievous may go on for a certain length of time without visibly stirring up the good-sense and honesty of the country to resist it, but that, when the agitation attains a sufficient height to begin to be dangerous, a mass of opinion, which ordinarily remains quiescent, forces itself into activity, puts down the wrong thing, and peremptorily demands the right thing instead. Let us hope that this mass of wholesome opinion may always exist and prevail."

Never was the truthfulness of the statement of the distinguished English economist more forcibly illustrated than in the action of Congress upon the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman Silver Act. But all this agitation which ultimately results in accomplishing the right thing (always, however, after much harm has been done by the wrong) is inimical to

continued prosperity and ought in the largest measure possible to be avoided. It cannot be done away with entirely, for as long as governments exist monetary agitations will go on, but the harm done may be minimized by pursuing a course of conduct which will make it a difficult thing to enlist any considerable body of men in behalf of either visionary or dishonest schemes.

The question to which the friends of a sound money system should now address themselves is not how to temporarily defeat the desires of the Populists, the advocates of free coinage of silver, of government warehouses, and kindred plans, but how to permanently insure the country against the dangers which would flow from the crystallizing into law of their monetary and financial sophisms. Such result cannot be brought about by either scoffing at their leaders or scouting that which they propose. Neither will it do to underestimate the sources of strength of those who range themselves under the banner of the Populist and free-coinage parties. So long as they have the enthusiasm, which springs from the belief of lessening the woes of the debt-burdened classes, to urge them to effort, and the encouragement of the timorous and compromising in the ranks of those who oppose them, they will continue an active force in monetary agitation and an uncertain element in American politics, and, as such, warrant recognition and intelligent opposition.

These people are not to be deceived by empty promises, blinded by flattery, nor soothed into silence by splendid phraseology. They can be eliminated permanently as a factor worthy of consideration in but one way, and that lies in so educating the people in sound monetary principles that the fallacies of their teachings may be "known and read of all men." As long as terms of compromise are offered, they will increase in strength ; as long as they are not beaten squarely upon the issues for which they stand, they will cling to the hope of ultimate success.

That which now is most needed is a campaign of education on monetary and financial questions. The education to be given ought to be systematic and thorough. It ought not to embrace either abstruse theories or illusive deductions. The freer it is of technicalities, the more complete will it be and the results accomplished more certain. It should be rid of all ambiguity and devoid of that enigmatical mystery which so long has cloaked the utterances of many of our skilled practical financiers only to create

"confusion worse confounded" in the minds of the public on the operation of finance and the workings of our currency system. There is much of truth in the statement of Professor Bonamy Price that:

"No science has suffered so severely at the hands of practical and empirical men as political economy. They have at all times propounded and acted on doctrines of the most elaborate kind. The more directly engaged in business was the speaker, the more complicated, the more artificial, the more mysterious have been the rules he laid down for the attainment of wealth."

It may be urged, however, that all this involves interminable work, inexhaustible patience and great personal or political sacrifice, and that so long as a strong public opinion ultimately intervenes to prevent the full fruition of the threatened disaster, it is scarcely worth the while to anticipate by the use of a preventive. Unquestionably it necessitates work, requires patience and in some instances personal sacrifice, possibly the temporary laying aside of political ambitions; but the element most essential in such a campaign is the courage of conviction, strong enough to unequivocally assert itself upon monetary subjects and to couple with it an abiding faith in the ultimate triumph of sound principles and honest purpose. The gravest mistake of the professional politician and the cause of his most unexpected reverses rests in his underestimating the intelligence of the general people with whom he has to deal and the influence of principles, if boldly and intelligently announced, upon the public mind.

It was a favorite theory of Mr. Tilden—who, in point of acute statesmanship and sagacious political leadership, has never been surpassed in the annals of American politics, and who, as a financier, is to be ranked with Gallatin—that the important thing in a contest for political supremacy is to have an abiding faith in the ultimate triumph of that which appeals to the intelligence of the people. Upon a notable occasion, in receiving the congratulations of a body of young men upon his elevation to the chief magistracy of the State of New York, he said:

"We have to meet these political and social problems. We have to meet them with intelligence and courage and, above all, with trust in the masses of our people. I have been one of those who, amid periods pregnant with despondency, still retained that trust in the body of the American people with which I began life. I did not incline to censure those who sometimes felt despondent; but I myself never lost courage, never lost my

belief that the element of human society which seeks for what is good is more powerful, if we will but trust in it, than all those selfish combinations that would obtain advantage over the masses of the people."

If, in the campaign of financial education such as has been indicated, the same appreciation of the intelligent action of a rightly informed public enters, a successful outcome is assured.

In laying down the lines upon which it ought to be carried on, but two ideas should be given commanding prominence, for when once the public have fully grasped their import, the problem will be solved and the victory won :

First. The American people must know that the essential requisite of our currency is not volume, but soundness; and

Second. They must cease looking to Congress in every season of financial distress for relief, but instead become more self-reliant, more self-helpful, and learn to employ to a greater extent the means locally at hand.

A careful study of the monetary history of recent years, both in proposed and enacted legislation, reveals the dominant idea to have been the increase in the volume of the currency; and so strenuously have the advocates of a great volume of circulating medium urged the matter that a distinguished writer upon economic subjects propounds the query :

"Has there been a year since 1868 when the industrial interests of this country have not perceptibly flinched before the threat of inflation? Has Congress, since the volume of money became a political issue, ever opened in December without an evident dread on the part of the mercantile and manufacturing community lest unwise and fanatical legislation should follow?"

To such lengths has this view been pushed that the soundness of our money, its absolute stability, its intrinsic or representative value, its ability to pass current without question in all the markets of the world, its entrenchment in the confidence of the people, have been by many considered scarcely of even secondary importance. There never was a more fallacious doctrine taught than that the prosperity of a people depends upon, or is gained by, the great volume of its currency, irrespective of other conditions. It is the echo of the long-since exploded theory that only money is wealth, and the greater the volume of it the richer the people. It reigned supreme in France in the days of John Law and his "Mississippi River Bubble" scheme, and again when the National Assembly of France, seventy-five years later issued mil-

lions upon millions of assignats and mandats. The early history of the Colonies of New England, with the issues of the Land Bank of Massachusetts and those of the Paper Bank of Rhode Island, is a fruitful source of instruction to all who cling so tenaciously to the prime necessity of great volume, while much knowledge can be gained from contemplating the issues of the United Colonies under the Articles of Confederation, and still later by the banks of the North, South, East, and West prior to the civil war. And still more instructive is the experience of the Argentine Republic in giving way to such theory, the resultant effect of which is a nation of bankrupts. It is not the quantity of our currency, but the quality and efficiency of it, which are most deserving of attention and which most affect the national prosperity of the American people. If every dollar which we circulate is worth a dollar at home or abroad, there need be little fear of an insufficient quantity. If it is not, enlarging the volume but insures a wider sweep of financial ruin.

No matter how great or how small the volume, there will always be sections of the country where, under the same conditions, money famine will prevail. Legislation is powerless to remedy this or put an end to it, and the sooner this fact is realized the sooner will the people of these sections set about to create conditions which will bring to them at any and all seasons of the year such amounts of money as will best meet their needs. "The want of money," as it is called, says Gallatin, "is the want of exchangeable or salable property or commodities and the want of credit. *The man who says that he wants money could at all times obtain it if he had either credit or salable commodities.*" It is the failure to appreciate that it is want of credit on the part of the borrower, and not a want of currency in the country, which causes an appeal to Congress to do that through legislative enactment which only can be accomplished through individual or local exertion.

The same amount of energy and industry which is now employed in attempting to demonstrate the great boon which is conferred upon communities by great issues of currency, directed toward convincing the people that they can do more through employing means which they already have at hand, if properly understood, to relieve themselves from embarrassment than Congress possibly can do for them, would accomplish more substantial

benefit. Currency becomes efficient to the extent that it passes rapidly from hand to hand and to the extent it discharges the largest number of different obligations. With better banking facilities the country over, better supported and more largely patronized, the complaint now so frequently heard of the scarcity of currency would no longer be made, the use of it greatly economized, and its efficiency enhanced. To do all this, it is not necessary to have banks of issue, but well-conducted banks of deposit and discount, for through the general utilizing of the instrumentalities afforded by them—"bills, checks, and other machinery will perform," as Professor Bonamy Price says, "all the additional work." He further adds:

"The quantity of notes or coin in circulation is related solely to those particular payments in which these tools are used; and the number of transactions employing these tools is more of a habit than anything else. *Ready-money payments would multiply their use; an extension of banking would diminish it.*"

It is from this source that avoidance of periods of money scarcity must largely come, and not from continual increase in currency issues. The success of the Scotch bank system in meeting at all times the needs of the Scotch people has arisen more from the fact that it is the universal practice of the Scotch of even the most moderate means to lodge their money with the banks than from the volume or the manner of issuing it. They thus make every dollar an efficient agency in supporting the larger volume of transactions which are carried on through other instruments of trade and credit. In this country, while the aggregate number of persons who thus patronize the banks of the country seems large, the actual number in each community is comparatively small, and, in consequence, much of the actual money of the country fails to perform the beneficial service which it would if once directed into proper channels.

When the American people call into use, to the extent that the best business methods require, the aid which good banks can afford, Congress will be relieved from the recurring importunity to increase the volume of the circulating medium irrespective of its stability, the cry for more money will cease, each community will, in the greatest measure, contribute to relieving its own distresses, and the financial vagaries of inflationists no longer continue to plague our world of business and of politics.

JAMES H. ECKELS.

THE HAWAIIAN QUESTION.

BY FREDERIC R. COUDERT.

THE question of Hawaii is fast reaching the condition of the Schleswig-Holstein problem. Every day that passes by adds to the difficulty of understanding the facts and of applying the law. It is dim, vague, and shadowy in its outline, uncertain in much of its evidence, complicated with partisan prepossessions and moulded to fit partisan opinions. The testimony has become so voluminous and confused as to discourage study and repel curiosity, so that the average citizen is disposed to vote the whole business a bore and to mourn the day when the United States soldiers first put their foot upon Hawaiian soil. Whatever may be the sentimental preference of our people for a republican form of government, most of them are disposed to live in peace and comfort, even if Hawaii should be deprived of the inestimable blessings of democratic rule. But then the question will not be put down without a struggle, for it involves us, our interests, and our honor. Study it we must, and it may be of use to the readers of the REVIEW to have a brief statement of the controversy made for them. There is, we need not say, a serious question of international law involved. That question, like every other, has two sides, the right side and the wrong side. Let us try to have it settled right.

The Hawaiian difficulty, be it remembered, is an inheritance. The present administration did not originate it and has thus far done nothing to aggravate the evils of the legacy, unless, indeed, its very wise course in refusing to jump into the perils and absurdity of annexing the Hawaiian Islands to the United States be considered such an aggravation. Nor has the administration established or sought to establish any new and startling theory of international law. It has labored to assert, at the outset, the

wise and wholesome principles which it has been our policy as a government to observe from the beginning; the only principles which will permit us to escape the perils of international collision and at the same time to give due protection to our citizens whenever and wherever that protection may be needed.

Secretary Gresham's instructions to Mr. Blount when the latter started upon his mission to Honolulu defined the position of the administration in apt and concise language:

"Historical precedents and the general course of the United States authorize the employment of its armed force in foreign territory for the security of the lives and property of American citizens and for the repression of lawless and tumultuous acts threatening them; and the powers conferred to that end upon the representatives of the United States are both necessary and proper, subject always to the exercise of a sound discretion in their application.

"In the judgment of the President, your authority, as well as that of the commander of the naval forces in Hawiian waters, should be and is limited in the use of physical force to such measures as are necessary to protect the persons and property of our citizens, and while abstaining from any manner of interference with the domestic concerns of the islands, you should indicate your willingness to intervene with your friendly offices in the interests of a peaceful settlement of troubles within the limits of sound discretion.

"Should it be necessary to land an armed force upon the Hawaiian territory on occasions of popular disturbance, when the local authority may be unable to give adequate protection to the life and property of citizens of the United States, the assent of such authority should first be obtained if it can be done without prejudice to the interests involved."

The position here taken is important in a double aspect: First, because it clearly states the views of our government as to its right to interfere in the concerns of another people, next, because the rules here laid down may serve as a test when we undertake to decide to what extent, if any, the late administration has violated rules of international obligation, as that obligation is viewed by the executive power now in office. It is plain that if Minister Stevens did nothing more and nothing else than Secretary Gresham authorized Mr. Blount to do, any criticism of the course pursued by Minister Stevens is ill-timed and unfounded.

It is claimed, however, and a mass of evidence is adduced to prove, that Minister Stevens did not confine himself to the simple and obvious duties thus conceded to be properly within his sphere, but that, on the contrary, he used his great power as the representative of the United States to precipitate the downfall of the existing government. It is insisted that, without

the aid which he afforded to the insurgents, the revolution could never have succeeded, nay, would not have been attempted ; that the bayonets of the United States soldiers virtually terrified the Queen into submission and compelled her to resign. If these charges are made out, the result would seem to be plain, viz. : That an injustice having been done by the abuse of our representative's authority, it is incumbent upon us, so far as practicable, to redress the wrong done. As the only way to accomplish this is to restore the *status quo,* justice and self-respect concur to make an attempt, at least, at restitution.

It is plain, at the outset, that whatever Minister Stevens may have intended, thought, or designed, the promoters of the insurrection, when they appealed to him for aid and comfort, were not limited in their action by the lines set out in Secretary Gresham's subsequent instructions to Mr. Blount. It did not occur to them that the United States Government was only bound to protect its own citizens, nor did they believe that their appeal, to be effectual, must be based upon some threatened or actual injury to American interests. It is obvious that they called upon the government of the United States very much as the bemired traveller called upon Hercules to extract his cart from an impassable road. They knew the physical power of our nation, and could well imagine that the moral force of our flag, backed up even by an insignificant number of bayonets, would be omnipotent in the destruction or the creation of a government at Honolulu. And, therefore, when they wrote under date of January 16, 1893, to Minister Stevens, they respectfully reported that the Queen was misbehaving herself, that the public safety was menaced, that lives and property were imperilled ; on these grounds they appealed to the United States forces and to him for assistance. A pettifogging lawyer would have been disposed to interpose a demurrer, as there certainly were not facts enough on their own showing to justify the forcible interference of the United States. There was no pretence that the property of our citizens was imperilled or their lives endangered ; nor did it appear that the petitioners were Americans ; in fact the majority of the signers were not.

But the embryonic insurrectionists went on to state their grievance, viz.: That the Queen, "with the aid of armed force and with threats of violence and bloodshed from those with whom she was acting," *attempted to proclaim a new constitution ;* and

while *prevented,* for the time, from accomplishing her object, "*declared publicly that she would only defer her action!*" This conduct and action, it was insisted, had created general alarm and terror, and the signers who had constituted themselves into a Citizens' Committee of Safety, declared that they were unable to protect themselves without aid; they, *therefore,* prayed for the protection of the United States forces. Any one disposed to criticism would naturally suggest that if the Queen had only *attempted to proclaim* a new constitution, but had been *prevented* from accomplishing her object, there was no real ground for the interference of the United States forces or of any one else. A public declaration that she would *defer her action,* so far from inviting forcible interference, should rather have been considered a reason for leaving her some room for penitence, with the hope that her action would be "deferred" indefinitely. Besides, how do we know that the new constitution was worse than the one under which the inhabitants were living and that great wrongs would be done to our minister's protégés?

It is certain that this request of the Committee of Safety reached the American minister. It is certain that the troops were landed, and it is equally sure that the Queen yielded up her authority, protesting in the most solemn manner that she yielded only to the superior force of the United States of America, whose Minister, Mr. Stevens, she said, had "caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu, and declared that he would support the said provisional government." It is stated, in defence of Mr. Stevens, that he only consented to administer forcible remedies for the constitutional ailments of the Hawaiians *after* the government *de facto* had been established. It requires some effort to consider this seriously upon the evidence in the case. But let us glance for a moment at the dates. The call on the American Minister was made on January 16, 1893. On the 17th—that is, *the next day*—the insurrectionists had made such progress as to be fully established and to be entitled to recognition as a provisional government! "About 4 to 5 P. M. of this date—am not certain of the precise time—" says Mr. Stevens *under date of January* 17, 1893, "I addressed a short note to Hon. Samuel Parker, Hon. William H. Cornwell, Hon. John F. Colburn, and Hon. A. P. Peterson, no longer regarding them as ministers, informing them that *I had recognized*

the provisional government." It is plain, therefore, that at some time before 4 o'clock, on the 17th of January, Mr. Stevens had, of his own motion, dismissed Messrs. Parker and others from their office and notified them that he had recognized the provisional government. And what makes this the more remarkable, and, indeed, renders the prompt success of the insurgents inexplicable, is, as we have seen, that they themselves had declared in their letter *that they were unable to protect themselves without aid, and for that reason* prayed for the protection of the United States forces. The exercise of common reasoning powers and the injection of common-sense into discussion are not inhibited, even where grave diplomatic questions are concerned. Is it probable—we might almost ask, Is it possible?—that these men, knowing their own inability to protect themselves without aid and looking for protection only to the United States forces, could have succeeded in subverting the government in these few hours unless they had, *at least*, the assurance of aid and encouragement from Mr. Stevens? That the action of Mr. Stevens, or at least his purpose, was well known at an early hour on January 17th is plain, from the fact that the Queen's abdication was made on the same day, January 17, 1893, and that in the instrument of resignation she recites that Mr. Stevens had already caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu and declared that he would support the said provisional government.

Mr. Charles L. Carter, who visited the United States soon after the revolution, in the interests of the provisional government, is very wroth at Her Majesty for this ill-timed proclamation. Evidently, in his mind, it would have been more decorous for her to wait until all these minor matters had been settled to the satisfaction of Mr. Stevens and the provisional government. He says that the Queen's protest was a "quibbling trick," which now makes clear to many of us what we then considered her "cowardly surrender." Independently of the fact that this sentence is unintelligible, for a "quibbling trick" is not apt to "make clear a cowardly surrender," it does seem unfair to her to use these hard words where her conduct was so obviously proper and natural. But he pours out a good deal more strong language upon her unprotected head and upon those who ventured to stand by her and to aid and abet her in her disaster. They were "tricksters," they

incorporated "a wanton lie," but "that lie did not act as an estoppel," and he winds up with the pregnant information to the secretary that "national affairs are not controlled as litigations in courts of law." Unfortunately, this is true. National affairs are not always controlled by sound rules of justice and of truth. The weak are not always protected; the strong are not always forbearing and prudent. Judgment does not always follow justice. Mr. Carter is, no doubt, a very able and intelligent man, whose character, so far as we know, is unimpeached and unimpeachable, but his defence of Mr. Stevens and the insurrectionists would have been quite as strong if he had said less about the tricksters and their wanton lies, and had more clearly demonstrated "the mighty truth that inspired the course" of the insurrectionists.

One of the points most hotly contended for by the defenders of Mr. Stevens is that he only gave his recognition of the provisional government, as the *de facto* government of the islands, *after* the Committee of Public Safety had taken possession of the government buildings, archives, and treasury, and *after* the provisional government had been installed at the heads of these respective departments. Possibly this may be true, although very strong evidence to the contrary is offered. It is possible that Mr. Stevens may have actually deferred recognition of the provisional government until such occupation of the public buildings, but that does not seem to be the only, or indeed the important, question in the case. If by his action he coerced the feeble administration of the Queen to yield up its power and to succumb before the authority of the United States, then to argue that he should escape criticism because of this delay is simply pettifogging. The expression may be harsh, but it is the only proper one. The truth seems to be that he had arranged the matters with the insurrectionists; that he had given them his promise; that the soldiers had been landed; that the moral forces at his command were used and the physical forces held ready for action, and when, under these combined influences, the government resigned, he appeared for the first time formally to recognize an administration of his own creation. But even this attempt at palliation is disposed of by Judge Dole, a gentleman in whom Mr. Stevens places the highest confidence and whose veracity he must be the last man in the

world to impeach. Judge Dole writes on January 17, 1893, *the very day* on which Mr. Stevens had refused any longer to regard Messrs. Parker and others as ministers, and says:

"I acknowledge receipt of your valued communication of this day *recognizing the Hawaiian provisional government*, and express deep appreciation of the same. We have conferred with the ministers of the late government, *and have made demand* upon the marshal to surrender the station-house. *We are not actually yet in possession of the station-house; but as night is approaching, and our forces may be insufficient to maintain order, we request the immediate support of the United States forces.*" etc.

We must leave this highly respectable man, Judge Dole, to reconcile his statement with Mr. Stevens' declaration. If Judge Dole was telling the truth, at a time when there was no reason why he should dissemble or disregard it, he was *not* in possession of the station-house *at the time when he was thanking Mr. Stevens for his recognition of the provisional government.* Until these two gentlemen have settled this question, it must be assumed, with all the probabilities in favor of the assumption, that Mr. Stevens had actually, as he certainly had in intent, promoted, encouraged, aided, and abetted the insurrection.

The downfall of the monarchy may or may not be a desirable event; the Queen may or may not be what her enemies charge; Judge Dole and his associates may absorb in themselves all the cardinal and other virtues, but it is difficult for an impartial man to escape the conviction that whatever good, whatever credit, and whatever praise may attach to the downfall of Queen Liliuokalani belongs mainly to Mr. Stevens. Judge Dole and other excellent gentlemen may have a just claim to a small part of the success, but the chief actor is undoubtedly Mr. Stevens. Truly *he* did it; and if it be part of the occupation of United States envoys to act the part of international Don Quixotes, to use their office and their power to subvert governments that do not suit their tastes, and to arrange new establishments more to their own liking, he has earned the gratitude of his countrymen. In the mean while his zealous efforts have made it imperative upon our people to decide how far they will ratify his acts, thereby establishing precedents which are very sure, if followed, to relieve our international relations from the reproach of being tame or monotonous.

F. R. COUDERT.

THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL AND MODERN BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

BY THE REV. CHARLES A. BRIGGS, D. D.

THE Sunday-school is a modern institution, springing up as one of the fruits of that revival of religion in Great Britain and America which is called Methodism. The origin of the modern Sunday-school is generally found in the efforts of Robert Raikes, at Gloucester, England, in 1780. Long prior to this, schools of various kinds for the religious instruction of children on Sunday had been in operation in England, Scotland, Germany, Bohemia, and especially in Milan, where the pious Archbishop Charles Borromeo had established them in the middle of the sixteenth century. But these were local or provisional enterprises. The effort of Raikes was the beginning of a world-wide movement. It is interesting to note that Eichhorn, the father of the Higher Criticism of Holy Scripture, published the first edition of his *Introduction to the Old Testament* in 1780. The work of Eichhorn was also preceded by the preparatory labors of Herder, Astruc, Lowth, Simon, and other investigators. These two great movements of our age, the practical movement of the Sunday-school and the scholarly movement of the Higher Criticism, beginning in the very same year, the one in the heart of England, the other in the heart of Germany, have pursued each its independent course, each thriving chiefly in the land of its birth; but now at last the two movements have come together, and it has become a burning question, What shall be the relation between them?

The Sunday-school has as its aim to give religious instruction, primarily in Holy Scripture; secondarily, in the Catechisms of the Church. The primary aim of the Sunday-school cannot be accomplished without the aid of Biblical Criticism, for Biblical

Criticism searches Holy Scripture in order to test its truths and facts, to verify them, and to discriminate between them and the theories which have been formulated about them. Biblical Criticism brings the student near to the original Bible, so that it becomes more real, more vivid, more lively, and so more impressive and attractive. These are the very qualities of the Bible which enable the Sunday-school teacher to understand it, and which impart to him the ability to teach it to his scholars. The harmonious combination of these two great enterprises of our century will accomplish an enormous gain for the study of the Bible in the Christian Church.

For nearly eighteen centuries the Christian Church marched through history winning its greatest triumphs without the help of the Sunday-school. It accomplished the most essential parts of the work of the Sunday-school by catechetical schools of various kinds conducted by pastors and their helpers. These catechetical schools date from the beginnings of the Christian Church ; they were involved in the Christian sacraments of Holy Baptism and the Holy Eucharist, and the training necessary for participation in them. It was largely owing to the multiplication of sects in Great Britain and America and the immense numbers of children who were brought up by their parents without baptism and entirely apart from churchly influences that made the Sunday-school a necessity. The need of the Sunday-school has not been so great in those countries where there are few if any dissenting sects and where all the children are baptized and are expected at the proper time to undergo the training necessary for confirmation.

The usefulness of the Sunday-school is also involved in the question of religious education in the Common School. On the continent of Europe, in most countries, religious instruction is given in the national schools, or in parochial schools. Under these circumstances Sunday-schools have little place. But in the United States of America, where religious instruction is banished from the common schools, where else shall the religious instruction be imparted to the children who attend the common schools unless in the Sunday-school ?

The American Sunday-school has, in most cases, to comprehend all the problems of religious instruction that are involved [1] in the daily religious instruction of parochial schools and of

the national schools of Europe ; [2] in the catechetical training for confirmation ; [3] in the special work of the Sunday-school itself. All of these great tasks are to be accomplished in the American Sunday-school in the limited time of one hour on Sundays. The American Sunday-school does not succeed in these tasks. It cannot. Practically it limits itself in most cases to its own special work. That is the reason why wise pastors insist upon having catechetical classes of their own. That is the reason why thinking men of other denominations than the Roman Catholic are urging that in some way religious instruction should be given in common schools.

The teachers of parochial schools and of national schools are well trained. They are required to undertake special preparatory studies, and to sustain examinations which will qualify them and accredit them as competent teachers. The classes in preparation for confirmation are ordinarily conducted by thoroughly educated pastors. But the teachers of Sunday-schools are commonly pious young people who have had little, if any, training in the art of teaching or in Biblical study or in the doctrines or customs of their Church, and whose qualifications have not been tested by examinations. The actual situation is that for five days of the week the children are taught by experienced, well-trained, and approved teachers in all the common studies of our schools ; but on Sunday they are taught for a single hour, too often by inexperienced and untrained teachers, in the most sacred matters of our holy religion. Many efforts have been made by earnest Sunday-school workers to give teachers the preparation which they need to meet their classes ; but this can be accomplished only by a comprehensive and thorough enterprise conducted on sound principles of education. The most hopeful movement in recent times is the organization of the Bible Study Union to encourage the use of the Blakeslee Graded Lessons. The difficulty of the situation is that the most of the lesson helps, which have been examined by the writer, contain a large amount of crude, undigested material ; good, bad, and indifferent statements mingled without discrimination ; tradititional opinions, speculative apologetics, and mere guesses, presented as if they were the truth of God ; anything and everything which may be used for illustrating the lesson, with indifference whether it corresponds with truth or fact. If such rubbish is to be taught in the American

Sunday-school the word of God contained in Holy Scripture will hardly emerge through it.

The International Lessons for 1894, used in the most of the American Sunday-schools, cover ground which, more than any other, comes into relation with modern Biblical criticism. The lessons for the first half of the year are in the books of Genesis and Exodus; for the second half of the year in the Gospels. These come in contact with the Lower Criticism, the Higher Criticism, Historical Criticism, and Biblical Theology. It is difficult to see how any except teachers in the more elementary classes can avoid these departments of criticism. It is doubtful whether this selection of lessons was wise in view of the great agitation of the public mind of several denominations about Biblical criticism. It is doubtful whether the attention of all Sunday-school teachers and children should have been called to these questions in the most difficult of all fields, for the next six months. But it is now too late for doubts and regrets. The American Sunday-school is now obliged to face the questions of Biblical criticism.

1. Textual criticism has to determine, by the study of manuscripts, versions, citations, and the laws of transmission, what was the exact original text of Holy Scripture. The Sunday-school depends upon translations from the original text. Which translation shall be followed, the Common Version or the Revised Version? or shall the teacher and student compare the two and make his choice between them? Shall he take into consideration the readings of the ancient versions given in the margin of the Revised Version or refuse to consider them? Shall he take account of the readings suggested by the best modern critics as carefully collected in the Variorum Bible? Just as soon as the teacher or scholar deviates in any respect from the Common Version, he, to the extent of his deviations, enters into the work of Textual Criticism. If he is not content to rest on the Common Version, is he competent to decide himself between the two versions without evidence? He must, therefore, in all honesty, go to the margin of the Revised Version; he will act wisely if he resort to the Variorum Bible, where the names of the principal authorities are given for every variation, and there is room for discrimination.

2. The higher criticism has to determine these four questions:

(*a*) The integrity; (*b*) the authenticity; (*c*) the literary style; and (*d*), the credibility of the writing. It is difficult to see how these questions can be avoided in the study of Genesis and Exodus.

(*a*) Who wrote Genesis and Exodus? This question will be asked in the American Sunday-schools this coming year as never before. The lesson helps, many of them, state the traditional opinion that Moses wrote these books, without modification. Some state that Moses used older documents and so compiled the books. But other lesson helps recognize that Biblical criticism has shown that Moses did not write these books and that the author is unknown. The teachers and scholars will often be perplexed by this difference of opinion. When they turn away from their lesson helps to the larger works upon the Bible, they will see that Biblical critics are practically unanimous in their opinions on this question. It matters little if a few American professors, in theological seminaries renowned for their extreme conservatism, hold the traditional opinion, when the majority of American Biblical scholars agree with all the professional teachers of the Old Testament in all the universities of Protestant Europe that Moses did not write Genesis or Exodus. The student turns to the Encyclopædia Britannica and to the new edition of Smith's Biblical Dictionary and to the Cambridge Bible for Sunday-schools and to the Commentaries and critical works of the most famous scholars of modern Europe, and finds them all agreeing that Moses did not write the books of Genesis and Exodus. If the Sunday-school teachers are content to state the facts, that the traditional opinion is that Moses wrote the Pentateuch; that modern criticism holds that he did not write these books; but that the question is unimportant for the religious lessons of these books; he may reserve his own opinion and that of his scholars with safety. But if he undertakes a polemic against Modern Criticism in the interests of the traditional theory, and makes the question a test of orthodoxy, the divisions and heartburning which are among the ministers will arise among the Sunday-school teachers and scholars; and if he should pursue the unwise course commended by some ultra-conservative teachers and maintain that if Moses did not write Genesis it cannot be inspired, it is altogether probable that not a few teachers and scholars may be forced into a dilemma and be compelled to give up the inspiration of the book. There is no danger of this in those parts of our country where

Biblical criticism is known and valued. The peril will arise in reactionary schools where ultra-conservatism prevails.

(*b*) The Sunday-school teacher will be unable to avoid the question of the integrity of the book of Genesis. The question is raised in many of the lesson helps. It matters little that the most of them raise the question of earlier documents in order to deny them. The teachers and scholars will examine into this matter for themselves. They will see that the documentary theory is recognized as the established doctrine of criticism in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible and in the Cambridge Bible for Sunday-Schools. Some of them will look at the documents as they are separated by Driver, Bacon, Harper, and others, and they will decide for themselves.

It is noteworthy that the International Lessons for 1894 seem to have been chosen with the analysis of Driver in view. There are three documents in Genesis: The Ephraimitic document (*E*), written in the northern kingdom of Samaria; the Judaic document (*J*), written in the southern kingdom of Judah, and the later priestly document (*P*). We give in parallel columns the selections from Genesis and the corresponding ones from the Gospels in order to show that, consciously or unconsciously, the compilers of these lessons have selected from the different documents of the Pentateuch very much in the same way as they have selected from the four Gospels.

Gen. I. 26-31, ; II. 1-3. P.	Luke II. 1-16.
" III. 1-15 J.	Luke II. 25-38.
" IV. 3-13 J.	Matthew II. 1-12.
" IX. 8-17 P.	Matthew II. 13-23.
" XII. 1-9 J [except 4 b-5 P].	Luke II. 40-52.
" XVII. 1-9 P.	Mark I. 1-11.
" XVIII. 22-33 J.	Matthew IV., 1-11.
" XXII. 1-13 E.	John I. 35-49.
" XXV. 27-34 J.	John II. 1-11.
" XXVIII. 10-22 J E [mixed].	John II. 13-25.
" XXXII. 9-12, 24-30 J.	Luke IV. 16-30.
" XXXVII. 1-11 E [except 1-2 a P.]	Luke V. 1-11.
" XXXVII. 23-36 J E [mixed].	Mark I. 21-34.
" XLI. 38-48 E [except 46 P].	Mark II. 1-12.
" XLV. 1-15 E.	Mark II. 23-28; III. 1-5.
" L. 14-26 E. [except 14 J].	Mark III. 6-19.

Only two of these passages from Genesis contain a mixed text—XXVIII. 10-22 and XXXVII. 23-36—where *J* and *E* are mingled. In XXXVII. 1-11, L. 14-26, the opening verses came from another document. But these were used because necessary to the connection. In XII. 1-9 and XLI. 38-48, historic inser-

tions from *P* are used because it would be difficult to leave them out. The lessons, therefore, give specimens from the documents fairly well in accordance with Driver's Analysis. From Matthew three passages are given; from the priestly document, three; from Mark and Luke, five passages each; from *J*, six passages, and from *E*, five passages; from John, three passages; from the mixed text of *J E*, two passages. A careful reader of the English versions will note differences which shine through these various documents, and these differences will be as striking in the documents of Genesis as in the documents of the Gospel.

(*c*) The literary style of the story of Genesis cannot be altogether ignored. The question will often be asked in the Sunday-schools whether the earlier chapters of Genesis are real historical narratives or whether they contain historic facts embellished by legend, myth, or tradition; whether the poetic imagination is chiefly responsible for the story of creation and of paradise, and of the antediluvians and patriarchs, endeavoring to teach the most important lessons of the origin of the world, of man, and of sin, in beautiful pictures which are easily understood; or whether the logical faculty gives exact reproductions of the truths and facts imparted by divine revelation or derived from human authorities. The question will also be raised whether the authors use the style of historical prose, or of lyric, epic, or didactic poetry. It may not be easy to answer any of these questions with sufficient decision to give satisfaction to the inquiring mind. If, however, the teacher can show to the scholar that these questions have only to do with the literary form of the documents, and that the religious instruction contained in them is independent of the literary form, he will concentrate attention upon the religious instruction of these early books of Holy Scripture, and derive from them the lessons which the Sunday-school ought chiefly to learn.

(*d*) The most serious question the Sunday-school will have to confront is the question of credibility. This question depends to a large extent upon the other questions which have been considered. The Sunday-school teacher should be careful lest he risk the credibility of Genesis with the assertion of its Mosaic authorship. He should teach that many of the best modern critics deny the Mosaic authorship of Genesis and yet maintain its credibility. It is not so clear that the name of Moses is a better attestation for the credibility of Gene-

sis than the anonymous writers of later times; for the final compiler of Genesis used three great original documents and compacted them together. These three documents are three independent witnesses who themselves used older documents and sources for their authority. Marshall's *Life of Washington* is by no means so credible an authority as Bancroft's *History of the United States;* for though Marshall is much nearer to the events, he had not such extensive sources of information and he lacked the critical sagacity and historic skill of Bancroft. We have evidence that Moses was a prophet and a lawgiver, but what evidence have we that he was an historian?

The question of credibility depends still more upon the literary form of the narrative. If it should be maintained that the story of the Creation and the Fall are plain historical narratives, and that therefore we must believe that God created the world in six days of twenty-four hours, and that He then rested on the seventh day and consecrated it to be the Sabbath of rest from that time onward; and that an animal serpent conversed with Eve and seduced her to eat of a forbidden fruit and so introduced sin and death into the world; then it will be exceedingly difficult to convince many of the Sunday-school teachers and scholars that these narratives are altogether credible. If it should be said that there has been some poetic embellishment of these stories; that the days are periods and that the rest of God from further creation in the seventh period is the basis for the subsequent establishment of the weekly sabbath; that the serpent was really an evil spirit, the devil, and that it was not so much the fruit of the tree as the disobedience and lack of faith in God that brought sin and evil into the world; then the narrative becomes more credible in some respects; but at the expense of its consistency and harmony. If these stories are regarded as works of the imagination, poetic in structure and poetic in conception; if the days are simply the framework to set forth the general orderliness and progressiveness of the creation; the seventh day the appended conception of a later prose writer using the poem of the creation as the basis for the sabbath of the priestly law; if the story of the serpent and the tree are poetical pictures of that mysterious event, the first entrance of sin into the world; then the great spiritual lessons of the creation and the original sin of man stand out in attractive beauty and power and bear witness to their own credibility. It is

really immaterial to these religious lessons how far the poetical embellishment of the stories may extend or how far it may be in accord with the actual facts of the case.

3. Historical criticism will meet the Sunday-school teacher in his study of the books of Genesis and Exodus. The lessons have been selected apparently with great skill, so as to avoid as many such questions as possible. This gives them the appearance of a hop, skip, and jump over chapters and verses in their course through the book of Genesis. But it is difficult to see how it is possible to avoid taking the neglected passages into consideration. The lesson on the creation is limited to the creation of man and the resting on the seventh day, and thus the most of the questions which spring up in the early chapters of Genesis in connection with modern science are avoided. The story of the deluge is passed over. The only reference to it is in connection with the Covenant with Noah. The Dispersion of the Nations is omitted. The selections from the story of Abraham and Jacob are those which come least into contact with external history. In the story of Joseph the one document *E* is closely adhered to, and in the story of the Exodus there seems to be a careful avoidance of difficulties. Nevertheless historical criticism must be faced in many of the passages.

(*a*) The story of the institution of the Passover in these lessons is taken from the story of *P* in Ex. XII., 1-14. But the parallel story of *J* is given in Ex. XII. 21-27, and is much simpler and more primitive in conception. It seems that the story of *P* has mingled with its narrative the more complex legislation of later times. This is confirmed by a study of the law codes where there are five different laws respecting the Passover showing development through the different codes : (1) Ex. XXIII. 18 *E.* (2) Ex. XXXIV. 25. *J.* (3) Deut. XVI. 2-7 *D.* (4) Num. IX. 12 *P a.* (5) Num. XXVIII. 16 *P b.* The narrative of *J* corresponds with the earlier code of *J*, the narrative of *P* with the later code of *P*.

(*b*) The story of the crossing of the Red Sea is given in Ex. XIV. 19-29, in which *E J* and *P* are all mingled in the compiled narrative of the final editor. The Song, Ex. XV., gives another poetic version of the story. There are several references to it in the Psalter and in the Prophets. A comparison of the different Hebrew representations gives a varied and complex

conception. It is not our purpose to distinguish here between the historical nucleus and the varied poetical embellishments or to urge the Sunday-school teacher and scholar to undertake this difficult task. There is a certain advantage in such an undertaking, because it enables the scholar to distinguish between the real and the ideal in Biblical history, and cautions him against the besetting sin in practical interpretation of exaggerating the importance of trivial and unimportant accessories to the neglect of the essential features of the narrative. But we have called attention to this lesson because it comes in contact with historical geography. The lesson omits the references to historic places in the previous context and limits our attention to the scene of crossing the Red Sea itself. It is probable that its northern arm in ancient times extended farther to the north than at present, and eminent authorities think that it included also the Bitter Lakes. But there is no agreement as to place of passage. It was probably a little below Suez, but several other places are contended for by scholars who are entitled to a hearing.

(*c*) Egyptian archæology sheds light upon the lesson, Ex. I. 1-14, with reference to the bondage of Israel in Egypt, through the recent investigation of the buried treasure cities upon which the Hebrews labored. But the lesson carefully avoids raising the difficult historical question of the length of the sojourn in Egypt and the date of the Exodus. Teachers and scholars may make an excursion into these regions of historical criticism, but they are not called so to do, and it would seem to be best to adhere to the path of religious instruction which has been marked out for them.

4. The International Lessons from Genesis raise some of the most difficult questions in Biblical Theology. These lessons spring out of the passages in their order. It is evident that there is a very great disproportion in the importance of the religious instruction given in these lessons. A glance at the following table will suffice :

[1] The creation of man and the seventh day's rest. Gen. I. 26–II., 3.	[1] Discord in Jacob's family. XXXVII. 1-11.
[2] The original sin and the original promise. Gen. III. 1-15.	[2] Joseph sold into Egypt. XXXVII. 23-36.
[3] The origin of sacrifice, and the fratricide. IV. 3-13.	[3] Joseph ruler in Egypt. XLI. 38-48.
[4] The covenant with Noah. IX., 8-17.	[4] Joseph forgiving his brethren. XLV. 1-15.
[5] The call and migration of Abram. XII. 1-9.	[5] Joseph's last days. L. 14-26.

Either more than five lessons should be given to the study of the first group of topics, or five lessons are too many for the relative importance of the second group. It may be that this disproportion inheres in any use of lessons from Holy Scripture itself. If this be so, it affords a strong argument in favor of textbooks for a harmonious and well-proportioned study of Biblical history and Biblical doctrine. But this difficulty might have been overcome, in a measure at least, by a larger and more detailed study of the twelve earlier chapters of Genesis. This would have been more profitable than such a hasty study of the fundamental facts of our holy religion. It was not necessary to append the question of the Sabbath to the study of the creation of man. There is peril lest the more practical question of the observance of the Sabbath may crowd the vastly more important doctrine of the creation of man. It would have been wiser to make two lessons out of the second, the one on the original sin, the other on the protevangelium, and even then the themes would be too vast for one hour of study.

The doctrine of the creation of man in the lesson from the first chapter of Genesis can hardly be successfully considered without the study of the creative acts of the previous days of creation; and certainly the story of the second chapter of Genesis will have to be studied likewise. The differences are here on the surface. In the one story mankind is created as a race, male and female, on the sixth day before the seventh day of rest dawns; in the other there is a long series of divine and human activities separated by events of transcendent importance, before the human race was produced. In the one story God creates by saying as a sovereign and commander; in the other he uses his hands and the breath of his nostrils as a workman and a benefactor. In the one story God blesses the race and assigns mankind his dominion and destiny; in the other God trains the man, the woman, and their children by personal, visible, and audible presence. In the one story man bears the image of God, and therefore is sovereign of nature; in the other, man's body is made of dust and his spirit of the breath of God; but inasmuch as the animals were made in the same way, the difference first appears by experiment when no helpmeet is found for the man from among the animals. When now to these differences is added different names of God, different terms for the vegetation and the animals,

and even for the two sexes of mankind, it is abundantly evident that we have two different stories and two different conceptions and representations of the creation of our race. If now the teacher can grasp the significance of these facts and apprehend that the mode of the creation of man is of small importance compared with the creation itself; if he has the discernment to see that the mode of the creation was not revealed to man by God; but was represented by different poets as they were enabled by the divine spirit to construct it by the use of their imagination and that these are pictorial representations of a divine act which could not be represented or described in its mysterious and unknowable reality, and that through these varied poetic embellishments the same essential doctrine shines; then the religious instruction, that man was created by God as the crown of nature, as the ruler of nature, and as the image and representative of God in person, character, activity, and entire life, will impress itself upon the scholars and teachers with freshness, vividness, and redemptive power. If modern science can give us a better description of the creation of man than the Hebrew poets, what matters it? They cannot give us any truer doctrine of the creation or of the relation of man to God and to nature than that given us in the early chapters of Genesis. If any one insists upon the mode of creation of the first chapter of Genesis, he will come in conflict with the mode of creation of the second chapter of Genesis, and either of them will bring him in conflict with the sure results of modern science. And if he insists upon the literal verbal representations what can he do with other parts of Holy Scripture such as Psalms XXXIII. and CIV., which give still other varying pictures of the creation, and with Proverbs VIII., Job XXXVIII., Amos IX., Isaiah XL.? If he insists upon it that the body of man was formed by God and his spirit inbreathed, how will he meet the objection from Zechariah XII. 1 where it is said that Yahweh "formeth the spirit of man within him"; and from Psalm XXXIII. 6, where all the hosts of heaven were made "by the breath of his mouth"; and from Psalm VIII. 3, where the heavens are the work of God's fingers; and from Ps. XIX. 1, where "the firmament sheweth his handiwork"? There are those who think that they can build a doctrine of creation out of a prosaic interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis. They can do it only by shutting their eyes to the great variety of beautiful images under

which the creation of man and nature is taught, in many different passages of Scripture. There is only one way to reach a sound and reliable doctrine, and that is to seek for the essential instruction which underlies all these images, and beware lest we become absorbed in the coloring and traceries of any one of them. This one example must suffice to show the vast importance of Biblical theology to the Sunday-school.

Modern Biblical criticism thus has a double work. It removes an immense amount of crude, indefinite, erroneous and false material which has commonly been brought into the Sunday-school to illustrate everything but the lesson and to dull its points. It presents a solid basis of truth and fact upon which religious lessons may be built that will be firm, reliable, and permanent. Those who teach without taking account of modern Biblical criticism teach a mass of material which will have to be unlearned in a few years to the accompaniment of sad and bitter ex periences. Such teachers will have no thanks from their pupils —will have no reward for their services. The rewards of the future are with the faithful teachers who teach nothing but the truth and who search for it as for hid treasures; who in these days of battle between tradition and criticism calmly watch the issues, and, if they cannot decide between them, limit themselves to those matters about which there is no doubt. In those they find the religious instruction which is most suitable for the Sunday-school and which lies safely enshrined back of all human controversies, indestructible and eternal in its quickening truths and facts.

C. A. Briggs.

IS THE VALUE OF OUR FAST CRUISERS OVER-ESTIMATED?

BY REAR-ADMIRAL DANIEL AMMEN, U. S. N.

YEARS ago, when the building of fast cruisers was begun by us, the then Secretary of the Navy made a comparison of the destruction effected by the Confederate cruisers in our civil war with what might obtain through our superior means of destruction, should we have a war with a commercial power. Let us see how far a comparison will hold good:

The Confederate cruisers were wooden vessels of some twelve hundred tons displacement, and had sail power through which they could make long voyages at a fair rate of speed without the use of coal. In crossing calm belts, near the equator or elsewhere, a few tons of coal would expedite them greatly, or, when a vessel was sighted, would enable them to overtake her, and if she carried our flag, they seized whatever they desired, took the crew on board, burned the vessel, and landed her crew at the most convenient time. With the favors that were shown these cruisers, surreptitiously and openly, in British ports, to which they always went when convenient, in whatever sea, their coal and other supplies were kept up. Ocean telegraphy had not the same extension as now. They committed ravages in one region, then would sail to another, choosing a sailing route where, under the prevailing winds, a concentration of vessels might be expected, and there reenact their destructive purposes, and then set sail again for some distant point on some other route where they were likely to find their prey. Under such conditions they were capable of effecting great damage and avoiding the few vessels that were sent after them. At length the "Alabama" was willing to risk a combat with the

"Kearsarge" off Cherbourg, and then there was one Confederate cruiser less.

It is now more than twenty-eight years since the close of the civil war; the mode of propulsion and the speed of merchant steamers have undergone a great transformation, and the routes of traffic of greatest value have changed. Although for some years and at this time the aggregate tonnage of sailing vessels has been steadily augmenting relatively to steamships engaged in ocean traffic, sailing vessels of belligerents would naturally be laid up in the event of war, as would a large proportion of ocean steam tramps of the nations engaged. Their traffic in cargoes not liable to seizure as contraband would pass to neutral flags. Should we have a war with any considerable power other than Great Britain, we would find that increased war rates of insurance would throw almost the entire traffic on the high seas of both combatants under the British flag. In Asiatic waters France would have steamers from her Mediterranean ports, probably not many in number; they would run little risk of capture by our cruisers, had we unhappily a war with that power. Cable dispatches would give information of the proximity of hostile vessels and enable the steamers either to remain in port or to be convoyed by fast vessels-of-war.

In a war with Great Britain our fast cruisers would be subject to grave disadvantages. An examination of "Coaling, Docking and Repairing Facilities of the Ports of the World, 3d Edition, 1892," published by the Navy Department, will show how illusory is the idea that our fast cruisers could seriously affect the merchant flag of Great Britain in distant seas, where neutrality laws would estop coal supplies, and dockage to clean their bottoms, in neutral ports. The docking and coaling facilities set forth in the document referred to, if marked on a chart of the globe, show how conveniently the cruisers and the battleships of Great Britain can reach out in all directions with clean bottoms and full coal bunkers. This favorable condition could not obtain for any other power, even should all neutrals fail to observe their neutrality obligations. We may assume that our fast cruisers are the equals of those of any other power, and probably a few are superior, especially those with triple screws. Regarding the map of the globe and the British coaling stations marked thereon, we perceive that had we a much greater number

of the best of cruisers, the probable results of their visiting distant seas would not be satisfactory, as I propose showing in the following pages, through the opposing forces that Great Britain would have, scattered far and wide over the seas. Our cruisers, doubtless, have as high a rate of speed as those of Great Britain; there is no reason to suppose that the results of the speed trials, as given, are not exact; yet, only a novice will have the idea that they will represent the normal speed on the high-seas. Contractors take care that nothing is omitted to make the speed all that is possible, with bottoms perfectly clean, picked coal, and the employment of the most expert firemen, with forced draught. It is well known that considerable repairs are frequent after speed trials, from taxing the machinery and boilers to their utmost, and perhaps injuries result that do not come to light for some time. A forced draught is so destructive to boilers when inexperienced firemen are employed, that only a few hours steaming may seriously impair them. Captain Evans stated that when in command of the "Baltimore" in the Behring Sea, he ordered a forced draught in order to overtake a vessel before dark; as a result the boilers had 500 leaky tubes. The British fleet operations give analogous results. A British admiral has recently styled a forced draught a device of the devil. The question may occur why vessels of war cannot or do not use forced draughts as well as ocean liners. The latter have the best firemen obtainable; if one lacks in intelligence or usefulness he is discharged at the earliest opportunity; in the naval service he cannot be discharged for ordinary incompetency—nor can he be schooled to competency. It is gratifying to see that Engineer-in-Chief Melville suggests lengthening the smokestacks to create a stronger natural draught and dispensing with the use of forced draughts, as has been done on board of the "Campania" and the "Lucania," the ocean liners that have made the shortest runs across the Atlantic.

There is not one of our fast cruisers that can profit to any extent by the use of sail power even in strong winds, although their enginery enables them to attain a high rate of speed, with a correspondingly large coal consumption. As already stated, the "Alabama" and other Confederate cruisers did very well under a low head of steam; in fact, they did not require a large coal consumption when steaming ten knots an hour, which was at that

time sufficient for their purposes. In trade-winds or other breezes abeam, or abaft the beam, they would readily sail more than ten knots per hour. A modern fast cruiser on an unfrequented sea, with disabled machinery or without coal, would be as pitiable an object as can well be conceived. Her crew would hail the appearance of an enemy in war as a much needed friend.

Our navy does not possess one sheathed vessel of war; after a few months in tropical waters our fastest cruiser would be slow indeed. If twenty knots was obtained on the speed trial, with the same number of revolutions it would probably not exceed fourteen knots. This great falling off can be verified by an examination of logbooks. Ten years ago I was given specimens of barnacles taken from the bottom of the "Ranger" that had spent seven months, after a previous dockage, in voyages to and from the coast of Mexico and in making surveys. Barnacles more than an inch long covered the entire bottom, and a heavy marine vegetable growth supplemented the barnacles. Her voyage to San Francisco was at less than half the speed, with the same number of revolutions per hour as when she left with a clean bottom.

Eighteen years ago, when the construction of half a dozen iron vessels was discussed at the so-called Board meetings of the chiefs of bureaus, presided over by the Secretary of the Navy, the late Rear-Admirals Case, Reynolds, C. R. P. Rodgers, and myself insisted that some of the vessels should be sheathed. The Chief of Bureau of Construction craftily replied, "That could be done afterward." He was an "expert," and we were supposed to know nothing as to what should be done in turn in the progress of construction. To sheathe a vessel after her construction would require tearing her to pieces in a great measure.

In all metallic constructions of ships subject to salt water navigation a marked galvanic action sets in, to the steady destruction of the metal for which the action has most affinity. A few years ago the British armored ship "Warspite" was docked at Esquimault for the purpose of remedying defects in putting on her copper sheathing. It was said that there were metallic connections, through nails or otherwise, between the sheathing and the ship's iron bottom, resulting in serious injury. The actual details of the supposed neglect or mistake never came to me. Of all metals in common use, zinc is the most subject to destruction, the other

metals remaining unaffected by galvanic action in connection with it, and zinc taking "the bite." I have suggested to experts the possible advantage of sheathed vessels having a strip of zinc of two feet in width put round the vessel, extending from a few inches below the water line to more than one foot above it. If fastened to the hull above and below with suitable metallic battens, the zinc could be renewed readily as might be required.

In looking over the *Naval Annual,* of Lord Brassey, an American may well be startled at the array of vessels-of-war of Great Britain, from battleships to torpedo gunboats. In order to approximate as to the value or the worthlessness of the major part of these vessels, I endeavored to classify them. Of seventy-nine armored vessels, eight are sheathed with copper and five with zinc; eighteen were built prior to 1870, and twenty-one more before 1880. Should all of these thirty-nine vessels be regarded only as naval scarecrows, thirty-three yet remain built since that time or are near completion.

Of unarmored cruisers there are sixty-two with iron or steel bottoms, forty-nine others are sheathed with copper and two with zinc. Twenty-one others are composite, of various sizes, all of them above 1,000 and some of them over 2,000 tons displacement. They have iron or steel frames, wooden bottoms, and copper sheathing. No note was made by me of minor vessels, nor of those belonging to the colonies. Of the total, twenty-four were built prior to 1880, twenty-four from 1880 to 1885 inclusive, and seventy-seven from that date to the present, some of them not yet completed. Of the total a rough estimate gives 100 which may be supposed available cruisers for any part of the world as commerce destroyers.

In addition to the above force for commerce destroyers and against hostile cruisers are twenty-three merchant vessels to be fitted out in event of war. The shortest of them is 420 feet in length. Four of them have an average speed at sea of more than nineteen knots, and the remainder have good ocean speed.

Rapid firing guns have been introduced into all navies within the past thirty years, and, in my belief, will prove a surprising factor in naval warfare where crews are not protected by armor of sufficient thickness to resist the penetration of three, six, and twenty pound projectiles thrown from rapid-fire guns. These steamers that may be drafted in service, and others, while en-

gaged in traffic can probably be more effectively armed with a number of such guns than with heavy batteries. Half a dozen six-pounders put on the stern of a vessel endeavoring to escape, directing their fire particularly at the smokestacks of her pursuer, would probably riddle and tear them to pieces, by carrying away whole sheets on the farther side, at a distance of more than three thousand yards, and otherwise inflict great damage to even the typical fast cruiser. At a distance of more than two thousand yards six-pound projectiles are capable of piercing conning towers of three inches thickness of iron. They could sweep the decks of a large number of ventilators, sending them flying in fragments as missiles, killing and wounding the guns' crews of the main battery that could not be served with the same accuracy at the same range. Six pounders, fired from the shoulder, admit of the same accuracy of aim as ordinary small-arms, even in a moderate seaway, when a heavy gun would be fired with great inaccuracy. Of course the fast cruisers have rapid-fire guns. It seems to me that their combats will be settled in a larger degree with their rapid fire than with their heavy guns.

From these considerations, there seems little prospect of great success on the high-seas in the capture of British merchant vessels by whatever nation, should she be engaged in war. Modern fast cruisers have not that kind of endurance and ability to keep the sea for months that belonged to the Confederate cruisers and ours of that period.

To those who think that the world is made up of adulators and fault-finders I would say that we should be content as a whole with our fast cruisers. They will serve purposes in war that could not be dispensed with without grave disadvantages. Were all of our battleships that are now under construction, completed, and the number doubled, we still, in my belief, would have undefended coasts, so far as the navy should serve as an indispensable auxiliary to fortifications and for its own purposes. The Bureau of Construction has not shown the prescience that was claimed for it in advance of execution. Ships have been found deeper in the water than was desired; others are said to be top-heavy. A battleship constructed on plans said to have been surreptitiously obtained from a British firm at considerable cost has not the necessary structural strength from a lack of sufficient material, which seems remiss, inasmuch as iron and steel

are abundant and cheap. Upon other cruisers and battleships yet untried, the gilded rays of hope and pride yet remain, perhaps now, with a certain amount of apprehension that all modifications in design may not prove to be improvements.

There are some of our countrymen that in naval and in other matters set their hopes of success in closely following the footsteps of the British ; as the sunflower turns its face to its god, morning, noon, and when he sets, so do they keep their faces reverently and hopefully turned to Britishers for personal and professional inspiration. They are oblivious to the fact that for half a century Great Britain and other European powers have adopted largely American ideas in naval construction and armaments. They may be known by their mutton-chop whiskers and their British accent and dress—more readily acquired than British ideas. Yet as I write, there lies before me the morning paper, and in it appears that "the trials of the new British cruiser 'Theseus' yesterday were not satisfactory!" Let us console ourselves sympathetically that Great Britain has made a great many blunders in her naval constructions. Why should we not throw the mantle of charity over ours? We should not flatter ourselves, as the ignorant are prone to do, with the belief that one of our battleships is the equal of two of an enemy. It is a fair presumption that, ship for ship, they should be the equal of any force. Were our naval fighting force doubled and concentrated at one port on the Atlantic and another on the Pacific, there are several European powers that could send double the number of our vessels in either port from their normal force to attack us, and leave still a larger contingent at home.

We have coasts on the Atlantic and on the Pacific, each of thousands of miles of extent, and bays and inlets from which the entrance of an enemy cannot be estopped by fortifications. The navy should be able to drive him away or to destroy his ships of whatever type. A letter by me to the Secretary of the Navy will be found in the appendix to his report of 1883. It stated briefly what I had to say on the subject of coast defence at that time. Recently I have expressed the same ideas more at length in *The Old Navy and the New.* As an indorsement and warrant for them, as regards the best and most effective arm for our naval coast defence, the recent writings of Lord Armstrong may be read with interest, the more as Sir Edward Reed, for many years

the chief naval constructor for the British Admiralty, and now a member of the House of Commons, and two other members and eminent shipbuilders, Mr. Alan and Mr. Harland, support the same ideas. In the London *Times* of November 18, Admiral Elliot, a distinguished officer of the British Navy, gives also his unequivocal support to the utterances of Lord Armstrong, which are clear and unmistakable in expression, that battleships and the various classes of vessels-of-war of Great Britain will not meet the necessities of the situation. He states that Great Britain should have marine rams pure and simple, built for that special purpose; that the supposed protection of any vessel from ramming through any thickness of armor was a fallacy, as I have said for the past fifteen years.

I entertain the same idea that was expressed by the late Rear-Admiral C. R. P. Rodgers not long before his death: That should Great Britain be disposed to make war upon the United States, it would be in a sudden dash with all her forces to demand enormous ransoms from our unprotected cities and coasts, or effect so widespread a ruin as to appal us into an immediate submission to any terms she might propose. This idea could not be entertained for a moment should we provide the means for coast defence suggested in the papers above referred to. There is a passive, yet very weighty, consideration which British statesmen may well regard. Even a non-intercourse between the two countries for a few months would reduce the British masses to great misery, and, were the period of its continuance indefinite, to actual despair. With us, the masses would not suffer want in any degree, but there would be heavy taxes, discomfort, and, perhaps, great losses inflicted on personal property, much of which would be British, and certainly a great deal of national humiliation should we fail to make our preparation for a war, before it was rudely thrust upon us.

The centres of maritime power of Great Britain, belting the world, and forbidding any reasonable prospect of the United States or other power preying upon her merchant marine, should be regarded rather in a spirit of gratulation than the reverse, by all peoples who speak the same language. These centres of maritime power are no less the centres of a widespread manly civilization; it is only on placing a map of the world before you and regarding carefully the areas of continents and of islands, where

kind and thoughtful mothers teach the same language to their children, that the fact can be appreciated in its full significance, that a great family is widely spread over the earth, to work out a great destiny. In families, in groups, and singly, for centuries the founders of these centres have left their homes as emigrants, with tears in their eyes, yet with strong arms and brave hearts, to meet hardships and to found homes and hearthstones for themselves and their offspring; and we see how well they have done it—this great family, now so widely spread, is yet in its merest infancy as regards numbers, wealth, and power. Of the many millions with hearthstones so far apart, whose mothers teach them their duties to their God and to man, not one should be so thoughtless as to fail in sympathy of kinship towards all. In one of his annual messages to Congress, President Grant expressed, very happily and concisely, his ideas of the growing importance of the language that finally to a great degree would serve as a common means of communication for the many diverse tongues of the human race.

Far be from me, or from a vast majority of my countrymen, to wish to see the maritime power of the mother-country seriously impaired. While it may be her pride, and sometimes a rather distasteful boast, it is a heavy load to bear; it is her necessity —all who speak her language and are gifted with a sentiment of kindliness may wish and hope to have her endure it until the preponderance of her offspring, scattered over the wide world, may give her that moral and material support that will suffice to aid in her protection from envious enemies who may wish to assail her.

DANIEL AMMEN.

WAGNER'S INFLUENCE ON PRESENT-DAY COMPOSERS.

BY ANTON SEIDL.

It is probable that more has been said and written about Wagner than about any other composer that ever existed. This is not surprising, for besides being one of the greatest geniuses that the world has yet produced, he represented a revolution from musical tradition that had been held in honor for centuries, and he possessed a combination of talents, any one of which might achieve fame for any man and all of which would not only make him the object of universal attention, but the target of criticism. Under these circumstances it is only natural that in the minds of many people the true significance of his work should be either lost sight of altogether or obscured beneath the flood of literature concerning its manifold phases which has for many years poured from the press. His partisans are as prone to exaggerate his merits as his enemies are to detract from them. Nevertheless, the real Wagner stands before us in the achievements that followed one another in such rapid succession during his long career. His work must be judged by itself and in its relation to the music of his predecessors.

One of the commonest and one of the most serious mistakes about Wagner is the general belief that he was the first to appreciate the inadequacy of the old school of music, and to strive for higher forms. But, as a matter of fact, Gluck first felt this inadequacy, and his compositions show that he tried to elevate music above the level on which the composers of his day worked. The original production of *Orpheus* in Paris created a public disturbance similar to that witnessed there when Wagner had his earliest Parisian representation. But the genius of Gluck

was far inferior to Wagner's; he could only strive toward the goal that his successor attained. He deserves credit for what he tried to do, and it is not just that his efforts should be lost sight of in the glory of one who succeeded where he partly failed. Wagner's conception of what opera in its highest form should be was none the less sublime because it had dimly occurred to another.

The wedding of the drama and music—this was the underlying principle of that conception. The drama Wagner regarded as the expression of the life of man. But he saw that this expression was in a sense incomplete, that it could be made adequate, perfect, even sublime, if united with music in perfect harmony with its character and spirit. Before his time the so-called grand opera consisted chiefly of feeble *libretti*, to which primitive, almost childish melodies had been set; there was no life, no passion, no soul, in most of these works. One might be pardoned for comparing them with musical puppets singing from phonographs.

Yet, before Wagner's time, Beethoven and Weber were following in the footsteps of Gluck. But, until toward the very end of his life, Beethoven's conceptions, with the exception of his single opera *Fidelio*, were purely musical; he worked, so to speak, almost wholly in the realms of the ideal. He appreciated the possibility of expressing in music the highest human emotions, those that called for dramatic power. His symphonies and his opera show that he tried to attain this expression; they represent a steady development culminating in a splendid climax in the Ninth Symphony, when at last he found music inadequate and felt the need of words. So in the solos and choruses of this symphony he used words with fine effect. As for his opera, that embodies his attempt to express his conception of perfect conjugal love. In the case of Weber we find a composer who felt, as Wagner did, the greatness of the higher opera, and in his works he tried to make the most of the opportunities it presented. Yet he was hampered by clinging to the old forms of music, through which he expressed his ideas. Both Beethoven and Weber may be said to occupy the middle ground between the old and the new schools of compositions. But for their achievements the work of Wagner would have been far more revolutionary than it actually was. They prepared the way for him.

But the old style was still firmly established by tradition, and Wagner bravely set himself to the task of destroying tradition. He saw that the passions of mankind offered material for a noble drama fit to be the vehicle of a noble music. So he proceeded to look about for subjects suitable to his purpose. These he found in the Norse legends, which he drew upon extensively and which he developed and almost transformed by his genius.

For it should be borne in mind that Wagner's literary ability was of the highest quality ; it was in perfect harmony with the spirit of his music. Dr. Foerster, formerly director of the German Theatre in Berlin, and later of the Court Theatre in Vienna, once expressed his belief to me that if the *Meistersinger* were produced as a play, by first-class artists and under favorable surroundings, it would make a great success. In this connection I recall a remark made to me by Wagner himself on the occasion of the first performance of *Rheingold* in Berlin, which I conducted. On the programme he called it a " comic play with music," and the cast was truly ideal, made up as it was by great singers who were also great actors : Scoria, the basso, of Vienna ; Schelper, the baritone, of Leipsic ; Lieban, the comic tenor, of Berlin; and Vogel, the heroic tenor, of Munich. At the close of the opera, Wagner, who might be supposed to think chiefly of the music and of the orchestration, said to me : " I have never seen it *acted* so well." I quote this simply to illustrate the great stress he put upon the dramatic side of grand opera. He appreciated the advantages of a composer's being able to unite in himself the two gifts of writing both book and music, for he used to say that only the composer himself knew just what he wanted to express, meaning, of course, that if he undertook to give musical color, so to speak, to the ideas of others, he would be greatly handicapped.

All composers at the present time realize that there is much truth in this belief, but few or none of them posesses the slightest literary ability. Their talent tends to isolate them from all other kinds of creative work. This fact is due partly to their education, which is special, perhaps in a sense narrow. It would be well if all musicians, before beginning their careers, could have a thorough, a well-rounded education. I have observed, however, that in youth most of them display little taste for those studies that do not bear directly or indirectly upon their art: even when they have established themselves they do very little

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reading or studying outside of music. Their labors are exacting and they prefer to use their leisure in recreation and in other ways that are not at all literary.

Under these circumstances, we cannot expect our composers to follow Wagner's example by attempting to write their own *libretti*. If they did, many of them would make dreary failures. Moreover, I believe that it is possible for composer and author to work together in perfect harmony, one being simply the counterpart of the other. The slavish imitation of Wagner's methods cannot lead to good results. Each man must do his work according to his capacity; it can be nothing but folly for him to aim at results that are utterly beyond his powers, simply because one far more gifted has achieved them.

It is this slavish imitation of Wagner that has caused the barrenness of contemporary music in Germany. The young German composers, not content with being stimulated by the spirit of the master, have actually reproduced his harmonies as if these were their own. They simply give us Wagner over again, weakened, of course, by their own feebler imagination. They make the mistake of confounding Wagner's work with his style, both of which, though they must be considered together, are really distinct. For example, in painting, if an artist wishes to paint in the style of a Raphael, he has a perfect right to do so ; but he has no right to copy a Raphael Madonna and pass it off as his own creation. So, in what has come to be called Wagnerian music, a composer may write as much of it as he pleases ; but he must not steal harmonies that were conceived by another. In other words, no matter what school of music a man may choose to follow, his individuality must always rise superior to it ; he must never allow it to fetter his imagination, to cause him to imitate ; for imitation, of course, is death to the creative impulse.

It is perhaps natural that our young composers should be overshadowed by such a colossal figure as Wagner was, and for that matter always will be in the history of music. Those who lived while he lived, or those who are now writing while his influence is still fresh, are likely to show the effect of his power most conspicuously. But the lesson should be impressed upon every creative artist that his work, to be true, or effective, or lasting, must express himself—must spring from his own nature ; otherwise, it will be the merest echo, and it will die away without leaving a

trace behind it. Let him, by all means, take advantage of the system of Wagner, and follow that. This is quite different from trying to reproduce the originator of the system.

So far as the highest form of opera is concerned, I believe that Wagner has established that forever. It seems to me to be the perfect expression of life through the union of the drama with music, and, as such, to be adequate and final. Other great composers are sure to come, but they will work according to the principles which Wagner has established. These principles are rapidly gaining recognition in most of the countries where the arts are held in honor. Even in France and Italy, Wagner is gaining recognition, and the French and Italian composers are imitating him just as their German *confrères* have been doing for the past few years. By-and-by all of these will appreciate the folly of this, and, profiting genuinely by the work he has done, they will develop music of spontaneous and genuine power.

And this brings me to a consideration of the influence of the higher music in this country. Americans have shown a fine appreciation of Wagner, though the American composers have not as yet given evidence of a disposition to imitate him in the composition of operas. Their abilities seem to lie in the writing of oratorios and concert music, and in this field there are several very promising workers; indeed, workers who have already achieved brilliantly. But I know of no reason why Americans should not write grand operas expressive of their own life. Of course, this country is so young that its history does not afford material for great conceptions as do the European countries, rich in legend and tradition. One might go for material back to the Indians, but it would be pretty thin; it would be lacking in those majestic elements which Wagner found in the Norse legends. But if an author like Mr. Howells were to write a book for an American grand opera, it seems to me that it would afford an opportunity for a composer to achieve something really great in music. But, however American the theme and treatment might be, the music could not be considered distinctively American; for it would possess qualities that might belong to almost any other nation. Moreover, it might be written by a French, or a German, or an Italian composer living in this country. For there is a great deal that is absurd in the distinctions so often made between the music of different nations. All music belongs to the

same art, and all musicians have certain fundamental qualities in common.

It must be borne in mind that the conditions by which art is surrounded in this country are peculiar. Here is a conglomerate people, made up of those who have brought from their native countries their native traditions. These traditions have their peculiar influence, and if one were keen and had patience enough to give the study necessary to detecting these, they could no doubt be traced to their sources. Dr. Dvorak, for example, has called attention to the negro melodies; but his theory with regard to them has been generally misunderstood. I have no doubt that these melodies came originally from Europe; they were probably modified, however, by the influence of the new environment upon those who brought them here. It is quite possible that the servitude of the negroes, or the laziness of their dispositions, gave to the melodies the melancholy cadence, the slow movement, that is characteristic of them. But this, of course, is only a surmise. It serves simply to illustrate my point that America has no national music, and is not likely to produce music free from European traditions.

This fact, however, cannot be considered in the least as a discouragement to American composers. The best they can do is to go on working according to the highest rules of art that have been discovered, and expressing their own individuality; for in every art there is a vast difference between nationality and individuality. There is every reason why they should rejoice that thus far they have not been enslaved by Wagner's influence, as their brother-workers in Germany have been. And from Germany they should receive their warning. The field of grand opera is open to them; it offers them the best opportunities for achievement. It is only in this field that they can work out their greatest conceptions. Wagner must be their pattern, for, as I have already said, he represents the complete development of grand opera; but as the German composers have shown, they must use his methods without abusing them.

That grand opera is destined to become a permanent institution and an educational influence in this country I have no doubt whatever. It has already been compared to a college; but it is really more important, for it educates the whole people, whereas a college educates only the few. Without it any system of civiliza-

tion is incomplete. In Germany, the leading cities have each its own opera-house ; in America, we must begin with one only, and that, of course, should be in the chief city. But an opera established in New York could exert its influence in several of the other leading cities by giving adequate performances in these at different periods during the season. Later, such cities as Boston and Chicago should have operas of their own, just as Leipsic and Dresden have at the present time.

Until a movement in this direction is inaugurated we cannot expect American composers to achieve in grand opera ; for, under the conditions in which they are now working, they receive practically no encouragement whatever to make such artistic endeavor. The labor of writing an opera is enormous ; the rewards should be proportionate ; but so far as this country is concerned, they are so meagre that they might as well be left out of account altogether. This is a disheartening fact, but we might as well face the truth. However, as I have intimated, I believe that the conditions will be changed—that the time is coming when American composers will receive an incentive to put forth their best efforts. Some of them, indeed, are already doing so in spite of discouragement, for there are composers who care more for their art than for gain. I know of one American composer who has written his own *libretto* and is now at work on the music for it. All this promises well for the future.

To those American musicians who are ambitious to undertake the writing of grand opera I can only reiterate the great lesson which Wagner has given them and which I emphasized at the beginning of this article ; that is, the fundamental importance of making the music the natural expression of the drama. In other words, the *libretto* must be regarded as the basis of the work ; and as this is essentially a play, as much a play, indeed, as any that is spoken and acted, it must be treated according to the laws of dramatic construction. For this reason, the composer, before putting pen to paper, before even conceiving a harmony, must catch the spirit of the *libretto,* and study it in every detail from the point of view of the drama. To do this adequately, he should be thoroughly acquainted with the inner workings of the theatre ; everything should be regarded in its effect as passing from the stage to the auditorium. Of course, the composer who writes his own words knows best just what kind of music fits

them ; but even he must look at his work as a dramatic whole. He who, on the other hand, composes to words written for him must assume the same point of view that the librettist has taken in developing the plot.

As a preparation for such work, nothing can be finer than the study of Wagner's operas, representing as they do the perfect blending of the drama and music. They should be examined in every detail, for in all their minute parts this quality is evident. The danger of such study I have pointed out ; but by those who are warned against this danger beforehand and who appreciate the significance of the warning, it can be avoided. Its existence is in no sense a reflection upon the master's genius ; on the contrary, it is a tribute to the overwhelming power of that genius. And at the present time, to American musicians who have shown a love for Wagner, but who have as yet refrained from imitating him, he offers at once an example and an incentive.

ANTON SEIDL.

THE GLORIFICATION OF THE JEW.

BY PROF. ABRAM S. ISAACS, EDITOR OF "THE JEWISH MESSENGER."

Of recent years the Jew, always a subject for treatment more or less heroic by kings, pontiffs, knights, and commoners, since he was made to assume the wanderer's rôle and told remorselessly to "move on" after any brief respite from the agony of unrest, seems to be receiving a little juster and more humane consideration. In civilized climes, at least, where civil and religious freedom is assured to all classes, the humanity in the Jew has become recognized, his services in the struggle for intellectual and religious liberty are more appreciated, and the edge of antipathy, so sharp and unrelenting of old, is losing much of its keenness.

Many factors have combined to bring about this result. Ours is a century which, with all its fads and fancies, is fatal to prejudices, however ancient. It is an image-breaking age, that is disposed to see with its own eyes. Commerce, travel, education, a community of interests, the amenities of business and social intercourse, are giving the death-blow to a host of old-time bigotries and promoting good feeling and generous co-operation for the common welfare on the broadening borderland between the creeds. Popular errors are persistent, but, happily, not everlasting. If the Spaniard thought that heretics had tails, and eminently respectable Americans used to discern a dim connection between a Quaker's hat and a rainy sky, one need not be surprised that the Jew has cut so sorry a figure in popular proverbs, and that his caricature and counterfeit still drag out an inartistic, if very obtrusive, existence on the stage and in the comic weeklies.

It is not our purpose to dwell for a moment on those bitter ages of crucifixion for the Jew, even if relieved here and there by sunset gleams of hope. Nor is it necessary to discuss what justification, if any, existed for the long-continued travail. That he has survived it all, that he has proved neither coward nor traitor,

is surely not accidental. God's shadow still rests on history. There is no blank page between the Testament of the Past and the Testament of the Present. The unknown factor in events has come to be the best known and most positive. The survival of the Jew and Judaism, this magnificent persistence in the face of a thousand odds, would indicate some high purpose. There must be compensation for suffering, like sunshine after rain.

Now the most remarkable indication of the civilized world's changed attitude towards the Jew is not so much the blessing of political emancipation bestowed at last; for he has merely shared in the triumphs enjoyed in this century by all creeds and opinions. His privileges are not exceptional in this respect. It is rather his appearance in literature as a subject no longer for derision, but for earnest contemplation and study, which is most significant. Since Lessing idealized Moses Mendelssohn, the Jew in fiction has acquired a certain continuity, which, despite aberrations and exaggerations, constitutes a most suggestive sign of the times. The world is apparently half ashamed of the past, and would make atonement. It admires pluck. The Jew has been the under-dog in the fight. He has been flung into the mud, and then blamed if his garments were soiled. He maintains his old attitude unflinchingly. He adheres to his Law. He is courageous, persistent, no idler or dreamer, but a worker in every field open to him. He is restless, eager, quick to seize favorable opportunity, patient, biding his time. Is the world touched at last? Does it realize that it need not go to antiquity for heroic types? The antique is at its doors in the despised Jew. Whatever the reason, it hastens to repair the wrong and utilizes the Jew and his creed, his hopes, his achievements, his aspirations, as material for popular fiction, so that the Jew is no longer a stranger at the hearths of mankind. It was George Eliot, perhaps, who set the fashion, and her *Daniel Deronda*, with all its shadowy and fantastic outlines, embodied a useful lesson. Since her day, it is difficult to keep pace with the stream of books that illustrate the Jew in fiction, while countless articles in the magazines and reviews deal with the Jewish question, which has become a symposium, international and interconfessional, to which some of the clearest and most prominent writers and thinkers industriously contribute.

It is fortunate that the Jew's vindication does not rest upon fiction alone. It is possible for the Jew of fiction to be a distortion—to be an ideal and give a wholly untrue picture. The modern author may err as much in one direction as the mediæval painter did in another when he gave us saints of Judæa with the features of Dutch and Flemish peasants. Contemporary history is the ultimate test. The position of the Jew to-day in life and thought has the basis of fact, not fiction. There is hardly a field in which he has not gained prominence. The rise of anti-Semitism is only one evidence of the Jew's strength and versatility. It is due chiefly to *Brodneid*—to envy. That is the secret of prejudice against the Jew.

There can be no doubt that the Jew's dispersion has made him a cosmopolitan. He possesses the faculy of adaptation. He is at home everywhere. Hence his versatility and range. Time was when he was restricted by church and state to the solitary occupation of money-lender, but now he roams at will in every field, although centuries of exclusive association with finance have admittedly developed his abilities in that direction. In his case, it is not the intensity of genius which has won him triumphs, but the genius of intensity and concentration. His powers have been developed by environment. Old-time Jewish education was wonderfully stimulating. It is a blunder to speak of the Talmud as stunting and dwarfing the Jew. The study of the Talmud gave bent and nutriment to the Jewish brain and preserved the race from stagnation. Moral and religious forces, too, springing from the home and parental teaching, were active in shaping the young and giving them wholesome safeguards and balance-wheels.

What, then, is the Jew's record to-day? What does he conribute to human knowledge, to science in all its branches, to art, philanthropy, learning, literature, in their myriad aspects? Does he preside over the destinies of states? Does he rule in the parliaments of the world? Does he lead in social movements as well as in the exchanges? Is he an interpreter of science as in mediæval times, in centuries called the Dark Ages, when he was the physician of princes, the adviser of kings and caliphs, poet, philosopher, grammarian, mathematician, ambassador?

It was once the intention of James Russell Lowell to collect material which should illustrate the varied record of the Jew in every department of activity. He felt, perhaps, that justice had

been scantily done to Jewish achievement and that such a roll call would silence forever the slanderer. If one would sketch in outline a chronicle of Jewish endeavor, and limit its range to the past few decades only, what an object-lesson would be unfolded!

It is about forty years since Heine passed away. In poetry his place is still to be filled. But although Dusseldorf refuses the proffered monument in his honor because he was of Jewish birth, the race which Heine loved and hated, scorned yet idolized in the contradictions of his genius, has attained in Germany indisputable prominence. In the liberal movement it was Ferdinand Lassalle, whose name will always be associated with Socialism, while now it is Singer, who is one of the most distinguished leaders in Parliament. Eduard Lasker, educated to become a rabbi, left an imperishable record among German orators. The gentle Berthold Auerbach, whose idealism was rudely disturbed by the persecutions in Russia, has earned a permanent rank in German literature, along with August Bernstein, whose services in popularizing science are not to be underestimated; Leopold Kornpert, the poet of the Ghetti; and Karl Emil Franzos, with his picturesque novels and sketches of Roumanian and Galician life. One might add a large number of popular and instructive writers, men of the calibre of Gustav Karpeles, Julius Rodenberg, Paul Lindau, and Paul Hepe. If we add the large and constantly increasing coterie of university professors, specialists in nearly every science and pursuit, who maintain the reputation of a Philip Jaffe in history, a Bernays in classical philology, a Gustav Weil in Arabic lore, an Abraham Geiger, Zunz, Graetz, and Z. Frankel in rabbinical and Jewish historical science, a Mosenthal in the drama, a Sanders in German philology and a Meyerbeer in music—one may realize what a commanding array of talent is presented. The past few decades may be aptly termed a Jewish Renaissance in Germany in all that pertains to culture and enlightenment. M. Lazarus, H. Steinthal, and M. Steinschneider are still at active work.

Perhaps in no country has the Jew become so thoroughly identified with his surroundings as in France. As a result, his position is confessedly high. In music, Halevy; in philosophy, Adolphe Franck; in Oriental studies, Munk Oppert, Jos. Halevy, the Derenbourgs, and Darmesteter; in Biblical criticism and the science of religion, Salvador; in philanthropy and finance,

Fould, Cremieux, the Rothschilds, the Pereires, and Baron de Hirsch,—are but a few names culled from a lengthy list of French Israelites who occupy a prominent rank in literature, art, science, education, and public service. The voice of Gambetta is stilled, but the Jew in France has capacity and enthusiasm enough to be more than *dilletante* in the problems which beset his country.

If Denmark can produce a critic like Georg Brandes, Holland a painter like Jos. Israels, Russia a composer like Rubinstein and a sculptor like Anatolski (although both have voluntarily shared exile with a million of their poorer brethren) ; if Italy can point to Maurogonato, Morpurgo, Luzzatti, Alatri—the brilliant contributions of the Jews of England, within the past few decades alone need not arouse surprise. The Earl of Beaconsfield will always be regarded as a Jew, although he is buried in Hughenden churchyard. No conforming Jew could have more ardently championed the cause of Israel. Disraeli's name in statecraft, Montefiore's deeds in philanthropy, are perennial. Sir George Jessel became Master of the Rolls without losing his interest in the synagogue. Lord Rothschild does not find it inconsistent with his dignity to preside over a society for the education of poor Jewish children. Sir Julian Goldsmid can petition Parliament in behalf of the persecuted Jews of Russia. To Schiller-Szinessy is largely due the revival in Hebrew studies in England : and Neubauer and Schechter continue the work. In literature Zangwill is half jester, half moralist, and Joseph Jacobs is likely to develop into an English Grimm. In mathematics Sylvester is a national authority. In Biblical criticism Claude G. Montefiore has rapidly won fame ; he is one of a number of young scholars who will advance in many ways the standing and influence of English Judaism. In technical education Sir Philip Magnus is an authority. It was England's chief rabbi, Dr. Herrman Adler, who recently was invited by a society of Christian clergymen to lecture on "Sanitation as Taught by the Mosaic Code."

There is every likelihood that Israel may enter more energetically on a practical work, that its leaders in civilized lands may coöperate in the task of social and economic reform, that Jewish wealth and intellect may unite with the thoughtful and benevolent of every creed, to uplift mankind to a higher level of right-

eousness. The Jew makes no propaganda. No one need be a Jew to share eternal bliss. The Psalmist sprang from a non-Hebrew stock, and in one of his most expressive psalms, still recited in the synagogue, makes purity of heart and cleanliness of hands the conditions for entering God's tabernacle. If the Jew devote the energy and concentration, which have made him so succesful in finance, trade, the arts and sciences, to the solemn problems of human betterment, "loosening the bands of wickedness, undoing the heavy burdens, freeing the oppressed, and breaking every yoke," the Messianic age would advance with rapid strides. The unsectarian benevolence of Jewish philanthropists of the stamp of Montefiore and Hirsch and the numerous benefactions by wealthy Jews, "without distinction of creed," are harbingers of the future, faint fore-gleams of coming sunshine that shall brighten and strengthen and unify humanity.

Single characters from Jewish history—Moses, Ruth, Elijah, Samson, the Maccabees—have been seized by composers and made the subjects of elaborate musical treatment. But what a theme for a symphony is the entire history of the Jews! The first movement should embody the Jew's *Lehrjahre*—his centuries of apprenticeship from the era of the patriarchs to the captivity. The second should illustrate his *Wanderjahre*—his centuries of wandering, from the Babylonian exile almost to our own era, marked still by exile for the Jew in benighted lands. The third movement, which should vie in grandeur and joyous exaltation with Beethoven's matchless "Choral" symphony, might depict the Jew's *Meisterjahre*—his epoch of mastery, when the prophet's ideal of a purified humanity, united, uplifted, and glorified—"Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us?"—shall be universally acknowledged What a field here for genius and science! Passionate longing, ardent tenderness, profound compassion, fiery aspiration, rapt devotion, must find their musical expression. Perhaps some Rubinstein of a later day may deem such a theme worthy of his powers. It was Spohr who devoted an entire symphony to "The Power of Sound" to suggest that man is accompanied by music from the cradle to the grave. When the "Israel" symphony is written, let it illustrate "The Power of Righteousness," for that is the flaming text of prophet and sage, of law and psalm, of testament and code, the *leit-motif* of the Jew in history.

ABRAM S. ISAACS.

INTERCOLLEGIATE FOOTBALL.

BY J. WILLIAM WHITE, M. D., PH. D., PROFESSOR OF CLINICAL SURGERY, AND HORATIO C. WOOD, M. D., LL. D. (YALE), PROFESSOR OF THERAPEUTICS, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

FOOTBALL has acquired such a hold upon the American people that the question of its merits or demerits as a game must force itself upon every one's attention. Its opponents are just now clamorous. Its supporters, even with nothing to say that has not already been well said, must have the courage of their convictions. In attempting to discuss this matter briefly, it is essential to have a clearly defined point of view. It may well be that football is a useful sport in a large university, where it can be controlled by rigid rule; and yet an evil thing amongst boys, or voluntary associations, or the general youthful public who are under no bonds and who are not to be governed by any laws. The universities of Harvard and Pennsylvania may through their respective teams meet one another upon the field in a gentlemanly manner; and yet rival cycling or boating clubs, or rival gangs of street boys, may make football an excuse for fighting out their jealousies.

The question whether in the community football is or is not a good thing is, however, entirely separate from the question whether it is a good thing in a university. To the first of these questions we do not propose to-day to offer any answer at all, since the space allotted is too small really properly to discuss the one question in which we, as professors in a great university, are most interested. In attempting to answer it a few preliminary truisms must be pardoned, that the line of thought which influences us may be clearly stated.

SOUTH END.

We know that in every position in life which a man can occupy a fairly developed frame is of great advantage to him; that, *ceteris paribus*, the man who possesses health is able to do better work than his rival who lacks it; that health includes in its very essence the idea of a certain amount of strength, and that, to acquire health and strength and the full development upon which they depend, exercise is essential. We know that however admirable systems of collegiate gymnastics may be (and we are firm believers in their value), they often fail in supplying the mental stimulus which in competitive athletics react so beneficially on the grosser tissues. Just as certain areas in the brain and spinal cord atrophy after the removal of a limb, so do all the centres presiding over movement grow and develop when varied exercise is taken, and with them the co-ordinate centres that control the higher cerebral functions. The more varied the exercise, and the more it awakens interest and brings into play the mental faculties, the more beneficial it is to the mind and body reciprocally.

We feel sure that these propositions are demonstrably true. Their application to football seems to us obvious. Let us regard intercollegiate athletics as supplementary to a well-devised system of physical education such as ought to exist at every university and college. The noteworthy contests (exclusive of track athletics which tend to develop specialists in whom one set of muscles is over-developed, but which are of undoubted value to the student body) are those which take place on the river, the baseball field, the tennis court, and cricket ground. Which of them best fulfils the requirements of an ideal exercise?

Rowing, as practised to-day, develops chiefly the muscles of the back and hips; it does little for the front arm, practically nothing for the pectoral muscles. Baseball makes but little demand on the left arm or the left side of the chest. Cricket and tennis are also usually "right-sided" games. None of them is to be compared with football in the direction of bringing *all* muscles in play. And, moreover, in none of them except rowing is the preliminary training, so valuable in strengthening the great involuntary muscles, those of the heart and diaphragm, observed with anything like equal strictness.

Certainly whatever physical good can be received from any form of college athletics can be obtained from football, while

above all others it tends to develop self-control, coolness, fertility of resource, and promptness of execution in sudden emergencies involving perhaps personal danger. In other words, no known game compares with football in the development in the individual of those qualities which, while they are sometimes spoken of as the "military virtues," are of enormous value to their possessor in all the struggles of life. A further advantage of football over the other forms of college athletics is that it appeals to a much larger proportion of the men. Thus, probably not more than fifty men in any way take part in the annual training for crews at Pennsylvania; but during the present season, 1893, what with the Varsity team, the scrub teams, the various class teams, and the number of voluntary teams made up of the students, at least 160 men have played the game, many of them daily. About the same number played at Harvard.

These are our chief reasons for approving intercollegiate football. Let us consider the objections.

One who sees for the first time a mass-play in a great game, with a pyramid of struggling bodies; or hears the thump as a man is thrown upon the ground by a hard tackle; or notes the bloody faces and sometimes bloody jackets of the contestants; is very apt to be impressed with the idea that some one must soon be desperately injured or killed, an opinion which grows in strength as he sees man after man assisted or carried from the field, while a substitute steps into his place. Then, if perchance months of parliamentary struggle and newspaper discussion concerning an "undergraduate rule," or some other method of getting rid of a growing rival, has intensified the natural spirit of combat between the colleges, and "slugging" or foul or rough play is indulged in, a confirmed belief in the hopeless brutality of the game fastens itself on the mind of the uninformed observer, who often sincerely believes that he is unprejudiced because he knows nothing about the matter; very much as Sydney Smith is said to have asserted that he never read a book he was to criticise, in order that he might keep his mind free from bias. To those who think that bloody noses, torn ears, blackened eyes, bruises or sprains, or an occasional scalp wound are mighty evils, the game must always be an objectionable one. But to those of us who believe that in the

life of a boy the occurrence of injuries not severe enough to leave permanent traces is not necessarily an evil, but often even a positive good by encouraging fortitude, manliness, and high spirit, the question as to the danger of football in our colleges is only to be answered by absolute statistics.

It must be remembered that we are considering intercollegiate football, as played in this country ; and that all English statistics, based, as they are, upon a game essentially different from American football, played, too, by miners, laborers, and all kinds of people, are foreign to this discussion. The great institutions which this matter most concerns, and which are its representatives at the bar of public opinion, are Princeton, Yale, Harvard, and Pennsylvania. About this time last year the question of the occurrence of fatal or of permanently disabling injury to any football player at these four institutions for the previous decade was submitted by one of the writers to the special authority on the subject in each faculty. The replies, still in his possession, were sent after careful investigation, and established conclusively the fact that *no instance of any permanent injury to a player had occurred in all the long series of contests waged during those ten years on the football field.* We ask that until contradictory and well-sustained evidence be brought forward this statement be accepted on the authority of Dr. Sargent, of Cambridge ; Dr. Seaver, of New Haven ; Dr. Macdonald, of Princeton ; and Dr. White, of Philadelphia. We may add that Dr. Hitchcock has written us that no player has ever suffered permanent injury at Cornell. We know that so far as intercollegiate football among these universities is concerned, the foregoing is true of 1893 also, and we think this fact greatly lessens the force of the objection based on the physical dangers of the game.

We have had, as has been said, about 160 men playing football during the year 1893 at Pennsylvania and without a single broken bone or a seriously injured joint or any accident disabling a player from continuing either his football or his academic duties for any length of time. We do not mean to deny the existence of physical danger, but we believe it possible to minimize it and yet retain all the most useful features of the game, and we are urgent for such a revision of rules as shall bring this to pass. We do insist, however, that the spectacular character of foot-

ball and the frequency of sprains, wrenches, fractures, and other severe or minor injuries occurring in the presence of such multitudes have together led to unintentional and not unnatural exaggeration of the seriousness of football. The accidents of aquatic sports, of horseback riding, of shooting, are vastly beyond and above those of football. In 1890, 4,442 males were drowned in the United States, and 2,336 died from gunshot wounds; a large minority of the former died in the pursuit of aquatic sports, whilst, probably, a large majority of the latter died from accidents occurring with firearms made or used for sport. We have not had time to get together the statistics of aquatic sports in the colleges, but it is noteworthy that within two or three years Princeton lost, by drowning, Brokaw from its baseball team, and Lamar from its football team, whilst Cornell, where aquatics are cultivated so widely and successfully, has in the same way lost at least three of its athletes in the present year.

The allegations as to the demoralizing influence of college football have taken various directions. It has been said, for example, to encourage "professionalism" on the part of the athletic authorities and of the players themselves. The enormous gate receipts of some of the great football games have especially aroused attention, and have given rise to the belief that the game was being played for revenue solely or chiefly. It should, however, be understood that large sums of money are required for the maintenance of the athletic departments of the greater universities, and especially for the legitimate expenses of football itself, and that it is the only college sport which yields revenue; so that the expenses of the whole year have to be largely met from the moneys received from football enthusiasts. When it is remembered that large sums for the maintenance of athletics are yearly contributed by the students themselves, and probably still larger sums by alumni and other persons outside of the immediate college circles; and that, notwithstanding this, many, if not most, of the athletic departments are chronically and sometimes hopelessly in debt, it will be seen that whilst the gate receipts are undoubtedly important to the athletic interests of the institutions involved, they cannot be of direct importance to the players, and that there are many avenues for their honest use. In this respect again the objection to football is really not relevant to the game

itself, but to college athletics as a whole; if these athletics be useful, the fact that they are largely supported by football is an argument for, and not against, the continuance of the game.

The more serious charge that men are bought or bribed to come to certain colleges for the purpose primarily of playing football is one that has been made in reference to other college sports. The temptations in this direction undoubtedly increase with the apparent importance of the game to the university playing it and with the honors and rewards attendant upon success; but we are sure that other college sports have in the past been far more open to this criticism than has football. It is a matter which should be carefully considered by the respective faculties and a proper remedy agreed upon. Personally we believe that the adoption of the "one year's residence rule," which forbids any student taking part in intercollegiate athletics until he has resided an academic year at his university and passed satisfactory examinations upon a full year's work, will prove curative.

Other suggestions, such as the selection of a central body, in New York or elsewhere, to decide on questions of eligibility, seem to us open to grave and obvious objection, but the whole matter is one which does not belong exclusively to football, and, even if a proportion of the accusations are true, cannot be viewed as an evil inherent in that game.

As to the effect of football upon the individual student who enters the team, the most frequently repeated objection is that the intellectual is being sacrificed to the physical, and that the man who plays football must almost of necessity neglect his studies. This, again, as we want clearly to point out, is not an objection to football *per se*, but an objection to all college athletics. As a matter of fact much of the preliminary training for football is done during the vacation period, and certainly more hours are given by the men on the crew in the scholastic period to athletic duties than are required of the football candidates.

As this article is not a general defence of college athletics, we must content ourselves with the statement that, after careful investigation we do not believe football has had the effect of lowering the general average academic standard of either players or onlookers at any of the above-mentioned universities. There has not been time to secure all the actual figures, but such good observers as Professor Richards, of Yale, and Professor Sloane, of

Princeton, are convinced that while the scholarship of the most active players may suffer a little a few weeks before the close of the season, it loses nothing whatever by the end of the year. Under the rules of Pennsylvania a student who is dropped for neglect of his studies into a lower class is thereby debarred from taking part in any intercollegiate contests until the end of the next academic year, or until he is allowed by the faculty to re-enter his class.

Of the four or five members of the Pennsylvania football team of 1892 who have now graduated, one, the captain, won in competitive examination the greatest prize the university offers to its medical class, a position in its hospital; another, who was first honor man of his class, has been made professor in the university, and still another was on the honor list. In this year's team the same proportion seems likely to continue. At Princeton two of the eleven are on the honor list and five are "far above mediocrity." At Yale the average standing of the sixteen members of the academic department who have been connected with the football team this term as players and substitutes is higher than the average standing of the best class in scholarship that has ever graduated there. At Cornell, Professor Hitchcock finds that "the men on the intercollegiate athletic teams have a standing 1.2 per cent. better than the average of the whole college." If we were selecting from any college the young men most likely to endure the strains of business or professional life in this country, and to score successes, we would be disposed to estimate at much more than 1.2 per cent. the actual working superiority of the football players over their classmates.

Of all the objections to football, the one which seems to be the most serious is that which asserts its excessive brutality. There can be no doubt that the game is one into which personal combat enters, as it does into sparring and into wrestling; and whenever this element is present in a game, there is a tendency towards methods which shall be disabling. Such games can only be kept right and proper by the strictest repression of this tendency. We suppose that even the most earnest advocates of the game will acknowledge that in the distant as well as in the near past, very frequently even in the great games, open or concealed slugging, falling on an opponent with the knees, and other methods of injuring the opposing men have been indulged in by

both teams engaged. Our contention is that these acts are not a necessary part of football, indeed are entirely outside of the game itself, though their seeds may exist in the game; are, in fact, noxious tares growing among the wheat. They can be largely eliminated, and must be if football is to maintain its place.

It is very well to say on paper that it is the duty of the authorities of Yale or of Harvard, of Princeton or of Pennsylvania, to teach each its own team not to resort to these methods, but of course the team will always respond to such teaching that it does not "slug" first and that it must defend itself if the other team assails it. The primal fault is neither with the authorities nor with the teams, but partly with the laws of the game; and largely with the umpire. No player should ever be "warned" to abstain from rough play by an umpire, and yet repeatedly we have seen an umpire warn a player, two, three, and even four times in a single game. Dr. Brooks, of Harvard, by relentlessly ordering off the field any one whom he saw guilty of rough play, has accomplished more during the past season in lessening rough play than has any other agency that we know of. If the public demand that umpires shall do their duty, eventually it will be done. What is most needed is rigidity of enforcement of the penalty. We have favored a change of rule which would make intentional foul play directed to the bodily injury of an antagonist count one in the score against the team so offending, and we are still inclined to think the idea of value. The great difficulty at present is that it is impossible for an umpire to fulfil his present duties and at the same time to watch twenty-two men more or less scattered over a football field; so that even with a Brooks as umpire we may have a player, keeping always one eye on the umpire, slugging, kneeing, or elbowing his less astute antagonist, one, two, or three times, with the grim satisfaction finally of seeing this antagonist, goaded to desperation, ordered off the field for foul play. It seems to us essential that there should be hereafter an assistant umpire, whose sole duty should be to watch the men and whose word should be as much law as is that of the umpire in debarring men for rough or foul play of any kind. Let public opinion continue to demand fair play and the secret slugging be stopped by the assistant umpire, and these practices will disappear.

It must be remembered that open "slugging" of an antagonist is not a disabling play; that the player struck is practically never

hurt seriously; that it is bad football from every standpoint, as even if the striker escape disqualification it removes his attention from the ball and from the team movements often at critical moments, and that it is likely to die out of itself for the above reasons and under the influence of aroused public opinion.

When university teams were usually composed simply of the eleven men there was always a great temptation to the unscrupulous player to attempt to disable one of these antagonists, but at present the substitutes are so nearly equal to men of the first line that a fresh substitute is often of more value than a tired member of the first eleven, so that one temptation to rough play is, in the evolution of the game, being removed.

With unfair and foul plays suppressed, the game may be considered on its merits, and the very hold which it has secured upon the communities of the United States proves, to our thinking, that it has value, and that it meets a need of the hour. It is not a little thing that an American community shall cease for a moment its worship of the golden calf, even if it find a no more worthy idol than a football player, for that player is an impersonation of long-continued self-denial, of severe toil, of stoicism under pain, of persistent struggle for an object which is but an ideal.

We believe that it is better for the people of North America to cultivate rather than repress this sudden growth of national sport. To cultivate is to prune, and we are among those who ask earnestly, not only for the suppression of rough and foul play, but for such modification of the rules as shall lessen the danger to life and limb. It seems to us that the first of these alterations should lead to the elimination of the so-called "mass play." The old open game, more beautiful, less dangerous, perhaps more scientific, should if possible be brought back. It has been suggested that this could be done by lengthening the number of yards required to be made in the three downs. In a mass play very rarely, if ever, can more than a yard or two be made, but as the play is the surest method of making that yard or two, and as the yard or two serves the purpose of keeping the ball, the temptation to the team captain continually to use the mass play is overwhelming. If, however, the yard or two were not sufficient to keep the ball, the captain would much more often select the open play with its greater chances of no gain, but with also its greater chances of large gain.

Moreover, if the referee would peremptorily discourage the practice of attempting to gain ground after the tackle and while the possessor of the ball is on the ground, by instantly calling "down," he would prevent the heaping up of the two teams one on the other, and the consequent likely injury to the players at the bottom of the mass. The present rules permit the referee to do this. Here, again, *enforcement is what is needed.*

If in addition a goal from the field were made of more value, and if the penalty of throwing a back on a fair catch were increased, it seems to us that a far more beautiful and much less objectionable game would result.

It is said, however, that the man who does not learn a foreign language in his youth can never learn it, and as we were so unfortunate as to have been born before the modern game of football it scarcely becomes us to offer even a suggestion to the football experts, who should settle this matter. Formerly the football Intercollegiate Association, recognized as it was by Harvard University (not a party to it), had precisely such authority. To-day this football association seems to us, at least, to have no legal existence, and certainly has no moral authority. The association was composed of four members, two of these members have resigned; the remaining two cannot constitute an association. An association is a college or a collegium, in the old use of the word; the old Roman law states explicitly that three members are necessary to the formation of a collegium. Yale might well have led the athletic world if its cohorts had not this year retired in defeat. Princeton will hardly, we think, though its banners are now triumphant, claim for itself supreme leadership. Certainly, however, it would be but a graceful act for it to request from each of the three other great football universities that representative experts should be appointed who shall meet together to consider *the rules of play.* "Undergraduate rules," composition of teams, and all such burning questions should be banished from this hall of council, where the only thought should be the preparation of a practical, carefully considered code, stripping football of the evils which to-day are fastened upon it, and leaving it what we believe it to be essentially, the best and manliest of all intercollegiate sports.

J. William White.
Horatio C. Wood.

TARIFF AND BUSINESS.

BY EX-SPEAKER REED.

If men at the beginning of disaster knew precisely what was happening to them, disaster might be greatly mitigated. But men in such cases have to go through much tribulation before they find out the causes of events with sufficent accuracy to enable them to discover the needful remedies. When the symptoms of the oncoming of the present condition of affairs began to show themselves, in May and June, they found the people of the United States full of all manner of strange prepossessions. Men were found, as they are in all ages, much given to hero-worship and much disposed to believe that no harm could happen so long as a man whom they worshipped filled the most important place in the republic, and therefore they shut their eyes to the real facts of the case, or, what was still worse, opened their eyes to behold facts which never existed, and listened only to theories which were mere creatures of prejudice and imagination. Other men looked about them and fancied that the cause of disaster was to be found on the surface, and concluded that the shipments of gold which were but the incidents and harbingers of the coming disaster were the disaster itself. As they had fastened upon a course of action on the part of Congress which did not meet the hopes of those who consented to it or the expectations of those who forced it, they found it very easy to convince themselves, and afterwards the people of the country, that all that troubled us was the Sherman Act, and Congress was called together in hot haste to remove the cause of the disaster and restore peace to the land. All the thought of the nation was bent upon that object. Those of us who ventured to suggest that the causes lay deeper and the reasons were more funda-

mental were regarded, where we had deserved it, as well-meaning gentlemen somewhat addicted to politics, and therefore incapable of a business view of the situation. The first shock to this feeling came when it was apparent that the much worshipped defender of our liberties was powerless to speed the repeal, and the second shock was when the actual repeal did take place, which happened after much struggle and only with the aid of his political foes, who, regardless of the possible advantage their action might give to their adversary, did their full duty by the people. If these shocks, and others likely to follow, will only teach the American people that their sole dependence should be on themselves, and that a good party is better than the best man that ever lived, we shall not have gone through this valley of humiliation entirely in vain.

When at last the Sherman Act was repealed, and the cause of our condition according to all standard Democratic newspapers was removed, there were, owing to the delay caused by the party in power, few people left to rejoice in the success which had been so much heralded only a few months before. Even prior to the repeal, the conviction began quietly to steal over the people that the true cause of the stagnation in business, the true source of all our troubles, was the fact that in power and supreme control over the United States was a party which, however meritorious its individuals might be, as a party was utterly incapable of inventing a policy, or even of carrying out a policy which had been boldly promised and broadly announced.

After this idea had taken possession of the country came the remarkable series of elections which showed neither Republicanism nor Democracy in strict party expression, but a deep sense of the utter incapacity of those in power. All that has followed the elections has but tended to show how just was the judgment of the people.

One would have supposed that after so marked an action on the part of the electors, so widespread, so universal all over that part of the country where the polls represent the results of thinking, and where votes can be cast and counted as cast, that no committee of ways and means would have dared to take incautious action even, let alone make fierce attack upon industries already staggering under the mere dread of their anticipated action. One would have supposed that whatever had been

the prejudices and theories of individual members, they would have listened to the voice of the people thus loudly echoing and re-echoing across the entire continent. Had the committee been made up of men truly representative of the communities which had spoken, that result would have inevitably followed. Had the committee been of Northern Democrats familiar with our Northern industrial centres, and appreciative of the disastrous winter which now threatens our workingmen, heed would have been given to the voice of warning. But, as if anticipating such a possibility, the committee had been so made up that the few Northern men were swallowed up by the Southern contingent; and the bill which now vexes both the present and the future has come to the light of day.

It seems as if, in the way in which it was presented and in all its concomitants, the bill had not only been drawn but had been managed so as to do to our working people the maximum of harm. At the end of the extra session, when very many manufacturers were hoping, not to make money, but to run their mills in such fashion on short time and on wages temporarily low, as that, without loss, or without much loss, they might mitigate the winter cold to their employees, the Committee of Ways and Means, through their chairman, declared that they hoped to begin consideration of their bill by the first day of the session, and press it on from day to day thereafter. December 4th was then but a month off, and there seemed no respite, and therefore mills remained closed. When the framers did present their bill to the committee, the date on which it was to take effect was put at the 1st of March. If the intention had been to continue the paralysis of business by special effort and with malice prepense, no better series of devices could have been invented.

When the bill itself was presented, it had a most remarkable effect. Many men in New England who had thought that protection had nothing but New England in its scope, and who consequently wanted free wool and free coal, so that their own situation might be perfect, whoever suffered, were appalled when they found the price they had to pay for the change they had advocated, and some of them were the first to shut down their mills. Men there and elsewhere found that from one end of the country to the other the tariff affecting industries had been so arranged that in many cases no reduction of wages could

enable manufacturers to go on, since the finished product was at a lower rate than an earlier stage of manufacture, and thereupon commenced that remarkable series of conclaves in committee-room and corridor, where the industries of the country were rectified by retail in cases where the introduction was of such sort as to insure confidence. When the bill reached the committee, not a table had been prepared, not a single comparison had been furnished, and immediate consideration was urged, so that a longing country might taste the new concoction at the earliest moment. That the bill with all its original imperfections was not launched upon the world just as it came from the minds which, in Arkansas, West Virginia, and Missouri, had familiarized themselves with the intricacies of manufactures, was due to the determination of the minority that the people of the country should have at least one week to find out what was to happen to their business.

The result has been that if the bill as a whole is still unendurable some of the mistakes which showed that the committee did not know how to carry out its own intent, have been rectified and cease to be monuments of obvious error. Any one curious to see the changes made, and curious to follow them to their sources, will see that the great interests, the Trusts, which are the pretended objects of Democratic animadversion were capable of taking care of themselves, even before a committee whose fondness for the poor man will be more appreciated than ever when the thermometer falls below zero in the coming months. Had other interests been as potent, who knows but that clapboards, lath, shingles, and lumber generally might have got back to the dutiable list, as well as boards planed and tongued and grooved? Had all the small manufacturers been able to be as well represented as the great ones, many a little industry which will now go under might have had at least a chance for life.

Now that the bill is before us, what is to be said of it? Clearly it is not a bill for revenue only, since it reduces the revenue of the country probably seventy-five millions of dollars, so far as the usual treasury calculations can furnish us any aid in determining what the loss will be. If there be any gain to be anticipated to be set off against this loss, it must come from increased importations, which will just so much diminish American production and be so much taken away from American labor. The bill cannot

claim the merit, if there be any, of free trade, except such as comes to it from having selected and cut off from protection many industries which were at least as deserving as those which are to survive. In its struggle to put raw materials on the free list, this bill, devised in the main by Southern men, has so stricken the undeveloped regions of this country that the South is more likely than any other part of us to pre-eminently suffer by their efforts. The time was when the West felt toward protection much as the South does now, but with Illinois as the third manufacturing State in the Union, the West beyond the Mississippi is looking forward to the day when the more direct benefits may reach them and develop their resources also. In like manner the wise business men of the South are looking forward to-day, or rather were looking forward last year.

The bill cannot claim any merit as a fulfilment of the platform of the Democratic party, since that platform denounced protection as robbery; and if protection be robbery, then this bill is robbery on a sliding scale. In one instance, at least, the bill involves more unblushing misuse of public funds than was ever charged upon its predecessors, even in those impassioned harangues over the horrors of taxed trace-chains which illuminated my earlier days in Congress.

In the present law there is a provision to pay to sugar planters and producers, mostly in the South, a bounty which amounts to a large sum every year, to continue for fifteen years. That bounty was given every sanction possible. The money to pay it was made part of the permanent appropriation and did not need to be appropriated every year. This was given for a twofold purpose: as a substitue for the protection incidental, and therefore Democratic, which had resulted from a revenue tax from which we desired to free the country, and also as a means of establishing permanently in the South the production of cane sugar, and in the North of beet sugar. That bounty could only be justified on the ground that an industry worth this large expenditure could be established in the country.

The present bill proposes to substitute for this bounty a new bounty beginning at the same figure and diminishing one-eighth every year so as to cease in eight years. On what principle is this to be done? On the principle that the United States is thereby to obtain an industry worth that sum of money? Not at

all. Nobody dreams that in eight years on a sliding scale such an industry can be established or even sustained. Is it on the principle that the United States owes something to a discontinued industry? That would hardly be claimed, for, if it were so, the incomes of the corporations would be highly taxed the next few years to pay for what this bill does in that direction. Can it be justified on the ground of contract in this particulur case? If so, then the contract calls for full bounty for fifteen years, not a half-bounty for half the time. The truth is that the sop of thirty-four millions, more or less, thrown to the Louisiana planters is pure gratuity for which no one has even the poor excuse of hoping that some good will come of it to the country giving the money.

To put this item into the bill seems doubly strange when you remember how vocal the air was one time with these men's denunciation of even the idea of bounties. It does really look as if Chairman Wilson was right in calling this a "political bill."

If the bill cannot claim that it carries out the principle of free trade, and cannot, by the wildest stretch of imagination, be deemed the fulfilment of solemn pledges of the party in power, what is its merit? It cannot be that the men who made it will claim for it the advantages of Protection. They could not do it. Too long have they reiterated the charge that "Protection is robbery, depriving people of their property under pretence of taxation." "Can taxation create anything?" they have been asking triumphantly in chorus for long years. If taxation cannot create anything, what are they trying to save by their sanction of reduced robbery? If the consumer has to pay the tax to the manufacturer equal to that added by the tariff to the price of imported goods, what difference is there in principle between that taxation which puts an unjust dollar into the pockets of the robber barons, and that same kind of taxation when it puts an unjust half a dollar into the same pocket to jingle against the dollars of bygone days? Has the United States reached that point of national decrepitude when it must ransom itself by a surrender of one-half of an unjustifiable exaction?

This bill has all the forms of a protection bill. It tries to adjust the duties to the nature of the production and to discriminate between different stages of manufacture. It surrenders all

principle in form, but is likely to be as deadly as could be desired in practice.

Let us see what are likely to be the results. Production will not cease. The plants are here, however reduced in value, and must in all possible cases be utilized. In some cases they cannot be, in others they will be. But the conditions must all be seriously changed. The people of this country are all used to high wages and the distribution of comforts that these wages bring. Let us not dispute whether the tariff or organized labor has caused this. The fact exists. When under this bill—if such a misfortune as its passage is to happen to us—our goods come to the market, they will meet goods which can be sold, duty paid, at a lower price than the cost here, provided our labor receives the same wages as heretofore. How can they be met? Manufacturing is not a happy-go-lucky business. It is a matter of figures. It is so here. It is so over the water, and they are not asleep beyond seas.

A Bradford expert had figured out the effect of the new tariff bill two days before it was even presented to the Ways and Means Committee, and he predicted for Bradford "five years of such prosperity as she has not known since 1872." Such are the people we have to meet, and we can only meet them by reduction of prices of labor. If, then, we reduce the price of labor, we can at best only hold our own markets; and with the price of labor reduced, what are our markets worth? Just so much less as our wages come down. What makes America so good a market that all the world longs to break into it? The wages and the payments for labor both of brain and muscle. If you reduce such payments can it help still further reacting upon all our products? This question needs no answer. The country at this moment is learning the lesson of the interdependence of industries and the railroad employee discharged because the factory and the mine send no products to market hardly needs to be further taught that a country with one set of industries out of joint can no more rejoice in its remaining resources than a man with a broken leg can be happy over the whole bones in the rest of his body. Lower wages and lower prices may seem simple of adjustment to a man in a closet, but less work because of foreign goods and a market cut in two by reduction of wages may prove impossible of endurance to men who have to live in a practical world.

It would not be suitable in an article like this to specify the probable effects of the bill in its particulars, even if anybody were capable of it. Each community will know before the year is out if it passes. Every heart will soon know its own bitterness. There are some considerations of a general character which ought to be borne in mind. A manufacturing establishment as a producer of wealth is something more than mills and machinery. It is a workshop full of men who have to be organized to work with each other, whose co-operation in all ways is almost as essential as their work. Each man must fit into his place, and the work of each must supplement the work of the other. The shop must be a harmonious whole. This organization is hard to make, is the result of much time and patience and not lightly to be tampered with. Morever the establishment must not only make its goods, but must sell them. It must have its regular customers, who know and can rely on mutual understanding. A set of customers also is the result of time, patience, and skill. These customers cannot be lightly cast away. Business relations are like open accounts, hard to commence, but easy to continue. If a manufacturing establishment is disabled and can no longer make goods at a profit by reason of the lowering of the tariff, the customers may be held by manufacturing abroad or by purchase of goods made abroad. This last system will be resorted to by those who have ample capital and the disposition and faith to await the change of obnoxious laws. But the organization inside must be lost, and the men who compose it must inevitably suffer. In fact, they are suffering now, and will until this bill is defeated.

Another consideration has got to be faced. A closed manufactory is not like a closed house, where the furniture can be covered, and there is no loss except what may be measured by the rent. A manufactory closed deteriorates beyond all expectation, and that is not the worst of it. It gets behind the times, and in a few years would be worthless. The price of successful manufacturing is ceaseless vigilance. No machinery is too good not to be replaced at short intervals. Men must keep pace with all that others do, and add their quota of inventive power besides. Many a manufactory is saved by the utilization of by-products. People at large do not appreciate the narrow margins of the business, and take no account of bad years, and risks and expendi-

tures to replace machinery gone out of date and to make experiments for the future.

Were it not for these considerations men might perhaps console themselves by looking forward to the speedy repeal of these proposed enactments even if they should be passed, but the system under which we live imposes the barrier of three years at least against such a hope. But who doubts to-day what is the opinion of the people of the United States on this proposed action of the Government? That is shown not alone by the results of the last election and the uniform expression of the whole North; it can be seen in the daily privations of the people, the utter stagnation of business, and in the faces of the Committee of Ways and Means themselves. It will really not be much consolation, that what is our loss seems to be some other nation's gain. If West Virginia coalfields are undeveloped and the State which sent its Democratic governor to remonstrate with full voice and indignant iteration against the action of its Democratic representative should halt in its progress, it will not seem to be compensation that Nova Scotia and some citizens of New England, who have invested capital outside of this country, will reap the benefit. If a flourishing town in New England should cease to quarry lime rock and send its product to market, we should not be satisfied to know that New Brunswick will build another city—and the Dominion will gain what we have lost.

Such joy as is expressed in Nova Scotia over free coal, in New Brunswick over lessened duty on lime, and in Bradford over the revival of its woollen industries at the cost, charges, and expense of our own, may afford satisfaction to those whose hearts have so enlarged that they have become citizens of the world; but those who have only reached that stage of development which causes them to be content with being mere citizens of the United States will still cling to the provincial and Philistine feeling that happy cities this side the Atlantic on our shores interest them more than happy cities on any other shores.

There can hardly be a doubt that the passage of the proposed bill will call back the Republican party to power at the first opportunity, but no Republican, under fear that when the danger is over people will forget how great the danger was, can afford to omit a single effort to save the country from this unfortunate bill.

THOMAS B. REED.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

RECENT ROMANCINGS ON HEAVEN AND HELL.

DURING the past year several important contributions have been made to current literature on the subject of heaven and hell, especially the latter. Perhaps the most remarkable contribution of this kind, and certainly the one to create the most widespread sensation, was written by Prof. St. George Mivart, a distinguished Catholic theologian, and was entitled "Happiness in Hell."

According to the tenets of the older and sterner church there is a hell not only for the wicked who defy God's commandments in this life, but also for others who through no fault of theirs are unable to fulfil certain conditions. Professor Mivart, however, lays down the doctrine that the latter class do enjoy a certain happiness, and that their greatest misery lies in the fact that they can not enjoy the beatific vision. Such souls, he maintains, can be happy, though the highest happiness is not within their reach. This view of the complex question was severely assailed by other Catholic writers, and the heretical mouse was quickly disposed of by the orthodox cats, so that the world is now aware that such is not the doctrine of the Catholic Church.

There has also been contributed to literature recently, by an American woman, a drama which gives a novel idea of hell. It represents a man in a dream talking with several of his departed ancestors. One of these told the man that he was in hell, though there was no such place as heaven or hell in the way in which these terms were commonly understood. This man's hell was a condition of feeling in which he had no interest in anything. He felt no enjoyment, no ambition, no pleasure, no passions, no desires. He could go to heaven, he said, if he liked, but he had no desire. He was not interested in anything he might find there or anywhere else.

This condition is to a certain extent exemplified in club life, in society, and in the general lives of the rich and idle. They have exhausted every source of enjoyment and tapped all fountains of enthusiasm. New schemes have to be constantly provided to stimulate even a little their appetite for pleasure. Hell, according to this writer, is this condition carried to its extremity. It is a condition without hope, feeling, ambition, or desires—one of the most horrible states in which any man or woman could be placed.

These two productions may be taken as types of several others, the writers of which put forward descriptions of hell and talk about the recognition of friends in heaven as if they knew all about it. One of these critics

of the unseen has even ventured to write a paper upon "Social Life in Heaven," from the reading of which we must confess the very title deterred us. What can this writer, or any one else, know of social, *i. e.*, companionable or company, life in heaven? It seems to us that the very suggestion that any one knows a whit about it is dishonest.

Such articles as these, however, invariably provoke considerable discussion because man has always been anxious to pierce beyond the veil which closes over the grave and hides from him his hereafter. Some of the most popular books of the present day have been those which treat, and too often treat mischievously, in poetic and exaggerated language, of the glorious heaven or the terrible hell which awaits the soul. Works of this class have been sold by thousands.

Cloudy contemplations and loose and inaccurate attempts to construe obscure revelations have been spun out page after page, and the reader whose curiosity has been moved to buy such books is sometimes frightened into a madhouse by pictures of torment taken from Dante's gloomy poem, and for which there is no warranty in Scripture. On the other hand, heaven is spoken of by some as if it were reserved only for a special set of persons who agree in a blind worship of their own arbitrary ideal; and it was this pharisaic spirit which made Hood exclaim:

> "My spirit swells not with the bigot's leaven;
> All men I view with toleration thorough,
> And have a horror of regarding heaven
> As any priest's or prelate's rotten borough."

In all ages and in most countries man has expected to find in the next life somewhat of a continuation of the joys and pleasures of this. The lower the culture of a people, the more rude is the idea that they have of heaven. Pope has reason in his sarcasm when he tells some rude boor to

> "Go, like the Indian; in the better life
> Expect thy dog, thy bottle, and thy wife."

And the material heaven of the Mahometan, where pleasant rivers and shining waters await the blessed who shall in wondrous gardens meet with crowds of beautiful houri brides, ever fresh and ever young, is sufficient in the eyes of the philosopher at once to condemn the faith which is propagated by conquest, slaughter, and blood, and rewarded by pleasure and lust. Not much more rational was the poetic idea of heaven which the learned Pagans taught. This was a heaven where impalpable but visible shades met and conversed upon matters of earth. Warrior met warrior, poet met poet, and each talked about his art, his family, and his history. It was a notion surely born of the conceit of man, which presumed that the spirits of the departed debated upon the business of their relations on earth.

From these sad dreams of Tartarus, where sat the judges who could not be corrupted by bribes, and where men's actions pleaded for them or against them, almost all modern notions of the future state of the soul seem to have been taken. For eighteen hundred years we have not been able to shake off the effects of classicism. The stories of the Greek and Latin poets taught in our schools have affected the upper classes even more than the Bible has affected the lower.

It was but natural that poetry should be tinted with the hues emanating from these poetic lights. The human mind is slow, indeed, to emancipate itself from error. In Dante we have the three judges, Chiron, the centaur, Cerberus, the rivers of the classic hell, and other classic accessories, to

which are added the punishment dreamed of by the early monks and priests in a too literal construction and application of Hebrew texts. From the tone of Dante's *Inferno* it would seem that at the mouth of the grave God forgot his mercy and assumed the character of a pitiless and revengeful creator, who stooped to exhaust the ingenuity of a human mind in the invention of never-varying and never-ending torments.

In the debate of the fiends and overthrown angels in Milton's sublime poem, the chief of hell, Satan, is reminded by one of his subordinates that the greatness of God's mind can discover greater torments; while those which they at present endure they may, in the future, grow used to; but in Dante this miserable hope is cut off. As in Venice, with an ingenuity which may be called hellish, prisoners were confined in winter in cells below the level of the water, where the air was damp and cold, and their limbs were racked with agues and with frost, and were removed in summer to beneath the leads of the castle, where the sun baked them, and the brain seemed to boil with the fever heat of the blood—so the imagination of Dante runs riot in the conception of alternate frost and fire, and of a perpetual change which shall insure a perpetual pain. How miserably mean is this conception!—how different, indeed, even from the action of a magnanimous man, and how far removed from the mercies of the Almighty Father, we leave it to our readers to say.

While we lament the sad mistake which has led the human mind to dwell upon these fictitious horrors and the still sadder tendency which results in such contributions to the literature of the future as those of Professor Mivart and his fellows, we may nevertheless reasonably debate the question what the future life may be, on the lines followed by Archdeacon Farrar in his article entitled "Conceptions of a Future Life," which appeared in the March number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, and by the Rev. Reginald Heber Howe in his paper, "An Episcopal View of Heaven," in the October number. As the latter pointed out in his article, by transgressing beyond these limits we enter the region of individual opinion and speculation, to which there is no end. Of these are born the crudest and most grotesque conceptions of the nature of the future life, as various in character as the varieties of the human mind. Every image has been pushed to its utmost and with the fullest literalness of interpretation, and heaven has been conceived of accordingly—a veritable city, with its walls and its gates and its streets, with its trees and its river.

The Christian faith, which is always and in every portion, when closely looked into, found as far above any human policy as heaven is above earth, is wise in not revealing to any of us what heaven is. It may be comforting to some weak souls to dream of a new Heaven as one would of a new estate—a Jerusalem by pleasant waters, without tyrants or judges or enemies to torment without or rogues to break through and steal within. It is so hard to free one's self from earthly ideas that we can pardon the story of Charles Young, the actor, who, before he died, kissed the portrait and the golden lock of hair of his wife whom he had lost fifty years before, and said, "Now I shall see you, my dear Julia." Not to be with God, not to know himself as he himself would be known, not to wonder at the exhaustless power of the All-worker, but again "to see his Julia," was the old man's dream.

Shall we know each other in heaven? The intense desire apparent in the best of minds, of men as well as of women, to resume in heaven the

ties and the society formed on earth, may perhaps be taken as some indication that we shall again know our friends—at least those who are good and true. But it is no proof. It is a foolish and an unlicensed thing to inquire what shall be in heaven. We should remember that we can only properly estimate heaven by generalities and negatives. It is not a place such as we can imagine. If any man tells what it is, that we may be sure it is not. There will be three surprises in heaven—the very greatest at being there ourselves, the second at the absence of those who we thought would be there, and the third at the presence of those who we had condemned and excluded. But beyond that, we may say with Bishop Rust: "It is not for any mortal creature to make a map of that Canaan that lies above; it is, to all of us who live here on the other side of the country, a *terra incognita*." The contemplation of heaven is, in itself, so sublime that it may tax us to the verge of our imagination. What is beautiful in the perfected earth, what is lovely in all holy love, shall remain to us hereafter. This is all we know. With a full trust in that, we can afford to dispense with the vagaries of ungoverned fancy, and to discard the longings of a distempered sentimentality.

GERTRUDE B. ROLFE.

PROFESSOR TYNDALL AS A MATERIALIST.

IT IS an easy thing to remand Professor Tyndall, without more ado, to the camp of materialists, and thereby attach to his name the opprobrium which falls upon all those who hold that grosser form of materialism which Carlyle characterizes as the "philosophy of mud." There are materialists and materialists. Professor Tyndall must be carefully distinguished from the spirit-blind devotees of matter, who stoutly insist that the manifold problems of being and destiny find a ready solution in the properties of matter and the law of the conservation of energy. He differs radically at this point from the rank and file of pure materialists. To overlook the difference between them prevents an honest and just estimate of the man, as a scientist and a philosopher. He has already suffered in this regard in many quarters; but now, at the time of his death especially, he merits a fair and tolerant criticism from all, however widely they may differ from him. It is true that Professor Tyndall finds in matter "the promise and potency of every form and quality of life." Nevertheless, he frankly acknowledges the natural limitations to the materialist's position, viz., that when one has posited the properties and laws of matter he has only removed the difficulties a step farther back; that the analysis is not ultimate: that there is still the genesis of matter, which must be explained; and that there the problem is left in an unsolved and unsatisfactory state. Concerning the famous dictum of German materialism, Ohne Phosphor, kein Gedanke ("without phosphorus there can be no thought") Professor Tyndall, in his *Scientific Limit of the Imagination*, comments as follows:

"This may or may not be the case, but even if we knew it to be the case the knowledge would not lighten our darkness. On both sides of the zone here assigned to the materialist, he is equally helpless. If you ask him where is this matter, of which we have been discoursing, who or what divided it into molecules, who or what impressed upon them this necessity of running into organic forms, he has no answer."

He recognizes a mystery which materialism cannot remove, and that,

too, in a way which distinctly separates his philosophy from the "philosophy of mud." In the same frank manner he acknowledges the natural limits of the Darwinian Hypothesis; he recognizes its defects as a final philosophy, and that it too leaves unanswered the many questions concerning God, nature, and human life. In his *Scientific Use of the Imagination* he says:

"Fear not the evolution hypothesis, steady yourselves in its presence upon that faith in the ultimate triumph of truth which was expressed by old Gamaliel when he said: If it be of God ye cannot overthrow it; if it be of man it will come to naught. Under the fierce light of scientific inquiry this hypothesis is sure to be dissipated if it possess not a core of truth. Trust me, its existence as a hypothesis in the mind is quite compatible with the simultaneous existence of all those virtues to which the term Christian has been applied. It does not solve—it does not profess to solve—the ultimate mystery of this universe. It leaves, in fact, that mystery untouched. For granting the nebula and its potential life, the question, Whence came they? would still remain to baffle and bewilder us. At bottom the hypothesis does nothing more than 'transport the conception of life's origin to an indefinitely distant past.'"

At the outermost rim of his scientific investigation, Professor Tyndall acknowledges ever a bourne of mystery beyond. Towards this he looks with interest and with reverence. There is no indifference in his attitude towards the great unknown—and no conceit. You may call the position in reference to the world of the unseen, and its mysteries, as that of an agnostic; but here also his agnosticism must be distinguished from many who thus style their philosophy or rather lack of philosophy. With him, knowledge is either observed fact, or induced law through verified experiments. All else he has been accustomed to regard as lying beyond his ken. This is his habit of life, moving, working, thinking amidst the things seen, felt, heard, or capable of being touched, and weighed and measured. To a just understanding and appreciation of his views, we must apply that law of relativity, which he employed as his favorite mode of interpretation as regards men and theories. It is this: that the

"impression made upon us by any circumstance, or combination of circumstances, depends upon our previous state. Two travellers upon the same peak, the one having ascended to it from the plain, the other having descended to it from a higher elevation, will be differently affected by the scene around them. To the one, nature is expanding, to the other it is contracting, and feelings are sure to differ which have such different antecedent states."

Professor Tyndall, therefore, educated in the school of the senses, approaches the things which lie beyond the sphere of sense in an extremely cautious manner. He here hesitates to make any affirmation whatsoever. He is one who has but one desire—to know the truth. He has but one fear—to believe a lie. He is so conscientiously sincere that he will speak only concerning the things which lie wholly within his sphere, the world of observation and experiment. His temperament and habit of life naturally precluded him from expressing his views upon any subject, concerning which there is not absolute certitude in his own mind. While we find, therefore, that his statements regarding the supersensuous are at a minimum concerning their extent, still they carry with them, few though they be, a maximum force. His agnosticism does not deny the possibility that there may be an explanation of the vexed questions of the life which now is, and that which is to come. He has no answer, but he is far from asserting that

an answer is impossible. He has a mind open on all sides. He acknowledges the part which the emotional nature of man has played in the history of his development; and in this emotional nature the religious feelings and aspirations hold a prominent place. In his "Inaugural Address" at the British Association he says:

"There are such things woven into the texture of man as the feeling of awe, reverence and wonder, and the love of the beautiful, physical and moral, in nature, poetry, and art. There is also that deep-set feeling which since the earliest dawn of history, and probably for ages prior to all history, incorporated itself in the religions of the world. . . . To yield the religious sentiment reasonable satisfaction is the problem of problems at this present hour."

This is not the language of materialism. It has an outlook towards spiritual verities. We would of course be better satisfied if Professor Tyndall did not insist that religion has only an emotional side, we believing that all enduring sentiment must have an intellectual basis. Nevertheless, we are in accord with him as far as he goes, and he goes far enough, at least, to separate himself completely from the disciples of crude materialism. He does not often grant us glimpses of his own emotional nature. But it forms no small part of the undercurrent of his being which Matthew Arnold so felicitously characterized as the "buried life" of man. It was when far removed from the haunts of men, and drawn nearer to the great heart of nature, that his own heart would leap in sympathetic appreciation of the widespread wonders and beauty about him. In his *Hours of Exercise in the Alps*, his love of nature, again and again, breaks into apostrophe. His admiration is akin to reverence. His communion with nature is not that of a materialist; it is that of the humble child of nature. He says, in his *Scientific Use of the Imagination:*

"The scientists have as little fellowship with the atheist who says there is no God as with the theist who professes to know the mind of God. 'Two things,' said Emanuel Kant, 'fill me with awe: the starry heavens and the sense of moral responsibility in man.' And in his hours of health and strength and sanity, when the stroke of action has ceased, and the pause of reflection has set in, the scientific investigator finds himself overshadowed by the same awe. Breaking contact with the hampering details of earth, it associates him with a power which gives fullness and tone to his existence, but which he can neither analyze nor comprehend."

Here is a spirit not only reverential, but worshipful; and we cannot suppress the conviction which irresistibly forces itself upon our thought, that in the depths of his soul were many treasures of faith and hope never disclosed to eye of man. Although his creed is short, it at least manifests certain intimations of immortality in the heart of one whose life was solely devoted to material things.

At the close of his *Inaugural Address*, he shows forth his many-sided nature in a passage which breathes the spirit of sincerity, and of tolerance, and of reverence withal.

"I would set forth equally the inexorable advance of man's understanding in the path of knowledge, and the unquenchable claims of his emotional nature which the understanding can never satisfy. The world embraces not only a Newton, but a Shakespeare—not only a Boyle, but a Raphael—not only a Kant, but a Beethoven—not only a Darwin, but a Carlyle. Not in each of these, but in all, is human nature whole. They are not opposed, but supplementary—not mutually exclusive, but reconcilable. And, if still unsatisfied, the human mind, with the yearning of a pilgrim for his distant home, will return to the mystery from which it has emerged, seeking so to fashion it as to give unity to thought and faith; so long as this is done

not only without intolerance and bigotry of any kind, but with the enlightened recognition that ultimate fixity of conception is here unattainable, and that each succeeding age must be held free to fashion the mystery in accordance with its own needs; then, in opposition to all the restrictions of materialism, I would affirm this to be a field for the noblest exercise of what, in contrast with the knowing faculties, may be called the creative faculties of man. Here, however, I must quit a theme too great for me to handle, but which will be handled by the loftiest minds ages after you and I, like streaks of morning cloud, shall have melted into the infinite azure of the Past."

Here are evidences not only of a philosophy rising above the dead level of materialism, but also of the fire of hope and faith which burns bright in the heart of every man.

JOHN GRIER HIBBEN.

STREET BEGGING AS A FINE ART.

THE recent enormous and even alarming increase in the number of beggars in New York is accounted for by the police authorities on the ground that a large number of professional mendicants are drawn to New York from all parts of the country at this season of the year by the well-founded belief that means are so ample there and that charity is so free.

This horde of beggars, which seems to have been suddenly let loose upon the streets of the metropolis, consists for the most part of surly-looking men, with unkempt beards, bleared eyes, and threatening manners. Sturdy and impudent, they are to be found on the streets both uptown and downtown from early in the evening until daylight. In the neighborhood of the big hotels they are especially prolific. Fifth avenue from Fourteenth street to Forty-second street seems to be their favorite haunt. Here they lie in wait in the doorways, from whence they suddenly dart out at the passer-by, fall in with his gait and insist upon alms.

They began about a month ago by frightening women into giving them money, but lately they have been begging from men. When refused, they are usually content to say something insulting, although in some cases they almost use threats to extort money. The stabbing of a gentleman recently at his doorway on Fifth avenue by one of these beggars to whom he had refused alms is only an instance of a trifle more violence on the part of the mendicant than is exhibited by other members of the tribe which now infests the streets of New York.

In the old days, when every town sought to take care of its own folk, the beggar who came from a distance and was not a handicraftsman was put in the stocks or was roughly brought before the magistrates and carefully whipped before being started on his way towards otherwhere. This was all very pleasant and patriarchal. It presupposed that every man could and would take care of his own; that there was something to do for every one who would work; and that, in fact, no one ought to be simply a beggar or vagabond.

The professional beggar is not a modern innovation, by any means. Readers of the *Spectator* will recall "Scarecrow," the famous London beggar who, having disabled himself in his right leg, asked alms all day in order to get a warm supper at night. According to John Timbs, the "Rufflers," to whom we often find mention in the literature of the seventeenth century, were troops of idle vagrants who infested Lincoln's Inn Fields. They assumed the characters of maimed soldiers who had suffered

in the great rebellion, and found a ready prey in the people of fashion and quality who drove by. Indeed, it is made clear by contemporary allusion in comedies that this square was the regular haunt of bogus cripples who lived by mendicancy, which they carried on in the most barefaced and even intimidating manner.

It is related that George IV., when Prince of Wales, once attended a beggars' carnival in London, *incognito*. He had not been there long when the chairman, addressing the company and pointing to the Prince, said, "I call upon that ere gemman with a shirt for a song." The Prince, as well as he could, was excused upon a friend who accompanied him promising to sing instead, which the latter did amid great applause. The health of the Prince and his friend having been drunk, and duly responded to, they departed in order to afford the company an opportunity to fix their different routes for the ensuing day's business; for at that time the professional beggars of London used to have a general meeting several times during the year at which they were divided into companies, each company having its particular walk. In those days their earnings varied much, some getting as much as five shillings a day. Most of the professional beggars in London to-day—and their name is legion—emanate from two or three common lodging-houses. The most populous of these, which is known as "The Dispensary," supports an individual known as a "scriver," who earns a living by manufacturing the pathetic signboards which the sham cripples and bogus blind men carry round their necks. In Paris, as is well known, the professional beggars hold regular weekly meetings at which the routes to be followed by the members of the guild are mapped out by a standing committee. They have an organ of their own, called the *Journal des Mendicants*, which appears twice a week. From a recent issue the following curious advertisement is taken: "Wanted—To engage a cripple for a seaside resort. Good references and a small deposit required." This queer announcement is explained by the fact that the proprietors of hotels and boarding-houses at fashionable French watering-places assume that visitors would be disposed to give alms if an opportunity were afforded them; and as they cannot very well do the begging themselves, they engage professional beggars to whom they grant permission to solicit alms on their premises, and the beggars in return pay them one-half of their daily receipts.

New Yorkers undoubtedly suffer more from the tribe of beggars than the residents of any other city in this country. The professional beggar makes New York his happy hunting-ground, and dresses for his character like any other actor. "He is a Lazarus by day," says a writer, "but at night he puts off his rags and fares sumptuously—then he is Dives. He is an artist, and his art is lying." In the poorer quarters of the city on a Saturday night, when the poor man and his hard-working wife have received their pittance the professional beggar is sure to be on hand, with his detestable whine, his lies, his rags, his professional face, ready to coax the money from these poor people, and to get *in one night* from the charitable more money than the industrious man has got from a whole week's work.

Nor is the occupation very unpleasant. Inured to the open air, beggars are much healthier than the pent-up factory hand or shop-girl. Their "looped and windowed raggedness" is half sham; when it is not so, use has made it pleasant, and they are ragged from choice. Shoeless they are, or their shoes have holes, as ours ought to have—some of the advanced of us declaring that shoes as a whole are a mistake. They have little care or

anxiety, except the fun of dodging the policeman. They have little pride, and therefore can consort with more open and violent thieves. Actually they are thieves themselves, for they take money for work which they have not done. Moreover, they shamelessly impose upon those who really pity and befriend them.

The manner in which they impose upon people we all know; to what extent they do so may be guessed. A well-known clergyman recently set his wits to work to relieve distress, but, being a wise Christian, he made inquiries *before* he gave relief. Of two hundred beggars, only two—one per cent.—gave true addresses, and of those two, one succeeded in cheating him.

Professional beggars pass under various aliases. They change their addresses to avoid detection. They travel from city to city. The Charity Organization Society has among its records the history of one old man who collected something like eighteen thousand dollars by years of industrious begging. His wife and children were well-to-do, but although very much ashamed of the business, they were unable to make him desist. He had done the thing so long that he could not be persuaded to give it up.

The ruses resorted to by some of these professional beggars are not without interest. There is, for instance, the lamplighter, whose pitiful story has unloosened the purse-strings of so many generous but unwary people. His story is that he used to light lamps on your street. He remembers you very well; but perhaps you have forgotten him. But knowing your face so well, he ventures to ask for a small loan. At this point he begins to tell you a most beautiful and pathetic story.

Then there was the young man who dropped the crust of bread upon the sidewalk, then covertly picked it up, glanced around to see that he was not observed and hurried away. A new character has recently appeared upon the streets in the shape of a young woman of lady-like appearance, handsomely dressed, who has accidentally lost her pocketbook and wants just enough to pay her carfare home. A lady answering to this description was seen by several different people in different parts of the city during the past few weeks.

A few years ago there appeared in New York, and afterwards in various other cities, a mild old lady with a handsome daughter. Both of them were very refined in appearance and clearly in a great and sudden distress, of which they were very reluctant to speak. The story they told of the bereavement and sudden misfortune which had come to them was so pathetic that it kept them in funds for a number of years, until the fraud was finally discovered and their real history published. There have been no reports of this couple for many months now. They are probably working in some other city. But as these professional beggars make their appearance periodically, it is pretty near time for them to show up again. And then these people invariably return to New York sooner or later. It seems to have a sort of fascination for them.

Experience teaches that a man who will make a business of begging will steal. Professional beggars must therefore be hunted down and prosecuted just the same as any other sort of criminals. As the law now stands, persons who beg can be punished, and rightly so, we think, for that offence. One thing is certain, that they ought to be either relieved or punished. This being conceded, it follows that at least ninety-five out of every hundred habitual beggars are professional rogues, idle persons brought up to beggary, who cheat the good, prevent relief from coming

into the hands of the needy, live a miserable, vicious, and wicked life, rob society of whatever each of them owes to God's world in return for the benefits that he gets, trouble society with infinite evils, and should be most severely punished, and by force exterminated—that is to say, converted into working members of the community by being set to some employment more or less profitable.

The relation of the vagrant to the criminal class is of the closest character; it is hard to say where the one begins and the other ends. Every vagabond is an idle fellow, quite ready to turn his hand to the easiest way of getting money. When he cannot cheat, he steals; if stealing is beyond his reach, he begs in a whining tone. That in New York he subsists almost wholly by begging is owing to the ceaseless good-nature of the public. Whatever New York may be to the poor, honest, and industrious workingman, it is a land flowing with milk and honey to the idle. The popular myth that our streets are paved with gold is practically realized by this class; and what a base class it is! The more we think of the enormity of the swindle they are engaged in, the more indignant we become. It does not hurt the rich so much as the poor man. The giver is swindled out of his money, and God will reward him—indeed, his conscience already rewards him—for his deed, if done in true charity; but the poor, modest, starving man, who is dying of hunger in some miserable abode, *that* is the man who is robbed by the professional beggar.

"All of these people," says a report, "are more or less debased; their intellectual faculties are of the lowest order; their moral sense is stifled or inactive through suspicion or dishonesty." Laziness, the mother of all evil, is at the bottom of this criminal cupidity, but the immediate parent of all is indiscriminate charity. There is no nobility so great as that exhibited by him who beneficently labors for the good of all; but so-called charity has thrown all natural feelings on such matters quite out of gear. Mendicancy, attracted by the feelings of greed of getting some of the large prizes in our institutions and charities, is raised into a scientific profession; and what is easily obtained is, according to a universal law, as lightly spent. People get by beggary, and spend in drunkenness.

It is not necessary for individuals to take matters into their own hands. Indeed, they should not, for if they do they will increase the difficulties of everybody who tries to relieve suffering in a rational way. Giving on the street will increase the number of mendicants of the worst class, and people must not be deceived by the piteous realism of the plea, for eloquence and plausibility are a sure sign of the artist and the undeserving specialist.

The remedy lies in systematic charity, instead of the practice pursued by the careless giver. The criminal and vagabond class has been cultivated and fostered by foolish philanthropists and by an over-generous and soft-hearted public. It is useless for work, for almost anything; it is utterly demoralized. It is hard to say whether its men or women are worst. At any rate they are not to be pitied, but to be hated until the crime has gone out of them; not to be fostered, but to be cut up. Leniency with them is a fault; easy good nature is a crime, for mistaken kindness to them means cruelty of the worst kind towards the industrious and deserving poor with whom they are brought into contact, and whose progeny they too often ruin and corrupt.

K. K. BENTWICK.

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MY AMERICAN EXPERIENCES.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SWISS REPUBLIC.

FROM my early boyhood I desired to visit America, not that I wished to seek a new home there, or merely to satisfy my curiosity or my love of travel, for the land and people of the United States always excited an interest in me which had something of the fascinating power of magnetism.

I left the University of Jena on the 13th of November, 1860, and reached New York after a stormy voyage of twenty-one days. The political situation in the United States at that time was comparable with the sultry air which precedes a thunderstorm. In South Carolina the Governor had declared, that in the event of Mr. Lincoln's election the only alternative left was the secession of that State from the federal Union; and if, he said, the Government of the United States, forgetful of the lessons of history, should attempt coercion, it would become the solemn duty of the South to meet force by force.

I remained in New York only a few days, but long enough to receive a lasting impression of the tremendous energy which pulsed in the waving life of the Empire City. I was particularly struck by the discovery which I made there that in the United States the task of the policemen is not to vex their fellow-citizens, but to protect women and children, who were led safely through

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the bustle of wagons by the stately bluecoats. In the old country the police had in those times not yet reached this degree of perfection.

My destination was the Looking-Glass Prairie, near Highland, Madison County, Illinois, where the Swiss colony, of which the brothers Köpfli, of Lucerne, had laid the foundation in the third decade of our century, was situated. Here I hoped to become acquainted with the real life of the American farmer, which fiction had always painted to me in the most friendly and peaceful colors. The country around Highland, called Looking-Glass Prairie, is a fertile plain. The town itself lies upon several hills, one of which is called the "Rigi," a very bold comparison, but one which reflects honor upon the good heart and the patriotic sentiments of the first settlers.

It is said that the mountaineer living in the level country feels unhappy. I passed my youth in Switzerland, and spent three years as a student in Jena, in the midst of the castle-crowned hills of Thuringia; but I never felt more happy and more pleased than during my brief sojourn at Looking-Glass Prairie.

I will not attempt to compare Highland and its surroundings with the lake of Lucerne and its environment, but a man who has seen the Looking-Glass Prairie in a clear moonlight night without having been touched is, in my opinion, incapable of feeling the grand beauty of the Rütli.

My good parents had furnished me with pocket-money far beyond my merit, so that I could have afforded to look upon the farmers' life in easiness. But I preferred to work and took a place with a farmer, whose name was Leder. He had been born in Ober-Flachs, Canton of Aargau. To distinguish him from his two brothers he was called the Little Leder. In his youth, as coachman, he had driven my father to the federal Diet at Lucerne. The Little Leder was therefore proud of his new hand; and although nearly everybody at Highland knew me, he never failed to present me with the words, "Here is Frey, my servant." Twenty years later, when I visited Highland as the first Minister of Switzerland to the United States, Little Leder appeared at one of the dinners offered to me in those joyful days, exclaiming, as I had predicted, "This is Minister Frey, who once was my servant, my *servant*." I, on my part, was not less proud of being a farm-hand, and I think I may say that little

Leder never had a hand who was more exact in the fulfilling of his duty than myself.

Our daily fare consisted of coffee, bacon, and cornbread. The bacon was not of the finest quality, and I had to take some coffee after every morsel, in order to wash it down as fast as possible. It seems that Mrs. Leder remarked this, for one day she told me that henceforth a special piece of bacon would be on the plate for me. But Mrs. Leder had not reckoned with my neighbor, a tall, fine-looking man from the canton of Solothurn, called Ruedi, who, without further ceremony, took the select piece the first time it was provided and put it on his plate. This misfortune, however, did not occur to me again, for the next day I was quicker than Ruedi in laying hold of it, and from that time I enjoyed the uncontested possession of this privilege.

Not very far from Highland there was living, on his farm, Frederick Hecker, the most eminent and popular man of the German Revolution of 1848. He was an accomplished lawyer of great learning, a famous and imaginative speaker, and a man of great, sometimes even rough, openness. There never was a man more unselfish or a more fervent idealist, and never was I more proud of a man's friendship than I was of the paternal affection with which Hecker, who was a friend of my father, honored me. I visited him several times at his farm; and four years later, it was he who cordially received me when I came out of my southern captivity, broken and miserable.

In the mean time the storm had broken out. Abraham Lincoln had hardly ascended the presidential chair when the first gun was fired in the port of Charleston. In vain did Mr. Lincoln assure the people of the South in his inaugural address that they had no cause of apprehension either as to their property or persons from the accession of a Republican administration. In vain he declared that he had no intention to interfere directly or indirectly with slavery in the States where it existed. In vain he declared that he held the Union to be perpetual, a government, and not a mere association, of the States, and that no State of its own mere motion could lawfully go out of the Union. In vain he added: "In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being the aggressors."

The storm broke out. Mr. Lincoln called for volunteers. The people of the North responded cheerfully. One of the first who hastened to offer his service to the country was Frederick Hecker. He entered as a private in the regiment of Franz Sigel, his friend and companion in 1848, and some time afterwards a regiment of volunteers was raised for him and placed under his command. It was the Twenty-fourth Illinois.

I had in the mean time sojourned some days at Quincy, Ill., and on the 17th of June I enlisted in the 24th at Chicago. On the same day I was appointed by Colonel Hecker to be color-bearer of the regiment, and in the evening we left Chicago for Alton, Ill.

Thus I became a soldier; why, is a question not easily answered. I am the descendant of an old family of soldiers, whose blood has been shed on many a battle-field. Mine I had shed hitherto only in duels during my student life. The prospect of fighting in a jolly, merry campaign possessed a great charm for me, and I will not deny that this was one reason which induced me to enter into the regiment of Hecker. But I dare say that I was not less inspired by the idea of supporting the great cause of the republic, of fighting for the preservation of the Union. I was at that time old enough to comprehend that the dismemberment of the United States would seriously injure the cause of liberty in the world and that the idea of republican government would develop itself in a very different way if, instead of the one and indivisible Union, several groups of rival States should be established on the American continent.

Besides this I was, like every well-educated European, a decided abolitionist. However, I was not a mere adventurer, when on June 17, 1861, I received out of Colonel Hecker's hand the colors of the regiment, and well may I add that no native American was prouder than I to bear the Star-Spangled Banner. And never did I change my feeling during all the fatigues and dangers of the war.

And we did not have to wait very long for perils and hardships. First we made war more or less on our own responsibility in the country near Charles City, Mo., against the rebel bushwhackers, who had made their appearance there. Afterwards we served in southern Missouri under the command of Prentiss.

One day we heard that we were assigned to the brigade of

General Grant and that he would inspect the regiment. We were placed in line and every preparation for inspection was made, but the general did not appear. I was somewhat astonished when, nevertheless, the colonel commanded, "Present arms!" Two inconspicuous riders, who had remained for some time opposite to the left wing of the regiment, then moved forward towards the colonel. These two horsemen were, as we soon learned, General Grant and his aide-de-camp, a German major named Kraut.

The General wore at that time a long beard without a moustache. We had yet heard little or nothing of the future conqueror of the Confederacy, so that the ceremony, I confess, failed to make a great impression upon us. But subsequently I never neglected to mention the fact that I had belonged to the first brigade which Ulysses S. Grant had commanded.

Soon after this I brought to General Grant two prisoners who had been captured by our regiment. He had taken up his headquarters at Pilot Knob, and was staying in a small, low house surrounded by an orchard. The General came out, himself, to receive my report, and addressed several questions to me. My English in those days was most defective, as I fear it is still, and I am afraid the General learned but little profitable news from me. Nevertheless he dismissed me not unkindly.

During the war I seldom saw General Grant. Our regiment was soon afterwards sent to Kentucky, where we were put under the orders of a leader not less famous, General Sherman. Many years after the war I met General Grant at Washington, where he spent some time as a guest of his friend General Beale. Immediately after his arrival I paid my respects to him, and he was kind enough to return my visit the following day, although my residence was at least three miles from General Beale's house. The former General-in-Chief and President of the United States came to me in a modest carriage. It was soon after his return from his journey around the world. During this voyage, when he arrived at Basel, I had received him, together with the United States Consul, Mr. Erny. But as he did not seem to remember the fact, I did not speak about it.

On the other hand, we conversed about the impressions which the General had received in Europe, especially in Paris. And if I say "we," I must add that it was not I, but the taci-

turn General, who bore almost alone the brunt of the conversation. In clear language he described the political situation of Europe at that time, throwing interesting accidental lights on the leading statesmen, with the greater number of whom he had become acquainted, and whom, as far as I could judge, he described very accurately. Suddenly he paused and exclaimed, "I forget that you are a European, and that you must know all these things better than I."

I often saw the General afterwards in Washington, and he always had a warm handshake and a kind word for me. I desire here to express the most lively feelings of gratitude for the great cordiality and kindness shown to me during my stay at Washington by other eminent generals of the Union, notably Sherman, Sheridan, McClellan, Rosecrans, Schofield, Hunt, and many others.

I have heard many opinions about General Grant, and I suppose it would little interest the readers of this REVIEW to know what I think of him—from a military point of view. But I believe that the impartial historian cannot but render him this justice: that he had in a high degree the capacity of making great resolutions and carrying them out with immovable perseverance in spite of all obstacles. And this is in my eyes the most important quality of a commander-in-chief.

Soon after our arrival in Kentucky, Sherman established his headquarters at Louisville. He was at that time but little known, and many of my old comrades may remember that a great number of people thought him a most extravagant kind of a general. But he very soon found occasion to give proof of his great faculties and to make his name immortal.

Our regiment had for a long time been encamped in Colesburgh, Ky., without occupation. At the end of January or in the beginning of February, 1862, we moved towards Bowling Green, and, after having taken that town, advanced against Nashville. From there we went (we belonged to the division of General Mitchell, called the flying division) in forced marches against Murfreesboro and Decatur, Ala., where we had the chance to take a *tête-de-pont* constructed with cotton bales. The principal object was to gain possession, by the capture of Decatur, of the important system of railroads of which that town was the centre. For this successful campaign, General Mitchell, who was known before the war as a great astronomer and whom

the boys called "Old Stars," was promoted to the rank of major-general.

On June 17, 1862, I left the Twenty-fourth Illinois Regiment at Athens, Ala., to raise a company for the Second Regiment of Hecker. I had been made second lieutenant on August 29, 1861, and on January 1, 1862, first lieutenant. In August following, in Camp Butler, near Springfield, Ill., I was unanimously elected captain by my new company. This company, which was mainly composed of Swiss, most of whom I had recruited at Highland, Ill., I instructed with the greatest care, and it was soon considered one of the best in the regiment.

In September we were sent to Washington to be incorporated in the Army of the Potomac. Without staying at Washington, we marched over the long bridge into Virginia, where we camped on the Arlington Heights. I shall never forget the sight which presented itself to our eyes the morning after our arrival—as the sun rose above the Capitol and poured its golden splendor over that wonderful building and the city, to the defence of which we had hastened from the far West.

In the battle of Fredericksburg our regiment, the Eighty-second Illinois, had no direct part. In January, 1863, the passage of the Rappahannock was for the second time tried in vain. Then came the battle of Chancellorsville, in which our regiment lost 156 men out of 450 in about half an hour; and then the battle of Gettysburg.

Our regiment was still commanded by Colonel Hecker, who had fought like a lion at Chancellorsville, where he was seriously wounded. Our brevet-commander was Count Schimmelpfening, a brave soldier, who had learned his business in the German army. The division was commanded by Carl Schurz, who, although not a soldier by profession, always distinguished himself, especially so at the unfortunate battle of Chancellorsville, by his perfect coolness.

The 17th of June was destined to be an important day for me. We were already on the march for the Potomac and for Maryland and Pennsylvania. Colonel Hecker and Major Rolshausen had been wounded at Chancellorsville and they had not yet returned to the regiment. Lieutenant-Colonel Salomon, who went out of the war as a brigadier, then commanded the regiment, and on the 17th of June conferred upon me the functions of an acting major. I

therefore made the campaign of Gettysburg on horseback. I was very happy over this distinction, though it was to prove the cause of my misfortune. On the evening of the first day of the battle of Gettysburg I was taken prisoner with 3,000 others during the retreat through the town, and I am still sure that I could have escaped, had I not thought it my duty and a point of honor to remain on horseback to the last moment. If I had been on foot, it would have been an easy thing for me to get forward with the compact mass of our retiring troops, whilst on horseback I was constantly stopped and finally cut off with seventy-six men of our regiment and taken prisoner.

"Captive" is a terrible word, the significance of which can only be conceived by him who has been in the unfortunate position which it describes. Never, assuredly, had the horrors of war made a more dreadful impression upon our soldiers than on that day. I, for my part, shall never forget the thrilling scenes which presented themselves to us as we were led back over our own fighting-ground, passing by a number of the dead and wounded of our own regiment.

I received a touching proof of the attachment of my soldiers on that evening. My horse having been taken from me as soon as we were made prisoners, I found myself bereft of everything. The men soon knew it, and, without my being able to prevent it, they made a collection among themselves, and in a short time I was provided with blanket, breadbag, and canteen—in short, with everything a man needs in the field.

However, I did not long enjoy the use of these, for, on our arrival at Staunton, after a painful march of seventeen days, the commissioned officers were packed up in a wagon, and, before starting, everything except our clothes was taken from us. Very fortunately I had been able on the journey to sell my field-glass to a Confederate officer.

I shall not try to describe our life in Libby Prison, where we were incarcerated. I know that the present generation of the people of the Southern States refuses to believe the fact that the Northern prisoners were ill-treated and that thousands of our brave boys died of want and hunger. And it would not be a new story for the people of the North to hear. I will therefore confine myself to a few remarks about my personal experiences during those eighteen and a half months which I spent at

Richmond, Salesbury, and Danville, as a prisoner of the Confederate States.

We arrived at Richmond on the 18th of July, 1863. The room beneath ours in Libby Prison was occupied by citizens of Maryland and Pennsylvania, who had been made prisoners by General Lee on his expedition through these States a short time before. Some of us still had a few pieces of hard bread, and, hearing that these citizens endured the most bitter hunger, we threw it to them through the cleft of a trap-door. Never shall I forget the sight of these men, whose appearance bore the stamp of respectability and wealth, rushing with vehemence towards those wretched crumbs. They fought, and snatched them away from each other; and it was painful to watch those who came out victorious in the contest, devouring the bread. After that we had no doubt as to what we had to expect.

Among the Northern officers at Libby Prison we found that those of Colonel Streight's command were the most numerous. Two of them, Captains Sawyer and Flinn, had just been selected as hostages for two Confederate officers who by order of the United States Government were to be executed. Their fate seemed to be inevitable, and I have rarely seen anything so sad as those two officers in their desolate hopelessness. The hair of one of them turned white in a few days. Suddenly a report was circulated that our troops had taken prisoner a son of General Lee, and that a categorical declaration had been sent to Richmond from the United States Government, that the execution of Sawyer and Flinn would be immediately followed by that of young Lee. The lives of Sawyer and Flinn were thus saved and a few months later they were exchanged.

Ten months after my capture the fate which they had escaped seemed in store for me. A Northern court-martial had condemned to death three Confederate officers, Major Armsey, Captain Gordon, and Lieutenant Davis. By order of Jefferson Davis, three of our officers were taken as hostages for the condemned, and the lot fell upon Major Robert Goff, of West Virginia, Lieutenant Manning, of Massachusetts, and myself. The commander of the Libby Prison apprised us of this fact, and declared positively that if Armsey, Gordon, and Davis should be hanged, no earthly power would save us from the same fate. Without further notice we were transferred to the cellar, and there confined to

a dark cell, nine feet long by six and a half feet wide. This happened on May 3d, 1864. I was then twenty-five and a half years of age, the oldest of the three.

We had hitherto suffered almost unbearable hunger, but there now began, besides the agony of confinement, real starvation. Our daily ration, which we received every day about noon, consisted of a little piece of cornbread, a morsel of rancid bacon, and six or seven spoonfuls of niggerbeans or rice of the meanest quality. By strict order of the government, the total ration was not to exceed the weight of three-quarters of a pound and two ounces. Very fortunately, there were a number of rats in the cellar, and they paid us a visit the first night of our confinement. Friend Manning, who was a clever and imaginative man, proposed to hunt these horrid animals, which, especially at night, used to fight most fiercely. He constructed a trap, and we used our half-rotten bacon as bait. The rat having been caught, it was my business to raise the cover until it showed its head, when the major had to set to work and to belabor its head with a log until it was dead. Next morning the rats were cooked by the negro who had to clean our cell, and then we ate them. It required a dreadful hunger to conquer the disgust we had for these beasts.

On May 21 a waiter told us that we should probably not be hanged. No other notice was given to us. The fact that President Lincoln had suspended the execution of the three Confederate officers, and that by order of the Department of War three Confederate officers had been taken as hostages for us and had been placed in confinement, Captain Wm. G. Stewart being selected a hostage for me, was concealed from us.

The cell next to ours was soon filled with other hostages, among them being Lieutenants Markbreit and Pavey. Hence sprung up between us a friendship as lively as our increasing weakness would permit. We told stories of home, sweet home, and, the same tales being related over and over again, we finally decided that it should be forbidden to repeat the same thing more than ten times. In accordance with this resolution many a tale was stopped in the telling, although the narrator would affirm solemnly that he was only telling his story for the second time. After a short time we were no longer able to walk, and looked like skeletons. I had to spend some days at the hospital, and

was horrified, on coming back, by the appearance of my companions. One day we received our daily ration at four o'clock P. M., instead of at noon, and we had then become so weak through the delay that we could not eat anything that day.

On the 18th day of July we were transferred by railroad to the military penitentiary at Salisbury, N. C., together with some negro soldiers, the doctor having declared that a longer stay in the cell, a description of which I will spare my readers, would undoubtedly kill us. In the penitentiary of Salesbury we were confined together with a band of criminals, and were in constant danger of our lives, until, after the arrival of a further party of our prisoners, we were in the majority. A plan for a general outbreak having been betrayed, the officers were all transported to Danville, and then back to Richmond.

On the 14th of January, 1865, I was exchanged against Captain Gordon. I owed my liberty to the efforts of friends, but above all to the successful intervention of the celebrated American dentist, Dr. Thomas Evans, the same who five years afterwards saved the life of the Empress Eugénie, on the 4th of September, 1870.

I saw Captain Gordon for the first time the 15th of September, 1882, on my arrival in Washington as Swiss Minister. A few weeks ago a Washington paper contained a notice of the captain's death. The article, decorated with our portraits, was inscribed, "A pair for life."

In the winter of 1883 I met Goff and Markbreit at a reception given by Senator Chandler, then Secretary of the Navy. Goff had in the mean time been Secretary of the Navy under President Hayes, and Markbreit had represented the United States as a minister resident in a South American republic.

We did not think of that in our cell.

EMIL FREY.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA LIQUOR LAW.

BY THE HON. B. R. TILLMAN, GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

To THE student of social science and government a brief history of what is known as the Dispensary Law, under which all liquors containing alcohol are "dispensed" or sold by State officers, must prove interesting. The prohibition sentiment is very strong in South Carolina, and has been growing stronger year by year. At the Democratic primaries held in August, 1892, the question of "prohibition" or "no prohibition" was voted on, though it was not made an issue—the abstract proposition being merely submitted. "Prohibition" received 38,890 votes, "no prohibition" received 29,464 votes, while 20,008 voters did not feel enough interest to cast a ballot either way.

When the General Assembly met in November following, many members felt that they were instructed to vote for a prohibition law, and a committee of leading prohibitionists drafted a most stringent bill, embodying the most approved features of the Maine, Iowa, and Kansas liquor laws, with some original provisions of their own. This was amended by the prohibitionists themselves under the light of discussion—loosening the screws in places and tightening them in others. It finally passed the House by a good majority. It reached the Senate a week before the time fixed for adjournment, and that body was in a quandary. Prohibition in theory is beautiful. Many towns and a few counties in South Carolina had tried it, however, and the majority of the Senate was sceptical as to its practical enforcement. The Governor, in his message, had pointed out the difficulties and failures along that line, and mentioned the Dispensary system then and now in operation at Athens, Ga., as worthy of careful study in dealing with the liquor problem. After three days of anxious consultation and discussion, the Dispensary bill was introduced

by the Hon. J. G. Evans, of Aiken, as a substitute for the bill passed by the House. With a few amendments, it was rushed through and sent to the House on the last night of the session; not without a desperate fight on the part of the advocates of license, however, and an all-night session to force the second reading. The House had no time to examine or alter the bill. It was accepted and amended in title to suit its new purpose, becoming an "Act to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage within this State, except as herein provided."

The Dispensary Act as it became a law was the "prohibition bill" almost in its entirety, only such changes being made as were required by the change of purpose. In the original the dispensers were allowed to sell liquor only for "sacramental, medicinal, and mechanical uses." In the substitute the buyer is required to give no reason for buying or to say to what use it is to be put. He is simply required to sign a written request for liquor, stating his age, residence, and the quantity and kind of liquor wanted, to pay the cost, take the sealed package, and depart. Under the original bill the dispenser furnished his own capital to run the business. In the substitute the State furnishes all capital, and owns all liquors until sold to the consumer. It is curious to note the evolution of the Dispensary idea. All the safeguards and schemes, to convict and punish the illicit seller of liquor, which the ingenuity and study of the prohibitionists everywhere had advised during forty years are embodied in the law. But instead of being there to prevent its sale as a beverage, they are there to prevent the sale by any except the State's officers. The prohibition idea attempts to amend the morals and habits of the people by legislative enactment, and says, "Thou shalt not drink intoxicants as a beverage." The Dispensary looks to the same result—the restraint of the evil—but in a different way. Its advocates argue:

"Men cannot be controlled as to their personal appetites and passions from without. Self-control can alone be relied on in such cases. All human beings of both sexes feel the need of and at times indulge in stimulants of some kind when they can get them—whiskey, wine, beer, tea, coffee, tobacco, absinthe, chloral, opium, quinine, or some other of the long list which it is useless to enumerate here. Nearly all these are harmless used in moderation. Most of them are beneficial under certain conditions; none are absolute curses except when abused. Let us deal with men as they are and try to restrain them in the *abuse* of alcoholic drinks,—

not attempt the impossible by endeavoring to prevent their *using* liquors at all."

And how has the experiment succeeded? The Dispensary Law has been and still is the one absorbing, never-ending topic of discussion, and it has produced some comical alignments and alliances in the efforts to obstruct and defeat it. Newspapers which have always fought prohibition, and those known as the organs of the whiskey ring, have suddenly become strong advocates of prohibition. Prohibitionists who are so radical in their views that the uncharitable call them "cranks" have been found shoulder to shoulder with barkeepers and whiskey dealers in opposing it; and while many eminent divines have lent it their aid and indorsement, others are bitter in its denunciation. The more moderate prohibitionists are delighted with it. The whiskey men are more bitter in their opposition to it than they have ever been toward prohibition.

The law went into effect on July 1, and on the night of the 30th of June every bar in the State closed its doors. The work of preparation, organization, and arrangements for the control of so mammoth a business had been going on for several months. It is safe to say that no member of the General Assembly, and very few others—certainly not myself—ever conceived the magnitude of the undertaking; and yet, after it has been in operation four months, the ramifications, complications, and ultimate growth of the business are still subjects of conjecture and wonder.

All of the legal whiskey traffic has been turned into one channel, flowing to Columbia, the central distributing depot. Agricultural Hall, a large two-story building with a cellar, thus making three stories, 167 feet by 35 feet, had been turned into a bottling-works. It is only a question of time when the erection of much larger quarters on the railroad will be necessary. Fifty-four employees, working ten hours every day, are kept busy bottling, and we find it almost impossible to keep the local dispensaries in stock, and that, too, when I think it safe to say that not more than one-half of the liquor being drunk in the State at this time has passed through the Dispensary. Large quantities were purchased in advance, or in anticipation of the law going into effect, by consumers, while there is hardly a train entering the State, day or night, passenger or freight, which does not haul contraband liquor. Some of the railroads are yielding a measure

of obedience to the law, but most of them openly defy it or lend their assistance to smuggling liquor into the State.

I have had prepared tables covering the operations of the State Dispensary and of the County Dispensaries up to the 31st of October, the end of our fiscal year. A careful examination of these figures will show that the Dispensary has been more than self-sustaining. The gross sales to consumers for the first four months, under all the difficulties and obstacles, have been $166,643; expenses of State Dispensary, $72,566; expenses of the county dispensaries, $20,054; net profit of State Dispensary, $32,-198; of the Counties', $20,295. The cheapest grade of whiskey is sold at $3.00 per gallon in any quantity from four gallons down to a half-pint. During the month of July twenty-nine Dispensaries were running; in August, thirty-nine; in September, forty-seven; in October, fifty-one. One has been discontinued, leaving fifty now in operation. The number of clerks to Dispensers and assistants is twenty-four. The salaries of these local officers have been fixed by the State Board, and range from $1,000 to $300 per annum. Where the magnitude of the business requires it, the Dispenser is given one or more assistants, but in no case is the salary more than $1,000.

Hitherto under the license system the several counties have derived a revenue of $100 for each license, aggregating last year for the entire State $81,100. Of this, four counties—Charleston, Beaufort, Berkeley, and Colleton—received $57,200, leaving $23,900 for the other thirty-one counties. The State received nothing. In the cities and towns the licenses varied, but the aggregate of all towns in the State for last year was $134,372. It is impossible to do more as yet than give an approximation as to what revenue the State, counties, and towns will derive from the change in the method of controlling the liquor traffic. It is safe to say, however, that if the towns cease their unreasonable and senseless opposition, and three-fourths of the liquor which under any conditions will be consumed in that State shall pass through the Dispensary, the revenue of the towns will not be decreased from what it was formerly, that the counties will receive as much, and the State will obtain a revenue equal at least to both of these.*

* NOTE.—The State gets one-half the profits; the county one-fourth, and the municipality one-fourth.

But, although that revenue is not to be despised, the law does not rest on a revenue basis, was not enacted for that purpose, and cannot be defended on that ground. It rests wholly on its claim to being the best method of controlling the evils which are inherent and inseparable from the intemperate use of liquors, and must stand or fall on its merits as compared with other methods of controlling the evil. When the law first went into effect, outside of the city of Charleston there was almost a total cessation of the illicit sale ; but, as time wore on, the men who have always dealt in liquors and grown rich thereby became more and more emboldened to disobey the law, mainly by the encouragement given them by the leading daily newspapers, which promised them immunity from punishment by juries, and presented the spectacle of the teachers of the people inculcating disobedience to law.

While the figures in the following table may be misleading, and will doubtless be modified by later statistics, showing the relative amount of drunkenness in like periods before and since the law went into effect, the table has been prepared to give such *data* as could be obtained. It is made up of the official responses by the mayors and intendants of the cities and towns to a circular asking for information. It may be as well to remark, in passing, that the principal opposition to the law is among the citizens of town and cities, and many of them are unwilling witnesses. This is shown by the fact that, out of seventy-five circulars sent to all the principal cities and towns, responses were received from only thirty-three.

The United States Government considers liquor a legitimate and proper source of revenue, and it derives therefrom about $100,000,000 annually. It will not be denied by any advocate of temperance or prohibition that it is a proper subject of taxation; and if it were proposed to remove the tax, which would inevitably reduce the cost to consumers at least three-fourths, there would be a universal howl by these two classes of citizens. The State, in the exercise of its police power for the ostensible preservation of the public health and morals, has, time out of mind, required a license, and the towns and cities in turn required license ; and while it is true that the State derived no revenue, and sought only to restrict the traffic within the limits of such municipalities as saw fit to grant licenses, it cannot be denied that the raising of revenue to

REPORT FROM TOWNS AND CITIES, OF ARRESTS FOR DRUNKENNESS AND DISORDER ARISING FROM LIQUOR DRINKING FOR A LIKE PERIOD BEFORE AND SINCE THE DISPENSARY LAW WENT INTO EFFECT.

	1892.		1893.	
	July 1 to Sept. 30.	September.	July 1 to Sept. 30.	September.
Lancaster	15	6	2	.....
McCormick*	16	4	.....	.....
Sumter	21	14	7	4
Columbia	50	14	47	21
Union*	2	1	4	1
Camden	17	10	15	14
Greenville	166	76	84	23
Easley*	7	4	1	1
Winnsboro	.....	.....	.....	.....
Beaufort	43	8	43	12
Laurens	17	3	3	2
Johnston*	6	.....	3	.....
Chester	14	14	28	10
Charleston	158	60	70	27
Orangeburg	22	10	14	7
Spartanburg	10	4	2	4
Summerville	3	2	.....	.....
Fort Motte	.....	1	.....	.....
	576	230	283	126

Seventeen towns; thirty-three reported, but eleven had no arrests in either year.
* No dispensary in these towns.

support municipal governments has been the main factor in causing licenses to be issued by the towns. It is far-fetched, unreasonable, then—hypocritical, in fact—to pretend that any disgrace can attach to the revenue feature. The men who are now most loud-mouthed in this pharisaical denunciation are the strongest advocates of the license system, and have had their municipal taxes reduced thereby. On the contrary, if it can be shown that under the Dispensary system there will be a reduction in the consumption of liquor, and a necessary reduction in crime and misery resulting from it, it must follow that the Dispensary, without regard to the revenue feature, is a long stride forward and an improvement on the license system. I will not pretend to say that it is as good as prohibition would be, but I do say that prohibition, here or anywhere else, is impossible, and the only question is how best to regulate the traffic so as to minimize the inevitable injury to society inseparable from the sale of liquor under any circumstances. The claims of the Dispensary to support, and its superiority over any form of licensing, rest on the following grounds:

1st. The element of personal profit is destroyed, thereby removing the incentive to increase the sales.

2d. A pure article is guaranteed, as it is subject to chemical analysis.

3d. The consumer obtains honest measure of standard strength.

4th. Treating is stopped, as the bottles are not opened on the premises.

5th. It is sold only in the daytime ; this under a regulation of the Board, and not under the law.

6th. The concomitants of ice, sugar, lemons, etc., being removed, there is not the same inclination to drink remaining, and the closing of the saloons, especially at night, and the prohibition of its sale by the drink, destroy the enticements and seductions which have caused so many men and boys to be led astray and enter on the downward course.

7th. It is sold only for cash, and there is no longer "chalking up" for daily drinks against pay-day. The workingman buys his bottle of whiskey Saturday night and carries the rest of his wages home.

8th. Gambling-dens, poolrooms, and lewd houses, which have hitherto been run almost invariably in connection with the saloons, which were thus a stimulus to vice, separated from the sale of liquor, have had their patronage reduced to a minimum, and there must necessarily follow a decrease of crime.

9th. The local whiskey rings, which have been the curse of every municipality in the State, and have always controlled municipal elections, have been torn up root and branch, and the influence of the barkeeper as a political manipulator is absolutely destroyed. The police, removed from the control of these debauching elements, will enforce the law against evil-doing with more vigor, and a higher tone and greater purity in all governmental affairs must result.

To return to the question of revenue, there will be a maximum of benefit from the operation of the law from the standpoint of these advantages in proportion as there shall be a large revenue. In other words, the restrictions thrown around the consumption and use of liquor by the Dispensary law, and the benefits to arise therefrom, will be in proportion as the liquor consumed is purchased at the Dispensary rather than obtained from illicit sources. Some

fanatical, unreasonable people cry aloud against the iniquity of a government sharing in the "blood-money," as they term it, the tears of women and children, whose fathers, husbands, or brothers are addicted to the use of whiskey. It has already been shown that any system of license which leaves the element of personal profit untrammelled leaves this class of consumers utterly at the mercy of the owners of those dens of vice, the saloons. Men who are compelled to go in the daylight and get what liquor they want from a government officer, and then go elsewhere to consume it, will be likely to go home and be within the restraining influence of that charmed circle.

It is urged that if the State control the traffic, it should sell only at such profit as will cover expenses, and no more. Is it not clear that if the price be fixed at that ratio it will act as a premium on consumption by reason of the fact that a dollar will buy more whiskey that it does now? On the other hand, an equally impracticable scheme is to put the price very high, and make the money that is spent on liquor go only a little way. It will be found here that, as in most things in life, "the middle way is the best." If the price is too high it puts a premium on the establishment of "blind tigers," on smuggling, on the illicit sale in every way; and, while the amount consumed will not be appreciably less, the indirect benefits to society arising from the revenue and by the destruction of all competition with the State are lost. Under the scale of prices, fixed by the State Board, on whiskey now sold in South Carolina there is a handsome profit, while at the same time the liquor at retail is cheaper than it was when sold across the bar. Making allowances for the watering or other adulteration of the whiskey that was formerly consumed, a half-pint bottle of Dispensary whiskey that now costs twenty cents, and containing five average drinks, of far superior strength, would have cost fifty cents at least from a saloon. The profit on the half-pint goes to the reduction of the general tax, and the thirty cents saved to the consumer goes into his pocket for the support of his family.

It is thus seen that whiskey at retail is cheaper than when it was bought from the saloons, while at wholesale or by the gallon it is considerably higher; but the profit in its illicit sale not being very great in wholesale quantities, it is not likely that, after the law has been amended in the way experience has shown to be

necessary, there will be much competition with the Dispensary in wholesale quantities, by which I mean one or more gallons. It is the retailer with whom we have to deal; and he thrives on political opposition and where there is no Dispensary. When swift and sure punishment shall be meted out to those who break the law, and when public opinion shall have been educated so that the violent opposition now existing shall gradually disappear, there will be small competition with the Dispensaries in the counties where they are located.

The opponents of the law embrace three classes: *first*, citizens of towns whose municipal taxes are increased by the loss of the money formerly derived from licenses; *second*, the liquor dealers and their friends; *third*, the men and their followers who were turned out of power when the present State officers of South Carolina were elected. These last constitute at least two-thirds of those fighting it, and their opposition is purely political. It may not be improper to add that the Judge of the United States District Court has decided that the word "arrival" in the Wilson law of 1890 means "reaching the point of destination and delivery," * and although we have appealed the case to the United States Supreme Court, remembering the decision in the "original package" case, it is likely that Congress will have to be asked to declare that liquor "arrives" in a State as soon as it crosses its borders.

The life of the law—its very backbone—is the State constabulary, officers appointed by the Governor and under his control alone, charged specially with its enforcement. Experience shows that elective officers are almost useless in this matter. They will not offend the electors and jeopardize their chances for re-election. In the light of the experience gained by six months' trial, the law has shown need of amendment in many particulars. The General Assembly, which has just adjourned, has incorporated these in a new statute: "To declare the law in reference to and further regulate the use, sale, consumption, transportation, and disposition of alcoholic liquors or liquids within the State of South Carolina

* Wilson Act, Sup., R. S. U. S., 779.
Be it enacted, etc., That all fermented, distilled, or other intoxicating liquors or liquids transported into any State or Territory or remaining therein for use, consumption, sale or storage therein, shall upon arrival in such State or Territory be subject to the operation and effect of the laws of such State or Territory enacted in the exercise of its police powers, to the same extent and in the same manner as though such liquids or liquors had been produced in such State or Territory, and shall not be exempt therefrom by reason of being introduced therein in original packages or otherwise.—Aug. 8, 1890.

and to police the same." The student of jurisprudence will be struck with the changes which the Dispensary Act has undergone in the new law. When men are in earnest in trying to attain an object, no great amount of time is necessary to accomplish a great deal. It remains to be seen what progress has been made, but those best informed on the subject think the new law as great a stride towards perfecting the system as the old was an improvement on prohibition as tried in Iowa and Kansas.

The readers of the metropolitan and other newspapers have been edified for months by the squibs and sneers about "South Carolina's barkeeping Governor." He takes pleasure in assuring the lovers of temperance throughout the land that the dispensary system is a grand success, as compared to the saloon from any standpoint of the license system; and that three-fourths of his fellow-citizens are so much pleased with it that it is safe to prophesy that never again will a barkeeper in South Carolina sell liquor by the drink under license from the State; and before the next General Assembly meets, the illicit traffic in liquor will almost cease. If the Supreme Court does not sustain the District Judge's construction of the Wilson law, it will be confined almost entirely to the "moonshiners" of our mountains. One of the best informed liquor-dealers in the State estimated our consumption under the old system at upwards of a million gallons per annum. There were six hundred saloons and four hundred druggists engaged in its sale in 1892; but under no circumstances will the number of Dispensaries ever exceed one hundred and twenty-five, and it is safe to say that the consumption will be reduced forty or fifty per cent.

B. R. TILLMAN.

THE INCOME TAX IN ENGLAND.

BY THE RIGHT HON. SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, BART., M. P.

THE origin of taxes in Britain is shrouded in mystery. We had a coinage in Kent at least a century before the advent of the Romans, so that there was probably some rude system of taxation, though no doubt the chiefs lived for a great part on the produce of their own lands. Under the Romans, taxes appear to have been levied in kind, usually a tenth of the produce. The cattle were taxed at so much a head, and there was also a poll-tax on individuals, the human beings.*

Under the Saxons, the king received, in each shire, a contribution from the produce of the public or folk land, and this, with certain fines, was, during peace, sufficient for the maintenance of the Court. Additional taxes were imposed from time to time by the "Witenagemot," the shire forming the unit of rating, and being assessed according to the number of hundreds it contained.

Under the Normans no new form of taxation was at first imposed. The king continued to derive his revenue mainly from the demesne, which was originally of vast extent and amply sufficient for all ordinary purposes, amounting, according to Domesday Book, to no less than 1,400 manors or lordships, besides farms and lands in Middlesex, Shropshire, and Rutland. In addition to this revenue, the Crown had certain rights; for instance, Purveyance, the right to impress carriages and horses for removals; pre-emption, the right to purchase provisions, etc., at a fixed price; and prisage, the right to take one or two casks, according to the amount of the cargo, from every vessel arriving at port.

* See Dowell's *History of Taxation.*

The rights and fines accruing to the Crown under the feudal system also brought in a considerable revenue. The danegeld, or land tax, first imposed in 991, on the advice of Archbishop Sijeric, as an exceptional mode of raising a sum to bribe away the Danes, was reimposed by William the Conqueror in 1084, in consequence of an apprehended attack by Sweyn, at the rate of seventy-two pence for every hyde of land, and was subsequently continued at varying rates as a regular source of income. Scutage, or shield-money, was a sum levied by Henry, in lieu of military service, at the rate of £1 6s. 8d. on the fee of £20 annual value.

In 1194 a tax resembling the danegeld was levied on the carucate, or plough land, a "carucate" being the amount which could be ploughed by one "caruca," or plough, in a season. It was first levied at 2s. the carucate, and subsequently at different rates.

The cities and towns did not pay danegeld, but were assessed for an "auxilium," or aid, which was at first irregularly charged; but after the danegeld was discontinued, in 1163, it was placed on a more regular footing, and charged on all tenants, rural and suburban alike, and termed a "tallage."

Henry II. introduced an additional form of general tax, in which the other forms of general taxation were merged. This affected all movable property, and was first introduced on the occasion of the Saladin tithe in 1133. The contributories were required to pay so much in the pound on the value of their property, and were compelled to take an oath that they had made a correct return. The ordinance imposing the tax was made at Le Mans, after Henry had taken the cross. It provided that

> "Every one shall give the tenth of his rent and moveables. Except, in the case of knights, their arms, horses, and clothing; and in the case of the clergy, their horses, books, and clothing and vestments, and church furniture of every sort; and except the jewels of clergy and laity."

By subsequent provision the clergy and knights who had taken the cross were exempted.

This method of taxation by fractional parts of movables continued for about a century and a half. "Tallages" also fell into disuse after the reign of Edward III.

The origin of customs duties is unknown, and during the Norman kings the trade of England was so small that the revenue derived from them was insignificant. Gradually, however, they

became more important, and attempts were made to raise the rates. These were resisted as being in contravention of Magna Charta, but eventually they received legal sanction in the Statute of the Staple in 1353.

In 1377 a "tax unheard of before," was imposed by Parliament, which took the form of a poll-tax graduated chiefly according to rank, though partly according to property. Dukes* had to pay £6 13s. 4d.; earls, £4; barons, £2; knights, £1; squires, 6s. 8d., or, if they had no land, 3s. 4d. Beggars were exempt. The Lord Mayor of London was rated as an earl, aldermen of London and mayors of other towns as barons. Yet the whole amount collected was under £25,000! The poll-tax having failed, the country reverted to the previous system of granting fifteenths and tenths.

The first indication of an income tax occurs in 1435, when an act was passed imposing a tax on every person "seized of manors, lands, tenements, rents, annuities, offices, or any other possessions."

But although we have here the idea of income tax, yet this mode of raising a revenue is generally considered to have been introduced by Pitt, in 1799. The rate was 10 per cent., and it produced about £6,000,000. After the peace of Amiens, Addington repealed it on the ground that it ought to be exclusively reserved for times of war, but reimposed it, for the same reason, when the war broke out again in the following year. It was very unpopular and was repealed in 1806, as soon as possible after the close of the great war.

The tax was reimposed by Peel in 1842 for four years, his object being "to relieve trade and commerce from the trammels by which they were hampered and bound" by repealing other taxes in his opinion more injurious. We were, however, over and over again promised that it should be only temporary, and it is still only imposed from year to year.

It was and still is divided into five branches or schedules. The first, or Schedule A, touches income from land and houses, based on the rent. The second schedule (B) is that which deals with rent, but while the measure of charge is one-half in England, it is only one-third in Scotland and Ireland. If the profit proves to be more, the Crown has no right to a surcharge; but if they are less, the farmer may claim a rebate. The difficulty, how-

* See M. S. Buxton's *Finance and Politics.*

ever, of establishing this is so great that the privilege is of no great value. Schedule C deals with income from any public revenue, imperial, colonial, or foreign. Schedule D refers to incomes from professions, trades, and any income not included otherwise. It is subdivided into:

1. Profits from trade, manufactures, and commerce.
2. Profits from mines.
3. Profits from ironworks.
4. Profits from railways.
5. Profits from canals.
6. Profits from gasworks.
7. Profits from quarries.
8. Other profits.

Profits from trade, manufactures, and commerce, professions and occupations are charged upon the average of the last three years. Schedule E has reference to persons in the employment of the state or in other public employments of profit. Lastly it must be mentioned that there are some important exemptions, as, for instance, small incomes, charities, etc., and various abatements.

The tax is deducted by banks and companies before the dividends are paid, and, so far as individuals are concerned, is due *en bloc* on the 1st of January.

It may be interesting to compare the amounts assessed under each head with those of ten years ago.

	1882.	1892.
Schedule A	190,500,000	201,000,000
" B	68,800,000	58,000,000
" C	39,900,000	39,700,000
" D	267,000,000	362,000,000
" E	34,700,000	49,500,000
Schedule total	600,900,000	710,200,000

Schedule B shows how severely agriculture has suffered, and the same tale is told if we divide Schedule A into land and houses:

	1882.	1892.
Land	68,800,000	57,400,000
Houses	121,000,000	143,000,000

On the other hand, notwithstanding many difficulties, under our Free Trade system, our commerce continues to flourish.

The amount produced by the tax, which then stood at six shillings in the pound, was £13,800,000. The income tax can only be defended on principle as long as it is kept within very moderate limits. It is open to two great objections: Firstly, be-

cause it falls equally on temporary and permanent incomes ; and secondly, because the same rate is imposed on income derived from individual exertion as on that from real property. Various suggestions have been made with the view of rendering the tax more fair. The late Lord Addington attempted to do this by a number of allowances ; for instance, 8¼ per cent. from land, 15 per cent. from houses, 33 per cent. from industrial incomes, 20 per cent. from metals, 10 per cent. from earthy minerals, etc. Yet even these numerous and varied adjustments would not meet the abstract justice of the case. Take, for instance, that of houses : 15 per cent. may be a fair allowance for repairs, insurance, etc., on houses as a class, but in parts of the country where building materials are of great durability the repairs may amount to no more than 5 per cent., while in others they reach to 20 per cent. It is no consolation to the houseowner who has an allowance of 15 per cent. for outgoings which amount to 20 per cent., that another houseowner, whose repairs are only 5 per cent., has the same allowance of 15 per cent. Moreover, so far as the above mentioned suggestions are concerned, they leave untouched the great differences between different life tenancies, especially those arising from age. Even in Schedule D, there are the greatest differences between different industrial incomes. Dr. Farr, indeed, who advocated such a course as equitable, added that he should not make any "allowance in large concerns, such as the great breweries, any more than I would with the Bank of England, because I should regard the businesses with a large good-will as nearly equivalent to houses or perpetuities." But who is to say when large breweries end and small ones begin ? How can you tax one bank, and not another ? Every one knows perfectly well that some kinds of business are much safer than others, and that this is the case even in the same trade ; yet to apply this practically would be utterly impossible.

Any system involving a general remission to all incomes derived from trades and professions would grant the same boon to the sleeping partner in a great firm as to a hard-worked country doctor, whose income is dependent on his health, and must therefore be more or less precarious. And yet no mode of dealing with the income tax which leaves these inequalities uncompensated can be defended on the ground of abstract justice. The truth is that the inequalities within each class are

as great as those between the different classes. No changes, therefore, which merely deal with the relative rates of tax, or of allowances, can render the income tax equal in its incidence or just in itself.

I now pass from those who would deal with the different schedules to those who propose to consider the income-tax payers as individuals. To do this effectively would require the most inquisitorial proceedings ; it would be very expensive ; a host of commissioners must be appointed, armed with full powers to inquire into every man's circumstances, his age, health, etc., etc. Moreover, we are met at once by the fundamental consideration that any such course involves practically, not the amendment, but the abandonment, of the income tax. Mr. John Stuart Mill, for instance, would exempt savings. He said :

"I would tax the income ; what I would exempt would be the investment itself. I would not tax the investment, and then the income derived from it : in fact, I would make the tax a tax upon expenditure, and not upon income."

Here we have the plain admission that this is no question of amending the income tax, but of replacing it by one of expenditure ; as to which I will only remark in passing that, while in principle there is much to be said in favor of encouraging economy, it must be remembered that already a great portion of our present taxation—the customs and excise duties, as well as the assessed taxes—are taxes on expenditure ; and one recommendation of the income tax is that it introduces variety into our system. Moreover, Mr. Mill himself admitted, in answer to a question from Sir C. Wood, that it is impossible practically to exempt actual savings ; all you can do is to make an allowance for what you consider that people ought to save—unfortunately a a very different thing.

These and other suggestions were carefully considered in 1861 by a strong committee of the House of Commons, who reported that they felt

"so strongly the dangers and ill-consequences to be apprehended from an attempt to unsettle the present basis of the tax, without a clear perception of the mode in which it is to be reconstructed, that they are not prepared to offer any suggestions for its amendment."

They added that they were

"brought to the conclusion that the objections urged against it (the tax)

are objections to its nature and essence rather than to the particular shape which has been given to it."

Mr. Gladstone has stated that in his opinion, though the tax was "an engine of gigantic power for great national purposes," there are "circumstances attending its operation which make it difficult, perhaps impossible, or at any rate not desirable to maintain it as a portion of the permanent and ordinary finance."

Going through each schedule, he endeavored to show that any attempt to change the basis of the tax by charging it, not merely on the amount, but on the durability and the source of the income, would be "beyond the power of men to conduct with satisfaction." Class merged into class, schedule into schedule, income into income, and there were no natural lines on which an average of classes could be taken or on which it could be said that this income was durable, that uncertain, this part depended on brains and sinews, that part came without an effort. In a rough and ready way, the proportionate weight between professional and property incomes was, he argued, fairly satisfactory. To attempt to change the basis of the tax would be to break it up; and it was impossible to "break up the basis of the tax" without rendering the tax unfit "for service on an emergency," and without "throwing the whole finance of the empire into confusion." Repeal the tax, if you like, cried he, but do not destroy its utility.*

And at the general election of 1874 he placed the repeal of the income tax in the forefront of his address to the country, intending, as I understand, in some measure to replace it by a rearrangement of the death duties. His appeal was, however, rejected by the country, and during his subsequent years of office he has not scrupled to raise the tax when he has required additional revenue. We must, then, recognize it as a permanent portion of our fiscal system, but, though I am not in favor of the plans hitherto proposed with a view of placing it on a fairer footing, still it is impossible not to feel that there is much force in the objections raised against it. And I hope, therefore, that the tax will always be kept within moderate limits.

JOHN LUBBOCK.

* See Buxton, *Finance and Politics.*

A MENACE TO LITERATURE.

BY MARGARET DELAND, AUTHOR OF "JOHN WARD, PREACHER," "THE OLD GARDEN AND OTHER VERSES," ETC.

JOURNALISM and Literature stand to each other very much in the relation of the Big Boy and the Little Brother.

Journalism, strong, eager, careless, goes striding along into the rich, mysterious future; concerning himself with facts rather than ideals, but intent upon great ends, even though hampered by the hundred frivolities and foolishnesses of his impetuous youth. By his side, stumbling and panting, his hand in the rough, good-natured clasp of the Big Brother, is Literature—running to keep up, grasping at a handful of flowers by the roadside, trying to catch a butterfly under his cap; a little cross now and then, inclined to whimper and pull back, but all the same compelled to keep pace with the hurrying stride of the Big Brother.

Which is all a way of saying that the newspaper strikes the note of human thought, and Literature echoes it; sometimes in voice that is true, and strong, and harsh; sometimes, with equal truth, in melody and beauty.

Journalism speaks the human passion for knowledge; and the man of science gives his wisdom to the world. Journalism says the people must be amused; and the novelist does his best, throwing in a piece of moralizing once in a while—though that is hardly fair, as the Big Brother points out, with no effort to spare the Little Brother's feelings. Journalism declares that the public mind is densely ignorant of Art; and a hundred books come tumbling from the press to teach and to inspire. Journalism utters the vast, patient, human longing for God, and Literature answers as best it may.

As they come, all these thousand books, Journalism does a

double duty; for while with one hand he strikes the note which summons them, with the other he cuffs the Little Brother's ears if they do not please that Public for which he has demanded them. When they do please, he chucks Literature under the chin in a way that makes the Little Brother swell with pride; in both praise and blame he is unjust, though endlessly good natured—after the habit of his kind.

If this were all that Journalism did for Literature—if it gave the brotherly cuffs and snubs, the careful reminders that where a book speaks to a thousand readers, the newspaper speaks to a million, and that, therefore, it were well for Literature to keep his place and be modest; if it gave the occasional earnest blame and discriminating praise, the wholesome neglect of poor work and the consequent impulse to what was better—the Little Brother might well be grateful and adoring, after the manner of his kind.

But, alas, with the friendliest intentions in the world, Journalism, or, to be exact, personal journalism, is doing more to-day to injure the art of Literature than ever hunger and cold and neglect did!

No one will deny that a book, once finished, belongs to the world to which it is given. It is ready for criticism, nay, it invites it; if it is bad, an ideal journalism should show it no mercy; the sooner it is destroyed in the public mind by criticism, the better. But, whether the book be good or bad, the newspaper has no right to the author—so long, at least, as, in the eye of the law, he behaves himself. Yet personal journalism to-day is taking possession of the author: it is putting a subtle poison into his veins; it is misleading him as to the relative values of his work and his personality; it is fostering vanity; in a word, it is exploiting the artist, rather than the art.

One has but to turn to any one of the great dailies to see the methods which journalism pursues in this assault upon the arts —for literature is not the only sufferer. The drama has even more to bear!

The newspaper, as everybody will admit, is the measure of public opinion, and it cannot rise higher than its source; that is the excuse which journalism makes when it is reproached for the miserable and silly personalities (they are rarely more than this, rarely scurrilities) which deface the pages of the great daily

papers. "The public demands it," say the editors, sighing and shaking their heads; "*we* can't help it!" If one protests that one has never yet demanded to know that Mrs. Smith had a dinner party of sixteen, and Miss Jones was engaged to be married, the newspaper has an instant and unanswerable repartée: "Mrs. Smith wishes it to be known that she has had a dinner party. Miss Jones sent us word of her engagement!" If this be true, and there is little doubt that it is, the demands of the public are being gratified at a serious cost; a cost that can be expressed in one word—"self-consciousness."

This is bad enough for all of us, whether we have given a dinner party or whether we are engaged to be married, but in the case of the artist it is worse; for the poison of personal journalism affects not only his character, but his art. Swelling is the usual effect of poisons, and it has been said that with authors this horrible symptom show itself in the head; there is a consequent distortion of values, a shocking loss of perspective, a dreadful intrusion, into the art, of the personality of the artist.

In all seriousness, so grave is this threat to Literature, that it is surely time that authors looked for a moment beyond the pleasant haze of flattery with which personal journalism surrounds them, to see the indignity which is done their art, and the vulgarity which attaches to their characters.

As for the flattery, it is plain enough. A reporter, ordinarily both courteous and clever, calls upon an author and with a pretty word or two about his work begs to know his views upon anything—grave or gay, or lively or severe—it matters not.

"*What do you think will be the future of American literature?*"

"*What is your favorite color?*"

"*What are you going to have for your Thanksgiving dinner?*"

At first sight, the statement that to be asked such questions flatters an author seems absurd; but consider the weakness of the flesh! consider the inherent vanity of us all, nay, even the necessary vanity—the conceit which helps us over the hard fact of our own inadequacy and makes continued effort possible. To have one's opinion asked at all, is flattering, when one comes to think of it; to have it asked in behalf of a million readers is almost intoxicating. It is being lionized on a gigantic scale.

Perhaps that is why we cannot see how absurd we must appear to the observer, who, if he is kindly, will be as sorry for us as we were for Hagenbeck's lions when they went trundling about on bicycles—a sight to make the respecter of the king of beasts turn away his eyes for very shame and pity.

The author, to be sure, knows full well that his opinions upon such subjects as have been quoted are asked only because some book or paper chances to have brought his name before the public; he knows that the reporter will not ask his respectable and thoughtful neighbor *his* views. He even knows that his opinions, however profound and valuable they may be, would probably not be published if offered anonymously. But there his knowledge seems to end. He is not even able to perceive the utter inanity of such questions; and that inability is, perhaps, the most astonishing feature in the whole amazing and mortifying exhibition. Curiously enough, too, his sense of fitness deserts him, and the modesty which withholds him from shouting at a dinner table, unasked, his preference in colors, or his taste in cookery, does not restrain him from announcing, on the invitation of a reporter, at fifty thousand breakfast tables, that, to his mind, pink is more pleasing than blue, and that he will eat goose instead of turkey on Thanksgiving Day. He has acquired a belief in his own importance which would be pathetic if it were not ridiculous.

That such a belief is injurious to character cannot be doubted; that it is fatal to achievement must be borne in upon the minds of thoughtful persons who follow the work of the victims of personal journalism.

A writer, conscientious and consecrated to his work as he may be, begins, by and by, to see himself in it; little by little he confounds his own personality with his art; on every page, almost in every phrase, appears that distressing smartness, that straining for effect, which is the sad and unmistakable symptom of self-consciousness. If his book is praised, the author imagines that it is he who is praised; from being the servant, reverent and serious, profoundly conscious of the greatness of the art he essays to serve, deeply humble, and deeply joyous in his work, he becomes the master, and shakes his wares in men's faces to attract their attention to himself.

It will be objected that the willingness of authors to lend

themselves to the flattery of personal journalism springs, not at all from vanity, but from the fear of offending the press, and also from simple amiability. As for the fear, it is surely unworthy of comment. But that good-natured authors do not like to say "no" to the reporter or to the entreating letter that begs them to name their favorite flower or their plans for spending the summer, is, of course, true enough. It certainly is not easy or pleasant to say "no" to one's brothers of the press, or, worse, one's sisters, who are harassed and haggard with efforts to get a stickful of matter to fill out a column, and round out a ten-dollar bill. Nevetheless, the candid writer must admit the flattery of the request, no matter what may be his real reason for acceding to it; and he must also be aware that as the newspaper merely announces his favorite flower or his vacation plans, and makes no mention of his amiability, it will not unnaturally be supposed that he has answered these questions for the mere joy of seeing his name in print!

One prefers to take this view, humiliating as it is, rather than that other, held by a good-natured but practical public, namely, that it is a way of advertising ourselves.

"Yes," says the busy man, glancing at a page in a newspaper headed: "*Symposium of Authors, Upon How they Mean to Observe Christmas Day.*" "Yes; they like to keep their names before the public; it gives their books a boom, I suppose. Let's see: *Jane Ann Jones* means to go to church on Christmas Day; well, that's not distinguished; perhaps I'll go myself. *William James Smith*—(why do they all put their middle names in?)—will spend his Christmas with his family. That's not unusual! Well, well, poor things; I suppose it advertises their books. By the way, what did either one of them ever write?"

The requests from newspapers to take part in symposiums differ in variety rather than vulgarity; or, to put it differently, the diversity in these chances for notoriety and free advertising is very great.

One newspaper publishes a composite poem, each line by a different writer; the whole ridiculous conglomeration an insult to poetry and a weariness to the reader. Another wishes to know the circumstances under which, as the reporter may express it, the author "took to writing"; a third proposes to enlighten the public upon the number of servants kept by the

author's wife, and also thinks it would be well to mention whether he wears russet shoes or sober black-leathers. Not long ago one newspaper gave nearly a page to an illustrated discussion of the different kinds of garters worn by certain actresses; and another really valuable periodical so far lost its sense of proportion, as to the importance of a man's work to his private opinions, as to send a list of questions to a number of authors of such a nature as these:

Who is your favorite poet?
What is your favorite book?
What is your favorite play?
What do you enjoy most?
What do you detest most?

Now, surely, the intelligent men and women who answered these inquiries—men and women to whom we owe much, whose keen insight into life has touched us a hundred times to laughter and to tears—surely these authors cannot, even in their most fatuous moments, believe that the tired world really cares to know that one most detests "getting the bottom of her dress muddy," and another most highly prizes "clean gloves?" They answered the questions smartly, or cleverly, or with a courteous gayety and wit worthy of a better cause; and some even answered them seriously, with an evidently conscientious effort to be exact. Which was amusing or pathetic, as one looked at it.

It would not have been courteous, but it could hardly have been less dignified, and it would at least have been true, had each of these amiable persons written across the inquisitive page:

"*None of your business!*"

It would be interesting to know who reads these banal and worthless opinions; of course, we all read our own, and possibly one another's; and it is whispered that each author buys at least a dozen copies to send to his friends—but who else reads them? It is hinted here and there that the newspapers use "symposiums" as padding, so that they may swell their terrible Sunday editions up to the thirty-two or forty-eight page limit. Cheap padding such symposiums are, in more senses than one; for the authors are rarely paid for their contributions.

One blushes for his craft when looking over such a page; the insult to our art is the first consideration; the pathos of ourselves the second. But it is useless, and it is also unjust, to abuse

the newspapers for either. The matter is in our hands. Journalism cannot be expected to look after our taste or our morals—it is far too busy for either, and too good-naturedly indifferent.

But the Big Brother is really very well disposed to the Little Brother, and is willing to give him what he thinks is a lift now and then. He will tuck him under his arm, head down, very likely, with his little thin legs kicking in the air; the Big Brother is quite regardless of the indignity of such a position; he is giving a lift to a little fellow, which is surely all that can reasonably be expected of him; besides, it seems to entertain the passers-by to see an inverted author—so to speak—and that is all Journalism cares about. But if only Literature could see himself! If only he could realize that the one absolutely fatal thing in this world is to be ridiculous—how quickly he would reject such "lifts"!

But, after all, the remedy is in our own hands: we can refuse to be interviewed; we can refuse to caper whenever a newspaper pipes to us; we can refuse to hide our smirking self-consciousness, our pitiful egotism, under the sacred mantle of Art; we can learn not to think of ourselves more highly than we ought to think.

And surely the time has come for authors to take this stand!

MARGARET DELAND.

LATEST ASPECTS OF THE BRAZILIAN REBELLION.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE BRAZILIAN MINISTER AT WASHINGTON, SALVADOR DE MENDONÇA.

THE unexpected proclamation of the Brazilian Republic on the fifteenth of November, 1889, by a movement supported by the historical republican party and the land and naval forces of the nation, was followed at once by the establishment of a revolutionary dictatorship. There was no opposition worthy of the name. At the very moment when the last imperial cabinet was planning to inaugurate the third reign, preparing to dissolve the army and exterminate the democratic idea, which was already coextensive with the country, the last American monarchy was in its death throes. In all Brazil but one man was found to risk his life in defence of the decrepit institutions; and this man was a republican whom circumstances had made minister of marine and who resisted solely from a sense of duty to the dignity of his office. Even the husband of the prospective empress, the Count d'Eu, did not hesitate to surrender the right of succession in consideration of the offer of a round sum of money, and sent his sword as marshal of the army to the new minister of war, accompanied by a letter as memorable as despicable, in which he expressed his sor row that circumstances did not permit him to serve Brazil under her new institutions—a sorrow inspired not so much by the loss of his sword and the honors of his high office as by that of its handsome salary. If he failed to receive the price of this sacrifice of his dignity to his well-known avarice, it was because the aged emperor refused to sacrifice his own, which would not allow him to consent to any pecuniary transaction.

In forty-eight hours the revolutionary flood swept away all that

remained of the empire, leaving nothing in its passage but the aged emperor and empress, who, surrounded by the imperial brood, were on the road to exile on board the "Alagoas," whence the messenger dove sent forth found no longer a monarchical land on which to rest her foot.

The provisional government set up by the revolution and accepted at once by the entire nation had at its head General Deodoro da Fonseca, and was composed almost entirely of historical republicans. The only exception was Ruy Barbosa, a former monarchist, a man whose learning is only equalled by his artfulness, and who, on the eve of the revolution, found, at the eleventh hour, the road to Damascus.

The first care of the new government was to give to the country, by means of dictatorial decrees, all the reforms indispensable to the new order of things, in order that the Brazilian republic might, like the Minerva of the ancients, spring into being armed from head to foot. Before it lay the unforeseen; even the republicans could hardly comprehend the entire inanity of the monarchical *régime* and the full extent of their easy victory. Indeed, history records no other example of such an almost phantasmagoric change from one system of government to another—without resistance, without protest, without armed strife, which have everywhere else been the baptism of liberty. The student, however, of Brazilian history would find this quite in accordance with the character of the people. The revolution of 1822, by which our independence was secured, was bloodless. That of April 7, 1831, which drove Pedro I. from the country, was also accomplished without bloodshed; and even in the "battle of the bottles" (*garrafadas de Março*) which preceded this movement, little damage was done beyond the breaking of a few Portuguese heads and the spilling of more wine than blood. In 1888 we accomplished the abolition of slavery "under the reign of the roses." Every victory gained by democracy in revolutions in Brazil has been likewise bloodless. Up to the present time the shedding of blood has been the privilege of the monarchy: it alone made martyrs; it alone stained its victories with blood. Not to speak of the colonial period and the first reign, it is enough to recall the suppression of the revolutions of Rio Grande do Sul, of Minas and São Paulo, and of Pernambuco.

An explanation of this apparent phenomenon, which is doubt-

less attributable in a great measure to the character of the Brazilian people, involves a truth that is worthy of mention. The Brazilian Army, with the exception of the few occasions when the danger of national disintregration forced it to take part against the people, has always been found on the side of popular liberty. On April 7, 1831, it fraternized with the people; in 1888 it refused to act as slave-hunter in the forests where the slaves, who had abandoned the plantations of São Paulo, Minas, and Rio de Janeiro had taken refuge, thus helping forward the cause whose triumph was assured by the decree of May 13, 1888; and, lastly, on the morning of November 15, 1889, it refused to serve the monarchy as the last prop which could stay its downfall.

It is quite fashionable in Brazil, even in the democratic ranks, to cry out against militarism. The late emperor, who gloried in governing a nation of bachelors and doctors of law, had a natural aversion to military men, and the two parties under his government, Liberal and Conservative alike, did not fail to slight the two branches of the service which in recent years saw themselves excluded, not only from all share in the government, which would have been no great evil if done for the maintenance of discipline, but deprived even of their constitutional rights by the civil power, an abuse against which they ineffectually protested. While the Duke of Caxias and the Marquis of Herval were living, the army had still in them two defenders in the government; but after their death both political parties, when in parliamentary opposition to the government, never failed to make use of the discontent of the military classes, until these discovered that they were merely serving as puppets, and in a single night they went over to the democratic ranks, and there they remain to this day, side by side with the people, supporting the constitution of the republic, not in obedience to the orders of any dictator, but inspired by their patriotic convictions.

One year after the proclamation of the republic the Constitutional Convention assembled, and, on the twenty-fourth of February, 1891, gave to Brazil its first republican constitution, modelled upon that of the United States of America; and its members having, by virtue of their election, resolved themselves into the first constitutional congress, put an end to the provisional government created by the revolution. The constitutional *régime* however, had not arrived soon enough to prevent the evil results

of the fever of speculation excited by the large issues of paper money authorized by Ruy Barbosa during his year of office as Secretary of the Treasury. Besides, the cabinet of the provisional government had been weakened by the withdrawal of the Secretaries of the Interior and Agriculture, Señors Aristides Lobo and Demetrio Ribeiro, two historical republicans. Under the advice of unwise counsellors, General Fonseca, even before his election as president, formed his second cabinet, in which the only historical republican was Señor Justo Chermont, all the other secretaries being taken indiscriminately from the ranks of the former monarchists. The writer does not wish to be understood as advocating the exclusion from the administration of men who had served in the time of the empire : the error lay in the selection of the individuals.

If, instead of having himself elected president, or allowing his friends to present him as a candidate, the chief of the provisional government had used all his influence towards the election of a civilian, such as Señor Saraiva or Señor Paulino de Souza, both prominent leaders in the former monarchical parties, Liberal and Conservative respectively, but both true patriots who had accepted the new order of things, he would at once have placed the new republic upon a broad and solid basis, and under a flag whose ample folds would have covered Brazilians of every shade of political opinion. Instead of so doing or of organizing a new cabinet entirely republican, the new president surrounded himself with men of very narrow views, and who did not, with a few exceptions, even understand the form of government into whose service they were called. This was a step backwards ; Congress insisted on following the path marked out by the constitution ; the executive could not agree with the Congress, and a conflict was unavoidable. Wisdom would have dictated a policy of conciliation, but that wisdom was lacking in the president of the republic. The cabinet, as might have been expected in view of its origin, clung obstinately to the old parliamentary usages which were wholly out of place under the new form of government. The result was the dictatorial decree of November 3, 1891, which in violation of the constitution dissolved the federal congress, and declared the capital of the republic in a state of siege.

From the two extremes of the union, the States of Para and Rio Grande do Sul, came the first outcries of protest against this

attack on the constitution. Notwithstanding the approval, more or less sincere, by the governors of the other States, a revolution against the dictator broke out in the federal capital on the twenty-third of November, under the form of a revolt of the national fleet in the bay of Rio de Janeiro. Then, as now, Señor Custodio de Mello, who at that time was a member of the opposition in the Congress, headed the movement. A single high officer of the navy on that day opposed the revolutionary action of the squadron ; that officer was Saldanha da Gama, who eight days before had been promoted to the post of rear-admiral, and who at the time was stationed in Fort Villegaignon, with the command of which he had been intrusted by the republic. On that occasion, with a correct understanding of his duties as a soldier, he offered the first and only resistance to the attack of the revolutionists. In view, however, of his present position at the head of the rebel fleet in that same port, attacking the constitutional government of the nation, the rectitude of his proceeding on the former occasion is not so clear. He has exposed himself to the charge of defending the dictatorship, because, in violating the constitution, it threw discredit on a form of government with which he had no sympathy, though not because of the personal advantages he had gained under it. The dictator, recognizing the full extent of his error, to which his attention was called by a friendly power, and desiring to avoid bloodshed, resigned his office.

At that time the revolutionists had on their side a large majority of the Congress, while the only dependence of the president was a minority of the army, little disposed to support the violator of the constitution. The vice-president of the republic, Marshal Floriano Peixoto, took the seat of the retiring president as his constitutional successor. The dominion of law returned ; the Congress continued its labors ; the Lucena cabinet, which had fallen with the dictator, was succeeded by another made up of republicans taken from the opposition to the former administration. The direction of public affairs took quite another shape, and the honesty of the government barred the doors of the treasury against the irruptions of the stock speculators and the brokers in government concessions. It was the beginning of a new era, full of promise for the consolidation of the republic. Peace was established in the

States; the disaffected in Rio Grande do Sul lay down their arms. Paternalism disappeared from the economic policy of the state; the government no longer sought its supporters in the stock exchange; Señor Rodriguez Alves, Secretary of the Treasury, wisely closed his ears to the outcries of the speculators and to the crash of falling enterprises, prudently separating the public funds from all the transactions which for two years it had supported so disastrously for the national welfare. By the side, however, of the new president was Señor Custodio de Mello, bold and crafty, full of personal ambition and resentment. It was through his influence and by his advice that the removal of the governors of States who had approved the violation of the constitution was begun. Local revolutions broke out in all directions. The governors who had not already been deposed made haste to resign in anticipation of a similar fate. The truth is that in these removals the intervention of the federal government was rather negative than active, inasmuch as its action was almost entirely limited to a refusal to use the power of the federal government to maintain in their seats the legally elected governors. It is not less certain, however, that these depositions weakened the respect for lawful authority and confidence in the new institutions, violating as they did the fundamental principles of constitutional government.

The reorganization of the government of the State of Rio Grande do Sul was made altogether in accordance with the views of Señor Custodio de Mello until the moment when the monarchical designs of the so-called federalist revolution of Señor Gaspar Martins were revealed, and Marshal Peixoto considered it his duty to interfere in the local struggle by furnishing the governor of the State with federal troops to repel the invasion which was threatened on the frontier of Uruguay. It is not difficult to see that a State of the union bordering on the territory of a foreign nation needs particular attention in the case of a rebellion whose forces are recruited in that territory. From November, 1892, to April, 1893, as a secretary in the cabinet of Marshal Peixoto, Señor Custodio de Mello aided and approved the policy of the former in relation to Rio Grande do Sul. In April, however, Señor de Mello retired from the cabinet, accompanied by his colleague, Señor Serzedello Corrêa, who, though his talents entitled him to take the lead, was contented in this case to serve as a follower. So far, so good; but a few months later, on the night of September 5,

with the aid of thirty-six naval officers and half a dozen congressmen, Señor de Mello took possession of some of the vessels of the fleet and began the rebellion which is now tarnishing the good name of Brazil.

This rebellion has been prolific of manifestoes; they break forth in all directions. We have them from Señors Mello and Saldanha da Gama by turns proclaiming to the public their purposes and programmes, modifying them or denying them; we have them even from Ruy Barbosa, who after stirring up anarchy in Brazil, and teaching disrespect for the institutions he helped to create, is now in a foreign country engaged in slandering his own, and serving as the mouthpiece of the rebellion.

Señor de Mello in his first two manifestoes declared that his purpose was to restore the supremacy of the republican constitution, to overthrow military dominion, and to restore peace and credit to Brazil. He accused the president of violating the constitution in various ways, among which he made prominent the veto of a bill in relation to the presidential election, attributing the veto to the alleged desire of Señor Peixoto for re-election. It is curious that instead of appealing to the ballot-box, in which under the republican form of government, the remedy for all political evils should be sought,—particularly since the election for the second Congress was to take place, at the end of October last; and in the beginning of next March the presidential election will be held,—the rebel chief should propose to introduce into politics new methods of restoring violated constitutions, and should attempt to bring back peace and credit by cannon shots, and to destroy military dominion by military violence.

The charge in regard to the motives of the veto has no real foundation. In the opinion of a journal of the opposition the President could not have approved the bill in question, because its fifth article contained a twofold violation of the Constitution: in the first place, because it extended to the office of vice-president the ineligibility which the constitution limited to that of president; and secondly, because it extended to the entire presidential term the ineligibilty of the vice-president who had served as president, whereas, by the constitution it is limited to him who has thus served in the last year of the presidential term. It is the bill, then, that was unconstitutional, while the veto rests on the express declarations of the constitution. Besides

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this, Señor Peixoto was still further removed from the suspicion of being actuated by a personal motive, inasmuch as his ineligibility was already established by the constitution, and in no way depended on the bill, whether approved or not.

It is a pity that the personal ambition of Señor Custodio de Mello will not permit so satisfactory an explanation of his conduct; but it furnishes a very complete one of his political changes and of the blindness which led him to expect that a repetition of the twenty-third of November, 1891, would render it easy for him to breakfast on the "Aquidaban" and dine in the executive mansion. Fortunately for republican institutions in Brazil the circumstances were changed and the men were different, and the *coup-de-main* was a failure. The Congress at once authorized the government to declare a state of siege, furnished the executive with all necessary means for the defence of the national institutions, and, as the immediate representative of the nation, exhorted the States to continue united in defence of the constitution. The session was closed twenty days after the outbreak of the revolt.

Everything went wrong with the plans of the rebels; conspirators like Señors de Mello and Ruy Barbosa must have relied upon promises of support which they did not receive, owing to the energy of the lawful powers. There are two facts which support this assertion. A few days after the outbreak of the rebellion, Señor Ruy Barbosa, who from the very first night had kept himself in hiding, deemed it prudent to flee to Montevideo, and a banker who is said to have loaned a large sum to the rebels under promise of payment within eight days, seeing the time of settlement indefinitely postponed, concluded that he would do a better business by killing himself.

The chief of the rebellion said nothing about a political alliance with the monarchico-federalist rebels of the south; and if credit be given to the revelations published in the press of Rio de Janeiro by Lieut. Brazilio Silvado, Señor de Mello would listen to no suggestion of alliance with Señor Saldanha da Gama, on account of the well-known monarchist opinions of the latter. As long as possible he avoided competitors for the lead in the movement; sent Captain Lorena to set up a Robinson Crusoe government in the Island of Desterro, on the coast of the State of Santa Catharina, and for such a government he had the hardi-

hood to ask of foreign nations a recognition of belligerent rights. A refusal was quick in coming, and this was another disappointment.

It was not till early in November that the leader of the naval revolt found it necessary to invite Señor Saldanha da Gama to join in the movement. The republicanism of Señor de Mello is not of the true temper. Just as he had, when ordered by the provisional government, landed on the coast of Asia, a grandson of the ex-emperor, so he would be capable of landing on the coast of Brazil another, if not the same, grandson, if circumstances should so demand. This was a contingency evidently accepted by him to gain the coöperation of Señor Saldanha da Gama. The correspondent of the London *Times*, which is always well informed in regard to what is going on among the rebels, advised that paper, in November, of this new alliance. It appears that there was some reluctance on both sides to enter into an agreement, because a full month elapsed before Saldanha da Gama publicly declared for the rebellion.

Señor da Gama, who was doubtless the most distinguished officer of the Brazilian navy, both in character and in talent, had taken a position in regard to the rebellion which it was impossible to maintain, and which was unjustifiable from every point of view. At the beginning of the rebellion he declared himself neutral, and maintained a semi independent position while yet occupying the post of director of the naval school and having under his command the government establishments on the Cobras and Enchadas islands, and the schoolships. He had hoisted in these places the flag of the red cross of Geneva, which had already served as a cover for the sham neutrality of the friends of the rebels in the south, who under the cloak of humanity were receiving, instead of medicines and surgical apparatus, death-bearing munitions of war. Even after the mask of neutrality had fallen, the red cross flag continued to float over a hospital on Enchadas island, although its basement was occupied as a deposit for warlike stores.

The so-called neutral portion of the navy followed Saldanha da Gama into the ranks of the rebels, and on the ninth of December the first manifesto of the new rebel leader was distributed through the federal capital, and attached to the walls in the form of a placard. Señor Mello, up to this time the leader of the rebellion,

was quite overshadowed by the prestige of his new recruit, and thenceforth occupied but a secondary place. In that manifesto the hopes of the monarchists found an expression too clear to be misunderstood :

"The logic, as well as the justice of events, would authorize the restoration by the force of arms of the government of Brazil to the place it occupied on the fifteenth of November, 1889, when, in a moment of surprise and national stupefaction, it was overthrown by a military sedition of which the present government is only a continuation. The respect, however, which is due to the will of the nation, freely expressed, demands that it should select, solemnly and on its own responsibility, the form of government to which it wishes to entrust its glorious destinies."

A few hours later all Brazil knew that the rebels were playing their last card, and that card was the restoration of the monarchy ; but the reply that was given by Brazil to Señor Saldanha da Gama was the same as that it had given to Señor Custodio de Mello. The answer was that in defence of republican institutions the support of the nation would be given to the lawful government. The foreign support on which the new leader counted likewise failed him, and before the end of December he found himself under the ridiculous necessity of declaring that it was the government that had had the seditious manifesto printed, had posted it at the street corners, and had attributed to him the plan of submitting to the people the question of a monarchical or a republican form of government ; whereas his purpose was merely to submit the question of the form of a republic best fitted to Brazil.

The truth is that the leadership of Saldanha da Gama is no better than that of Señor de Mello, since by his first manifesto he offended the republican rebels, and by his second destroyed the last hope of his monarchist followers. And so that type of military honor from whose mouth we were waiting to hear the words of the cavaliers of Fontenoy—"*Tirez les premiers, messieurs les Républicains*"—let fall from his gloved hands the *bâton* of command. Now there is nothing left for him to do but what was done in the good old times when men's words were worth more than the written law, by our ancestors, the stout knights of the battlefields of Aljubarrota, Centa, and India who went and asked their dead sovereigns in their tombs to release them from their vows of allegiance before surrendering to the enemy the positions they were set to guard. But Señor Saldanha da Gama has already two dead lords to awaken : the last emperor of Brazil, to return to him the sword which, without his permission, he put at the ser-

vice of Señor Deodoro da Fonseca; and then the first president of the Brazilian republic, to give back to him the insignia of rear-admiral, which he received for serving the republic, and which, on the 7th of December, he offered to wear in the service of the Prince of Gram Pará.

The part taken by Señor Saldanha da Gama in the naval revolt brings with it at least the advantage of putting an end to the system under which any ambitious leader arrogates to himself the right to speak in the name of the nation, and of disclosing the plans of monarchical restoration which have been until now a cloud on the republican horizon.

From the fratricidal strife which is now going on, the new institutions must come forth victorious, for the reason that in spite of all the difficulties incident to the reorganization of the country under the new form of government, despite the errors of the republican administration and the campaign of slander waged against it abroad by Brazilians unworthy of the name, Brazil has made within the last four years a progress unexampled in the time of the monarchy. The revenues of the state, which in 1888 amounted to about $72,000,000, are estimated for the present year at $116,761,000. The immigration, which in 1888 reached 131,745, rose to 218,930 in 1891. The States, relieved of the yoke of centralization, have in four years doubled their production, and have in almost all cases an annual surplus, a thing unknown during the empire, and which now enables them to effect their local improvements on their own account. New interests have arisen, with new men to direct them, and these cannot be dispossessed without the employment of a force far greater than that possessed by the naval revolt.

The interest of foreign nations, which in our times is directed rather to the conquest of new markets for their products than to rebuilding thrones for unemployed princes, lies in the re-establishment of peace in the great South American republic. In the unlikely hypothesis of the victory of the restorationists in Brazil, peace would be impossible because the re-establishment of the monarchy would be but the beginning of a civil war of indefinite length, which could only end like the Napoleonic adventure in Mexico: with one queretaro more and one emperor less.

SALVADOR DE MENDONÇA.

HOW TO HELP THE UNEMPLOYED.

BY HENRY GEORGE.

AN EPIDEMIC of what passes for charity is sweeping over the land. From New York, where the new and massive United Charities Building, the million-dollar gift of one philanthropist, gives stately evidence that the battle against actual starvation has permanently transcended the powers of a municipality that appropriates to it millions annually and of the unorganized giving of greater millions; and from Chicago, where the corridors of the City Hall and the doors of churches have been thrown open for the shelter of those so poor as to welcome such a bed, to Seattle, on Puget Sound, or Tampa, on the Mexican Gulf,—all who have anything to give are being asked to give. Municipalities, churches, boards of trade, real-estate associations, labor unions and merchants' organizations are giving and asking for charity funds. Officials are surrendering a percentage on their salaries, policemen, railroad operatives, the employees of large business establishments, factory hands, and even day laborers, are docking themselves of part of their pay, and trades dinners being given up to swell charity subscriptions. There are charity balls, charity parties, charity entertainments, and charity funds of all sorts. One great paper in New York is raising an old-clothes fund, and another great paper a bread fund, and in Ashland, Wis., they have made a charity mincepie twenty-two feet in circumference and a quarter of a ton in weight. The politicians are always large givers of alms, politicians of the Tammany type especially; but even Tammany has special relief committees at work. One of the chiefs of New York's "400" calls on each pupil of the public schools for a daily contribution of a cold potato and a slice of bread for the organized feeding of the

hungry; and to complete the parallel with the "bread and circuses" of the dying Roman republic, he also asks that the churches be opened and their organs played every afternoon, so that to free food may be added free music!

Yet there has been no disaster of fire or flood, no convulsion of nature, no destruction by public enemies. The seasons have kept their order, we have had the former and the latter rain, and the earth has not refused her increase. Granaries are filled to overflowing, and commodities, even these we have tried to make dear by tariff, were never before so cheap.

The scarcity that is distressing and frightening the whole country is a scarcity of employment. It is the unemployed for whom charity is asked: not those who cannot or will not work, but those able to work and anxious to work, who, through no fault of their own, cannot find work. So clear, indeed, is it that of the great masses who are suffering in this country to-day, by far the greater part are honest, sober, and industrious, that the pharisees who preach that poverty is due to laziness and thriftlessness, and the fanatics who attribute it to drink, are for the moment silent.

Yet why is it that men able to work and willing to work cannot find work? It is not strange that the failure to work should bring want, for it is only by work that human wants are satisfied. But to say that widespread distress comes from widespread inability to find employment no more explains the distress than to say that the man died from want of breath explains a sudden death. The pressing question, the real question, is, What causes the want of employment?

This, however, is the question that the men of light and leading, the preachers, teachers, philanthropists, business men and editors of great newspapers, who all over the country are speaking and writing about the distress and raising funds for the unemployed, show no anxiety to discover. Indeed, they seem averse to such inquiry. "The cause of the want of employment," they say, tacitly or openly, "is not to be considered now. The present duty is to keep people from starving and freezing, or being driven to break in and steal. This is no time for theories. It is a time for alms."

This attitude, if one considers it, seems something more than strange. If in any village a traveller found the leading men

clustered about the body of one who had clearly come to untimely death, yet anxious only to get it buried; making no inquiry into the cause of death, and even discouraging inquiry, would he not suspect them of knowing more of that cause than they cared to admit? Now, this army of unemployed is as unnatural as is death in the prime of life and vigor of every organ and faculty. Nay, it involves presumption of wrong as clearly as cut throat or shattered skull.

What more unnatural than that alms should be asked, not for the maimed, the halt and the blind, the helpless widow and the tender orphan, but for grown men, strong men, skilful men, men able to work and anxious to work! What more unnatural than that labor—the producer of all food, all clothing, all shelter—should not be exchangeable for its full equivalent in food, clothing, and shelter; that while the things it produces have value, labor, the giver of all value, should seem valueless!

Here are men, having the natural wants of man, having the natural powers of man—powers adapted and intended and more than sufficient to supply those wants. To say that they are willing to use their powers for the satisfaction of their wants, yet cannot do so, is to say that there is a wrong. If it is not their fault, whose fault is it? Wrong somewhere there must be.

Of old it was said, "If any would not work, neither should he eat." Men able to work, and willing to work, who could not find work, were not dreamed of. External nature is the same; the constitution of man has not changed. How, then, is it that we now hear, "He who cannot find work shall be fed by charity"? Those who say this do not say, "He who does not work shall be fed by charity." These pseudo-philanthropists know the penalty of such an attempt to boldly annul the natural law that by his toil man shall be fed. By skimping the dole to what will just prevent actual starvation, and by the tests and inquiries and degrading conditions of organized charity, they try to draw the line between those who cannot find work and those who do not want to. But this line it is impossible to draw, for no such clear line exists. Organize charity as we may, men who cannot find work go hungry, and men who do not want to find work are fed, and men willing to work are converted into men unwilling to work.

For willingness to work depends on what can be had by work and what can be had without work, and the personal and social

estimate of the relation. Work is in itself painful and repellent. No human being ever worked for the sake of working. I write this article that it may be published in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, and that I may get the pay for it, and communicate my thought to others. But the work of writing it is as irksome to me as sawing wood. So with all work. In a ruder stage men looked upon the necessity of work as the curse of an offended creator. We who may now see to what marvellous advances it has led, and recognize in it the motor of all human progress, may behold in it, not a curse, but a blessing. But its irksomeness remains. What keeps any of us at work are our desires and hopes—our wants and our pride. Kill hope and lessen desire by crucifying the feeling of personal independence and accustoming your man to a life maintained by alms, and you will make of the most industrious a tramp. For the law of our being is that we seek the gratification of our desires with the least exertion.

Why should charity be offered the unemployed? It is not alms they ask. They are insulted and embittered and degraded by being forced to accept as paupers what they would gladly earn as workers. What they ask is not charity, but the opportunity to use their own labor in satisfying their own wants. Why can they not have that? It is their natural right. He who made food and clothing and shelter necessary to man's life has also given to man, in the power of labor, the means of maintaining that life; and when, without fault of their own, men cannot exert that power, there is somewhere a wrong of the same kind as denial of the right of property and denial of the right of life—a wrong equivalent to robbery and murder on the grandest scale.

Charity can only palliate present suffering a little at the risk of fatal disease. For charity cannot right a wrong; only justice can do that. Charity is false, futile, and poisonous when offered as a substitute for justice. This is the fatal taint that runs through all the efforts of the rich and influential to aid the unemployed, with which our newspapers now are full. Like the gatherings of clergymen called in Chicago by Editor Stead—blinded leader of the wilfully blind—their spirit is that of men pretending to look for what they are determined not to find; of men, like those of Moscow of whom Tolstoi tells, willing to do anything whatever to help the poor—except to get off their backs.

Yet this is to be expected. For the question of the unemployed is but a more than usually acute phase of the great labor question —a question of the distribution of wealth. Now, given any wrong, no matter what, that affects the distribution of wealth, and it follows that the leading class must be averse to any examination or question of it. For, since wealth is power, the leading class is necessarily dominated by those who profit or imagine they profit by injustice in the distribution of wealth. Hence, the very indisposition to ask the cause of evils so great as to arouse and startle the whole community is but proof that they spring from some wide and deep injustice.

What that injustice is may be seen by whoever will really look. We have only to ask to find.

What do we mean when we say that it is scarcity of employment from which the masses are suffering? Not what we mean when we say of the idle rich that they suffer from want of employment. There is no scarcity of the need for work when so many are suffering for the want of things that work produces, when all of us would like more, and all but a very few of us could advantageously use more, of those things. Nor do we mean that there is scarcity of ability to work or willingness to work. Nor yet do we mean that there is scarcity of the natural materials and forces necessary for work. They are as abundant as they ever were or ever will be until the energy radiated by the sun upon our globe loses its intensity. What we really mean by "scarcity of employment" is such scarcity as would be brought about were an ice sheet continued into the summer to shut out the farmer from the fertile field he was anxious to cultivate; such a scarcity as was brought about in Lancashire when our blockade of the Southern ports raised suddenly and enormously the price of the staple that English operatives were anxious to turn into cloth.

What answers to the ice sheet or the blockade? Need we ask? May it not be seen, from our greatest cities to our newest territories, in the speculation which has everywhere been driving up the price of land—that is to say, the toll that the active factor in all production must pay for permission to use the indispensable passive factor. Across the street from the City Hall of Chicago, where 1,400 men, "the great majority Americans by birth and almost all of them voters," have been this winter sleeping in the stone corridors, stands the Chamber of

Commerce Building, thirteen stories high. This great building cost $800,000. The lot which it covers is worth over $1,000,000! A few blocks from where the New York *World* is to-day distributing free bread, land has been sold since the bread distribution began at the rate of over $12,000,000 an acre! As for the remotest outskirts, who has not heard of the mad rush for the Cherokee Strip?

If there are any who do not see the relation of these facts, it is because they have become accustomed to think of labor as deriving employment from capital, instead of, which is the true and natural relation, capital being the product and tool of labor. The very term "scarcity of employment," and its opposite, "scarcity of labor," come to us from a state of society in which the idea of labor employing itself directly on land had been forgotten. The primary suggestion of "scarcity of employment" is that the supply of labor for hire is in excess of the demand for its purchase. But the intervention of an employer by no means alters the relation between labor and land. As the price that labor must pay for land increases, the more difficult it becomes for laborers to employ themselves, and the less of the products of their labor can they retain; hence the larger the proportion of laborers forced to seek the wages of an employer, and the lower the wages to which their competition with each other drives them. While, on the other hand, the demand for labor by employers—those at least who hire labor in order to sell its products,—is determined in largest part by the demands of those who draw their purchasing power from what they get by their labor, since they are and always must be the great majority of any people. Thus the same increase in the price that labor must pay for land, which increases the supply of labor offered for hire, and decreases the wages it can ask, lessens also the demand of employers for such labor and the wages they can pay. So that, whether we begin at the right or the wrong end, any analysis brings us at last to the conclusion that the opportunities of finding employment and the rate of all wages depend ultimately upon the freedom of access to land; the price that labor must pay for its use.

"Scarcity of employment" is a comparatively new complaint in the United States. In our earlier times it was never heard of or thought of. There was "scarcity of employment" in Europe,

but on this side of the Atlantic the trouble—so it was deemed by a certain class—was "scarcity of labor." It was because of this "scarcity of labor" that negroes were imported from Africa and indentured apprentices from the Old Country, that men who could not pay their passage sold their labor for a term of years to get here, and that that great stream of immigration from the Old World that has done so much to settle this continent set in. Now, why was there "scarcity of employment" on one side of the Atlantic and "scarcity of labor" on the other? What was the cause of this difference, of which all other social and political differences were but consequences? Adam Smith saw it, and in his "Wealth of Nations" states it, but it did not need an Adam Smith for that, as every one who knew anything of the two countries knew it. It was, that in this country land was cheap and easy to get, while in Europe land was dear and hard to get. Land has been steadily growing dear in the United States, and as a consequence we hear no longer of "scarcity of labor." We hear now of "scarcity of employment."

In the first quarter of this century an educated and thoughtful Englishman, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, visited this country. He saw its great resources, and noted the differences between the English-speaking society growing up here and that to which he had been used. Viewing everything from the standpoint of a class accustomed to look on the rest of mankind as created for their benefit, what he deemed the great social and economic disadvantage of the United States was "the scarcity of labor." It was to this he traced the rudeness of even what he styled the upper class, its want of those refinements, enjoyments, and delicacies of life common to the aristocracy of England. How could an English gentleman emigrate to a country where labor was so dear that he might actually have to black his own boots; so dear that even the capitalist might have to work, and no one could count on a constant supply ready to accept as a boon any opportunity to perform the most menial, degrading, and repulsive services? Mr. Wakefield was not a man to note facts without seeking their connection. He saw that this "scarcity of labor" came from the cheapness of land where the vast area of the public domain was open for settlement at nominal prices. A man of his class and time, without the slightest question that land was made to be owned by landlords, and laborers were made to furnish a sup-

ply of labor for the upper classes, he was yet a man of imagination. He saw the future before the English-speaking race in building up new nations in what were yet the waste spaces of the earth. But he wished those new nations to be socially, politically, and economically newer Englands; not to be settled as the United States had been, from the "lower classes" alone, but to contain from the first a proper proportion of the "upper classes" as well. He saw that "scarcity of employment" would in time succeed "scarcity of labor" even in countries like the United States by the growth of speculation in land; but he did not want to wait for that in the newer Britains which his imagination pictured. He proposed at once to produce such salutary "scarcity of employment" in new colonies as would give cheap and abundant labor, by a governmental refusal to sell public land, save at a price so high as to prevent the poorer from getting land, thus compelling them to offer their labor for hire.

This was the essential part of what was once well known as the Wakefield plan of colonization. It is founded on a correct theory. In any country, however new and vast, it would be possible to change "scarcity of labor" into "scarcity of employment" by increasiug the price put on the use of land. If three families settled a virgin continent, one family could command the services of the others as laborers for hire just as fully as though they were its chattel slaves, if it was accorded the ownership of the land and could put its own price on its use. Wakefield proposed only that land should be held at what he called "a sufficient price"—that is, a price high enough to keep wages in new colonies only a little higher than wages in the mother-country, and to produce not actual inability to get employment on the part of laborers, but only such difficulty as would keep them tractable, and ready to accept what from his standpoint were reasonable wages. Yet it is evident that it would only require a somewhat greater increase in the price of land to go beyond this point and to bring about in the midst of abundant natural opportunities for the employment of labor, the phenomena of laborers vainly seeking employment. Now, in the United States we have not attempted to create "scarcity of employment" by Wakefield's plan. But we have made haste by sale and gift to put the public domain in the hands of private owners, and thus allowed speculation to bring about more quickly and effect-

ually than he could have anticipated, more than Wakefield aimed at. The public domain is now practically gone; land is rising to European prices, and we are at last face to face with social difficulties which in the youth of men of my time we were wont to associate with "the effete monarchies of the Old World." To-day, as the last census reports show, the majority of American farmers are rack-rented tenants, or hold under mortgage, the first form of tenancy; and the great majority of our people are landless men, without right to employ their own labor and without stake in the land they still foolishly speak of as *their* country. This is the reason why the army of the unemployed has appeared among us, why pauperism has already become chronic, and why in the tramp we have in more dangerous type the proletarian of ancient Rome.

These recurring spasms of business stagnation; these long-drawn periods of industrial depression, common to the civilized world, do not come from our treatment of money; are not caused and are not to be cured by changes of tariffs. Protection is a robbery of labor, and what is called free trade would give some temporary relief, but speculation in land would only set in the stronger, and at last labor and capital would again resist, by partial cessation, the blackmail demanded for their employment in production, and the same round would be run again. There is but one remedy, and that is what is now known as the single-tax —the abolition of all taxes upon labor and capital, and of all taxes upon their processes and products, and the taking of economic rent, the unearned increment which now goes to the mere appropriator, for the payment of public expenses. Charity can merely demoralize and pauperize, while that indirect form of charity, the attempt to artificially "make work" by increasing public expenses and by charity woodyards and sewing-rooms, is still more dangerous. If, in this sense, work is to be made, it can be made more quickly by dynamite and kerosene.

But there is no need for charity; no need for "making work." All that is needed is to remove the restrictions that prevent the natural demand for the products of work from availing itself of the natural supply. Remove them to-day, and every unemployed man in the country could find for himself employment to-morrow, and his "effective demand" for the things he desires would infuse new life into every subdivision of business and in-

dustry, even that of the dentist, the preacher, the magazine writer, or the actor.

The country is suffering from "scarcity of employment." But let any one to-day attempt to employ his own labor or that of others, whether in making two blades of grass grow where one grew before, or in erecting a factory, and he will at once meet the speculator to demand of him an unnatural price for the land he must use, and the tax-gatherer to fine him for his act in employing labor as if he had committed a crime. The common-sense way to cure "scarcity of employment" is to take taxes off the products and processes of employment and to impose in their stead the tax that would end speculation in land.

But, it will be said, this is not quick enough. On the contrary, it is quicker than anything else. Even the public recognition of its need, by but a part of the intelligence and influence that is now devoted to charity appeals and schemes, would have such an effect upon the speculative price of land as to at once set labor and capital to work.

This is not "mere theory." It is theory to which all experience testifies. New Zealand is to-day the one country which enjoys anything like prosperity in the midst of a universal depression. While population is leaving New South Wales and Victoria, and, in the search for cheap land, people are even emigrating to Paraguay, more than six thousand families have settled in New Zealand since the passage of the Ballance Act, a partial application of the single-tax principle.

HENRY GEORGE.

ARE WE A PLUTOCRACY?

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

THE god from whom the supremacy of the moneyed class has its modern name was said by the Greeks, who invented him, to be "blind and lame, injudicious, and mighty timorous. He is lame because large estates come slowly," they said. "He is fearful and timorous, because rich men watch their estates with a great deal of fear and care." He is in lineage only a half-god, or a three-quarters god at most, and some think him little better than an allegory. There are others who hold that this Plutus is the same as Pluto, who rules in Hades; but this is probably an error of those who do not understand the real nature of capital. It is no doubt through some such error that his name has hitherto been used to stigmatize, but it is not too late to ask that it should be used to characterize. At any rate, it seems to me that one may inquire without offence whether the term plutocrat will justly characterize not only all the rich people, but the infinitely greater number of the poor people in this republic.

I.

I know that some will object to the word, and scent in it a certain odor of incivism, but I do not know why it should aggrieve any one who is not ashamed of making money. I do not say earning money, for that is a very different thing; and to the few among us who feel it right to earn money, but wrong to make it, I might well offer my excuses if I called them plutocrats or imagined them willingly consenting to a plutocracy. None others need be afflicted either by the name or the notion, unless they are at heart afflicted by the thing, or have dimly or distinctly a bad conscience in it. The question for each one to answer

himself, before he rejects or accepts the name or the notion of plutocracy, is whether it is just for him to profit by another man's labor, or, in other words, to pay another man a wage for doing or making a thing which shall be less than the value of the thing done or made, that he may have some margin of gain for himself from it, without having helped do it or make it.

I am aware that this is the whole question of private capitalism, but I am not for the present dealing with it except as a test of plutocracy. The man who follows a trade or practises an art, does so to make a living; the man who goes into business, does so to make money. These are broad distinctions, and they do not give all the colors of motive in either case; but their general truth cannot be gainsaid. No one makes money at a trade, or in the same sense at an art; properly speaking, money is not made at all in the trades or in the arts, though in the arts a great deal more money may sometimes be earned than is made in business. But business is the only means of making money, and in these days it may be fairly said that no man gets rich by his own labor, that no man gets rich except by the labor of others. Whether he gets rich or not, however, the man who pays wages with the hope of profit to himself is a plutocrat, and the man who takes wages upon such terms, believing them right, is in principle a plutocrat; for both approve of the gain of money which is not earned, and agree to the sole arrangement by which the great fortunes are won or the worship of wealth is perpetuated. I am not saying that the worship of wealth is wrong, or that the love of money is the root of all evil, or that the rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven, or any of those things: I am merely trying to find out whether this cult is not so common among us that our state is not rather a plutocracy than a democracy. The fact of any man's plutocracy is not affected by his having the worst of the bargain, and it is not affected by his failure to turn it to account if he has the best. The ninety-five men who fail in business and get poor are as much plutocrats as the other five who prosper and get rich, for the ninety-five meant to get rich, with as worshipful a mind for Mammon as the five had, and they believe in Mammon quite as devoutly. So I think it unjust to devote certain millionaires among us, or all millionaires, to the popular hate, and to bemoan the immense mass of would-be millionaires who failed in the same conditions that the

others prospered in. One may indeed blame the conditions which mean failure for so many and success for so few, but one can no more blame the good luck of the few than one can blame the bad luck of the many.

II.

For much the same reason only a qualified compassion can be given to the wage-takers so far as they believe that it is right for the wage-givers to get rich on their wages, while they themselves remain poor on them. A great deal of sympathy is asked, and a great deal more is offered unasked, in their behalf, which might better be kept and used in the cooler form of reason. If the wage-taker believes the system is wrong, that it is wrong for him to work for any employer but the state, which cannot allow itself to exploit him or make a profit on his wages, one may, of course, call him a miscreant or a fanatic, but one cannot deny him a logic which is lacking to the others in their discontent. Any other sort of wage-taker is ready at the first chance to become a wage-giver, and to prosper as far as he can upon a margin in the value of the thing he gets some one else to make beyond the wage he gives for making it; and with this hope in his heart, he is as thoroughly a plutocrat as any present millionaire of them all. Perhaps he is even more a plutocrat, for it is said that great riches oftener inspire great loathing of riches in those who have them than in those who have them not.

Since I believe that the vast mass of our wage-takers, either because they have thought about it or because they have not, are in this position, and so are potential moneyed men and potential millionaires, I find it hard to be of their side always in their struggles with the actual wage-givers. I have, indeed, always a crude preference for the man who wants to make a better living, over the man who wants to make more money; but when I begin to scrutinize my preference, I begin to distinguish. I begin to ask myself why I should be in the wage-takers' camp, rather than the wage-givers', if they are themselves ready to go over to the enemy as soon as they have money enough. This question saves me from much intense feeling concerning strikes, which I might otherwise wish to see carried by the wage-takers. At the end of the ends, the wage-payers seem to be doing only what the wage-takers would do if they had the chance, and I do not see why I

should espouse their cause, simply because I know that the great multitude of them will never have the chance. A strike for higher wages does not at all reach the plutocratic principle and is never against it. If the wage-takers do not like the plutocratic principle, if they do not like the chances of the fight which must go on under this principle, why do they perpetuate the fight?

In asking the question, I am not saying that the fight is wrong. I know too well that a multitude of my fellow-citizens, so great that it is hardly worth while to count the few others, think that the fight is a holy war, and that, if it does not make for virtue, it makes at least for character, and if not for blessedness at least for manliness. I believe it is recommended on this account to the working classes, who are invited to consider whether, if they gave up their chances of getting worsted in the fight, they might not have to give up the fight itself; and these classes, for the present, seem unwilling to forego their peculiar disadvantages, though by this time they must know that in the actual conditions it will be with them to the end as it has been from the beginning. In the mean time it is interesting to consider how long the great mass of the American people have constituted the American nation a plutocracy and not a democracy.

III.

This, after a vast deal of talking, is still a very nice question, which one cannot handle too delicately or too diffidently. On the economic side, unless we are the more deceived by appearances, one might say that there was really no such question, and never had been; but that here as everywhere else, the conditions always forbade a democratic management. Up to the present moment no business enterprise in the United States seems to have been carried on by universal suffrage, any more than in Russia, or the other parts of Christendom where universal suffrage is unknown. Our wage-takers are in precisely the case of wage-takers all over the world, and have not only not a controlling voice in the management of affairs that concern them far more vitally than they concern our wage-givers, but they have no voice at all. This may be right, or it may be wrong, but it is certain that financially, industrially, economically, we are not a nation, a people, a solidarity, but a

congeries of "infinitely repellent particles." Politically, we stand before the world as Americans against England, or France, or Spain, whichever threatens our pride or our prosperity; but economically we are all at war one with another, quite as ruthlessly as we are at war with Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards. Politically, we can agree upon what is to our advantage by a popular vote, but economically we can never agree by that means, because politically our advantage is always individual, and economically it is always several. The fact does not need illustration; it illustrates itself from every man's experience to every man's reason. It is clear that business can never be democratically transacted, but must always fall to the control of one strong head, or long head, in the present economic conditions. Every private business is at war not only with every like private business, but it is at war within itself between the employer and the employee, the wage-giver and the wage-taker; and this state of double warfare can only be despotically maintained. If the employees were suffered to canvass any project they might find that their advantage lay apart from their employer's with the employees of some other employer, and they can no more be suffered to do this or to vote upon such a canvass than the subordinates of an army could be suffered to reason and to act upon their reason in the presence of an enemy, with the chances of a final fraternization.

IV.

The question that remains is, How far has business characterized our politics? Has business come into control of the government, or is the government still in the hands of the people? Do parties or persons bribe voters in New Hampshire or New York? Do firms or corporations corrupt legislatures? Have United States Senators bought seats in the most august assembly in the world? Have trusts and syndicates darkened counsel in the judiciary? Have large contributors to election funds received high office from the executive? Have contractors even tempted aldermen, and have the bosses behind the thrones found their account in tacitly growing rich in a private station?

I affirm none of these things, and until I have found some journalist who admits the guilt of his own party while accusing his esteemed contemporary's, or some boss who confesses that he

is not so poor as his affluence makes him appear, I do not think it would be safe to do so. The proof in all such cases has as little weight with the impartial mind as the overwhelming evidence, say, that there are veridical phantoms. Still, it must be owned that there are vast numbers of people who believe that these things are so ; not so vast as the number that believe in ghosts : but a majority of the Americans so great that their vote would not leave a single elector to the partisans of an opposite theory in a presidential election. It is hard to believe that there is no truth in them, just as it is hard to believe that the spirits of the departed have not upon some emergent occasions revisited the earth. I can account for their acceptance by supposing that the minds of the whole people have been poisoned by bad men, who have instilled into them a suspicion of guilt in others which every American knows himself personally incapable of.

Or is there here and there an American who secretly, and quite within the fastnesses of his heart, realizes that, being perplexed and wrought upon in the extreme, he would give or take a bribe ? Or, if not quite that, is there some American who is conscious that, as a matter of business merely, he might apply business principles to politics ? We all know how very common business principles are with us, and the thing is not so wholly impossible. We need not inquire very nicely what business principles are; some business men will do what other business men will not do ; but if the popular notion that business is business be correct, and if in this sense business is a thing not wholly indistinct from righteousness, it can be easily seen that the passage from an axiom to an action need traverse no great moral space. If we once admit that business principles have been applied in procuring statutes, decisions, contracts, and appointments, as most Americans believe, then it might certainly be said that we have a plutocracy, and not a democracy.

In certain forms, indeed, we have grown more democratic. We have no longer that distinctly plutocratic form, the property qualification of the suffrage. But if votes are bought and sold, the spirit of money-making, of plutocracy, arrives in our politics all the same ; and if there is a change in the motive of those who seek public office, if men have come to desire it for the profit rather than the honor, we are more plutocratic than we were when we were less democratic. For a plutocracy is not so much,

or not so merely, the rule of the moneyed class as it is the political embodiment of the money-making ideal; and the mass who have no money at all may cling as fondly and worshipfully to this ideal as the class who have millions of money. In fact, if we have ceased to be a democracy and have become a plutocracy, it is because the immense majority of the American people have no god before Mammon; though they may have gods besides him, he is the first. If we have really come to the pass in election, legislation, and administration that so many believe we have reached, we have come to it not because any limited number of men have pushed us on, but because the way that we were mostly going led to it. We may plead that our opportunity of prosperity, transcending any prosperity known before, tempted us beyond our strength; but if the student of our status is to sympathize with any one of us rather than with any other, it must be through that humanity which commiserates misfortune because it is misfortune, and will not ask itself whether it may not be merited misfortune. To this humanity riches may be pitiable, too, and a millionaire may inspire as tender a compassion as a pauper. Perhaps too little has been made of the sufferings of the rich; no one but they can know how hard the life of luxury, the life of satiety, or even the life of fashion may be.

V.

The mere absence of statistics on such a point will not keep us from speculating as to the truth in the case; and a certain obscurity attending this whole inquiry piques rather than blunts the curiosity. It cannot be supposed that a great people would have voluntarily become a plutocracy without finding their account in it, and it would be very interesting to know what this is. If a plutocracy is a decline from a democracy, the study of the fact will have something of the pathetic and poignant charm that clings to ruin. If it is a rise, the contemplation of it must stir the patriotic heart with pride, and impress the alien with the grandeur of the spectacle.

In either case, when did we begin to pass from the democratic to the plutocratic stage of our existence as a people? There was no dramatic moment which history could lay her finger upon with confidence, and the transition was not the effect of any conscious purpose. But I suppose the impulse toward it was always

latent in us, not perhaps more tightly coiled than the same spring in any other nation, but having more effect because from the first hour of our national life the business spirit was supreme with us. We came into being at a time in the world's life when this spirit was entering upon its dominion, and there was no tradition or institution to hinder it or to hamper it with us. We had neither prince, nor priest, nor patrician to stand against the trader, the manufacturer, the business man, and it was only a question of very little time when these should rule. Of course, no one clearly foresaw this, and even in the retrospect there are appearances that cloud a perfect vision. The chief men in the new state were apparently the statesmen, and for a long time nearly all men were so poor in it that it seemed destined forever to be the free domain of an equal manhood. The poet, when he imagined that

> "God said: I am tired of kings,
> I suffer them no more,"

figured him further as proclaiming:

> "I will divide my goods;
> Call in the wretch and slave:
> None shall rule but the humble,
> And none but Toil shall have.
>
> "I will have never a noble,
> No lineage counted great;
> Fishers and choppers and ploughmen
> Shall constitute a state."

But when it came down to business, as our phrase is, and there was a call to go and "cut down trees in the forest, and trim the straightest boughs" for the wooden house which was to be the capitol of the new state, not only the digger in the harvest-field was summoned, not only the hireling, but "him that hires," too; and, without doubt, the business man, the moneyed man, the capitalist, was early on the ground to charge the market price for the timber used, and bid off the contract for building the temple of our liberties. Even at that day he must have begun to feel himself a public benefactor because he "made work" for the choppers and ploughmen at wages which secured him a handsome profit. He was the first-born of *Laissez-faire*, and as an eldest son he took over the whole property, so that he should be able to provide for the brood of artisans, operatives, miners, stokers, sailors, stevedores, laborers, who came

after him. These little brothers of his, though they hate him, envy him his power of using their work to his advantage, and would mostly like to be in his place. They declare that he has never provided fairly for them, but they conceive nothing better than the part he plays in civilization; and I venture to say that if I were to speak lightly of him I should seem to most of my fellow-citizens, of all classes and callings, little better than one of the wicked. But I have no wish to speak lightly of him or otherwise than historically, or, at the worst, analytically; and I hope that I may say, without offence, that during the whole period of our generous youth, before the triumphant close of the great civil war gave us our full growth and solidified and hardened us, he was comparatively in abeyance. There was still thought to be some good, which, if we had not a very definite vision of it, was a better good than the material good which he sought as the supreme blessing. There were always, of course, mighty men before Agamemnon, but before the war the large fortunes were such as would have seemed little fortunes after the war; the greatest crimes against the suffrage, the legislature, the judiciary, would have seemed small crimes, and political life was not yet so low in the popular esteem that a high-minded man might not make it his career without the misgiving of his friends. It was still ennobled by the question of slavery, by the highest interest that ever divided a people, or parted the just from the unjust. When that question had its answer in the last reason of kings and passed from our politics, our politics lost the motive that had carried them upward and onward. They became, in a sense, business affairs, with no question but the minor question of civil-service reform to engage the idealist's fancy or the moralist's conscience. After the war we had, as no other people had in the world, the chance of devoting ourselves strictly to business, of buying cheap and selling dear, and of marketing our wares at home and abroad.

VI.

I need not tell the tale of our material achievements: it is so familiar and, upon the whole, it is so tedious. With us, Plutus may have remained blind, but if he remained lame he has proved himself a very active cripple. He has gone far and he has gone fast; but there are those who doubt whether he has arrived

everywhere. They say that the defects of our advantages are so terrible that the wealth we have heaped us is like witch's gold in its malign and mocking effects. If we have built many railroads, we have wrecked many; and those vast transcontinental lines, which, with such a tremendous expenditure of competitive force, we placed in the control of monopolies, have mostly passed into the hands of receivers, the agents of an unconscious state socialism. The tramps walk the land like the squalid spectres of the laborers who once tilled it. The miners have swarmed up out of their pits, to starve in the open air. In our paradise of toil, myriads of workingmen want work; the water is shut off in the factory, the fires are cold in the foundries. The public domain, where in some sort the poor might have provided for themselves, has been lavished upon corporations, and its millions of acres have melted away as if they had been a like area of summer clouds.

It is true that we still have the trusts, the syndicates, the combinations of roads, mines, and markets, the whole apparatus. If there is much cold and hunger, the price of food and fuel is yet so high as to afford a margin to the operators in coal and grain and meat. The great fortunes in almost undiminished splendor, remain the monuments of a victory that would otherwise look a good deal like defeat, and they will be an incentive to the young in the hour of our returning prosperity. The present adversity cannot last forever; and if there are many thousands of men and women who cannot outlast it, or live to see the good time which is coming back, this has been the order of events from the beginning of the world, and we must not shut our eyes to the gain because it involves a great deal of loss.

If the owners of these great fortunes are often, or sometimes, men of low civic ideals and small civic uses, it must be allowed, on the other hand, that men of no fortune at all are often, or sometimes, no better. Whether a close scrutiny of their respective qualities and characters would tell more for the rich, or more for the poor, in the regard of the moralist, is by no means certain, and is perhaps beside the main question. But there is no doubt that they imply one another; that in our system they must both exist, that neither can exist without the other. There must always be this contrast, it appears, for it is said by the statisticians, by the ready reckoners whose figures cannot lie, that if all the wealth of the nation were equally divided, we should

none of us have above six hundred dollars; and it ought to be plain how much better it is that one should have twelve hundred, and another none; or one should have several millions, and several millions should have none. Such points need no argument with any man who has money—say, money enough to buy this copy of the REVIEW; to the man who has not money enough for that purpose, I cannot suppose that I am addressing myself, and I cannot stay to convince him. If I must address him, I would rather spend the time in persuading him that it is he and such as he who are responsible, or chiefly responsible, for the perpetuation of a plutocracy among us, if we have a plutocracy.

I should be ashamed to use the word to stigmatize any class of my fellow-citizens, even the poorer class whom no one need be afraid of offending, but I wish to use it only to characterize, as I said in the beginning. In this truer use, indeed, it will characterize the status in the whole civilized world; and perhaps it will characterize the status with us only a little more strictly, a little more closely. The plutocratic spirit is a bond uniting all the modern nations, otherwise so discordant and antipathetic: Englishmen, Germans, Frenchmen, Italians, Americans, we are alike brothers in that solidarity. But with some of the peoples whom it joins, it seems not to be the first thing. Even England, so long the chief, and still the first, to make the plutocratic principle in the industries a cult and a creed, has shown of late a shrinking from the full effect of its logic. It may strike the reader as rather a droll notion that the English should be thought the earliest to acknowledge the opposite principle of humanity, but a little study of the facts will make it look less grotesque. It is among the inventors of *Laissez-faire* that the inhumanity of *Laissez-faire* has repeatedly met its severest rebukes. It is the English who have finally realized, in the forms of law or in legal usage, the wrong of paying the workman the least he will take for his work, and in their imperial contracts have stipulated that the contractor shall pay his hands the trades-union rates of wages; while the War Office has adopted the eight-hour rate without decrease of pay. It is the English who have rejected the contract system altogether in some of their municipal dealings with labor, and have gone directly to the workingmen for the work that they wanted done. It is the

English who have built decent public tenements where the poor may be housed at cost, and need not pay landlords ten, and twenty, and a hundred per cent. for shelter in dens and styes. It is English public opinion which has recognized the principle that the miner's wages must never go below a certain sum, no matter how low the price of coal may fall. These things are the effect of a larger humanity than is yet active among us, and are a confession that business is not the supreme English ideal. Is business, is money-making, the supreme American ideal ?

VII.

If the poor American does not like it, or if he does not prefer a plutocracy to a democracy, he has the affair in his own hands, for he has an overwhelming majority of the votes. At the end, as in the beginning, it is he who is responsible, and if he thinks himself unfairly used, it is quite for him to see that he is used fairly ; for, slowly or swiftly, it is he who ultimately makes and unmakes the laws, by political methods which, if still somewhat clumsy, he can promptly improve. It is time, in fine, that he should leave off railing at the rich, who are no more to blame than he, who are perhaps not so much to blame, since they are infinitely fewer than the poor, and have but a vote apiece, unless the poor sell them more. If we have a plutocracy, it may be partly because the rich want it, but it is infinitely more because the poor choose it or allow it.

W. D. Howells.

NEEDED MUNICIPAL REFORMS.

I. OUR PRESENT OPPORTUNITY.

BY THE REV. C. H. PARKHURST, D. D.

DIFFICULT as it is to arouse public opinion, there is still a greater difficulty in harnessing down that aroused opinion into discreet and concerted action. No one can be knowing to the present condition of sentiment in this city, as expressed in the common speech of men, and as reflected in the public journals, without being assured that if enthusiasm and indignation were all that are required in order to a municipal revolution, the necessary material is amply in hand. Unfortunately, however, sentiment, no matter how honest and well-intentioned, cannot be counted on for safe, and least of all for concerted, efforts. There are not a great many intelligent and reputable people in this city, and scarcely a respectable journal, but what antagonize strenuously the existing *régime*. Now if all that were required was a plebiscitum, in which each citizen had only to vote for or against the continuance of Tammany control by a "yes" or "no" ballot, probably the business could be pretty easily finished. The intelligence and conscience of the city are quite solidly arrayed *against* the administration now existing, but there are not evident the symptoms of a similar consensus *in favor* of any other mode of administration to take its place. Destructive agreement is an easy matter, and this city is full of it; but constructive agreement is a rarity and a luxury. This is the rock upon which municipal reform has been wrecked in times past, and there is a possibility, not to say a probability, that it will be wrecked on the same rock next November.

Political revivals are in that particular somewhat like revivals of religion. Churches of various denominations will, in seasons of religious interest, combine for evangelical effort, with little

consciousness of their interdenominational incompatibility, and the appearance will be that incongruities have been eliminated, and that the lion and the lamb have indeed lain down together. And yet the case has very often been that just that suspension of hostilities has been the occasion of accumulating only a fresh and enhanced supply of interdenominational virus, and I have known of no religious bitterness that rivals that which sometimes develops between churches in the process of capturing the converts after a series of "union services." Human nature is a singular thing, and there is a great deal of it. The illustration we have just used states fairly the condition we are in to-day. We are passing politically through what may be termed a series of "union services." The lion and the lamb—in fact, all the animals except the tiger—are lain down together. There is a harmonization of sentiment that is almost millennial. This harmony, however, is replete with vast possibilities of jealousy and rivalry, and the confidence with which Tammany Hall faces the coming November election is based, to a considerable degree, on its appreciation of that fact. Our purpose in so stating the matter is not to discourage the hopeful, but it is poor philosophy to deal with a situation without having first taken its honest measure.

There exist at the present time a considerable number of reform movements in New York that are agreed in their purpose to destroy Tammany, but that are just as distinct from one another in the complexion of the administration which they desire respectively to establish in its place. Each of these reform movements is aiming at precedence in the overthrow of existing conditions, and each of them already regards with a jealous eye the efforts that are being made by its competitors to marshal the approaching campaign. A man or a clique may be intensely interested in the weal of his city, and yet be still more interested in the success of his personal or political scheme for the compassing of that weal; and when it comes to be a matter between the saving of his city, and the success of his own plan for saving, he gives the preference to the latter, and sacrifices the municipal interest rather than see victorious any rival policy for the promotion of that interest. This has occurred repeatedly in the recent history of this city, and it is extremely probable that it will occur again this year. There are reputable Democrats who are laboring and praying for the overthrow of Tammany Hall, that would nevertheless

rather see Tammany Hall win than to see a Republican elected mayor; and there are Republicans in large number that are guilty of precisely the same sort of political bigotry. They will not confess it, perhaps are not even aware of it; they will not vote the Tammany ticket next November, but they will do what is in effect precisely the same thing: they will refrain from casting an anti-Tammany ballot, and thus become the passive auxiliary of the very condition against which they are to-day laboring and praying.

This is a truth to be stated promptly and urgently. There is being a good deal of hard, honest work done in behalf of our wickedly misgoverned city, and we are some of us continually nettled and acerbated by the reflection that there are political experts of every stripe that are lounging ambitiously around waiting for the opportunity to capture the movement in the interests of their own party or prepossession, posing as reformers till the critical moment comes, and then seizing upon the opportunity with precisely the same hungry rapacity as that which distinguishes the municipal administration we are suffering under already. Unpleasant as the fact may be, it must nevertheless be appreciated by the rank and file of our reputable citizens that a great deal of the bitterness with which Tammany Hall is regarded by some of our conspicuous citizens who have been taking a long political vacation is due exclusively to the fact that they are tired of going barefoot, and are hunting for dead men's shoes. The municipal enthusiasm that is developing among certain political "back numbers," certain Republican and Democratic corpses that have been lying in grave-clothes for some years, waiting for the resurrection tattoo, is too transparent to baffle the perceptions of intelligent citizens who care to take the candid measure of the situation.

The times are ripe for the reconstruction of our municipal life, and the general desire and demand that exist among us for something better will not fail of being realized unless the movement is sidetracked, or unless it is employed for partisan purposes or is prostituted to the promotion of individual ambitions. This is a movement of the people, and the people must not allow themselves to surrender their control of it. Professional politicians have not been the authors of it, and it is not, therefore, a thing to be committed to their custody. The people, as such, have rights here, and one of their rights, and one of their obli-

gations too, is to assert themselves in all that relates to the municipal interest. One of the charges that have been popularly laid against Tammany Hall is its system of "bossism." At present, one man determines our municipal character and administration. Now, it must be urged upon the popular attention that what is needed is not an exchange of "bosses," but the abolition of "bosses." The names can be easily specified of those who are voluminous in their vituperation of Mr. Croker, but whose enmity to him is based, not on the autocratic position he holds, but on the fact that his occupancy of the position cuts them out from occupying it themselves.

The doctrine to be preached in all these matters is that no system of half-measures will hit the urgency of the times or be level to the popular demand. If Tammany control is to be overcome next November, it will be at the pressure of a tide of wisely directed popular enthusiasm, and it will be far easier to develop the requisite enthusiasm by presenting to it men and measures that meet the entire demand, than by presenting to it men and measures that meet the demand but half way. Thoroughness is the prime condition of permanency. If we simply *better* our condition next November, we might about as well remain as we are. Such a result would not pay for the effort it would cost, for we should presently slide back into our present state, and have to repeat the tiresome farce of self-extrication. We do not like machine politics, but we would most of us just as soon be the victim of machine politics that spells itself "Tammany Hall" as the victim of machine politics that spells itself by any other or more reputable name. It is the *thing* we object to, not the name that is tagged to it; and now is a good time to get rid of the *thing*; and we shall get rid of it if, at the popular demand, the politicians are kept from spoiling the movement.

There was probably never in this city so earnest and clear-cut a conviction as now that in all municipal matters the distinctively political element should be reduced to a minimum. People who never said it before are saying it to-day, that the affairs of our city should be administered in the interests of our city, and not in the interests of the office-holders, and not in the interests of any national theory or policy. Conducting the concerns of New York is a business, and the people, with a phenomenal unanimity, are demanding that it should be conducted on business

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principles. New earnestness is given to this consensus by the example of the new Mayor of Brooklyn, who proposes to embody that principle in his administration. When the time comes here, as it has in so many of the English cities, that candidacy for official position means above all integrity and competency to fill the position, we shall wonder that it took us so long to graduate from the senseless opinion that a man's national convictions determine his qualifications for municipal trust, and that his views of tariff, or of any other national issue, ever touch the matter of his fitness to stand at the head of a city or at the head of any of its administrative departments.

We, in New York, are in the condition we are in to-day for the reason that our local character and concerns have been so long subordinate to considerations of a national character, and we are, a good many of us, tired of it and disgusted with it. We want the political element of our municipal life exterminated. There is probably not one intelligent and conscientious man out of fifty but what assents to that when the issue is fairly put; and the men who do not assent to it are those who have some ulterior ambition of their own to further, or who are willing to purchase the aggrandizement of their own party at the expense of the economy, thrift, and honor of their municipality. The rank and file of the people are coming out very distinctly upon this ground, and it behooves them to stand firmly by their conviction, and not to allow themselves to be either bulldozed or hoodwinked by the specious machinations of the self-constituted leaders who are trying to make political capital out of the "dear people" whose interests they are affecting to espouse. Instance the matter of a non-partisan police board. At this writing it is proposed that such board should be composed of two Republicans and two Democrats. Certainly a non-partisan board is less mischievous than one that is predominantly either Republican or Democratic; but the legislated obligation to put upon the board two men that are distinctively of one party, and two men that are distinctively of the other party, will be certain to have two evil effects: the first of which is that it will "tie" the board on all questions that involve political considerations — a fact which is amply illustrated by past attempts to secure the conviction of police captains before such a two-headed commission; and the second is that it

will legislatively fasten the political feature upon municipal government, just at a time when men are more anxious than ever before to get rid of political features. The sooner we get rid of the whole system of police commissioners, the better; such a system affords a nest for all sorts of political machinations to breed in, and, by distributing responsibility, makes it impossible definitely to locate responsibility. At present the superintendent shoulders the blame for non-enforcement of law upon the police commissioners, and the commissioners reciprocate. No one knows the exact point at which either credit or blame is to be attached. The whole effect of our present quadruple commission is to handicap the superintendent, to obfuscate the field of his accountability, and to confuse the entire department by the introduction of ingredients that are foreign to the proper purposes of the department, and to the specific advantage of the municipality. There is no more necessity for the introduction of a commission between the mayor and the superintendent of police than there is for a bureau of control between the agent of a manufactory and the heads of the respective departments into which that manufactory is organized. We shall have neither a safe nor an effective municipal government till it is so relieved of unnecessary machinery that we shall know precisely what to find fault with when things go wrong. A good deal of the present difficulty in dealing with our police department lies in the fact that, corrupt though it be in its entire animus and working, everybody in it hides behind everybody else, and it is next to impossible to pin obligation anywhere. It will be the politicians that will oppose the abolition of such commissioners, for that would be to diminish by so much the number of lucrative positions; and when you have robbed a politician of boodle and patronage, you have taken from him everything that in his estimation makes government dear.

Our "municipal opportunity," therefore, is to be interpreted not simply in its relations to an escape from the despotism of Tammany, but to the emancipation from the domination of whatever self-constituted authority undertakes to bind us to its behests. What the citizens of this city want is, not an exchange of masters, but deliverance from all masters save that of the collective will. That is the line along which educating influences will have to be made to bear in the months that are to come. Politi-

cians that are "in" will make jest of such a policy; so will politicians that are "out," but that want to get "in"; but the rank and file of us believe in home government; and when we say home government, we mean not only New York city's government of itself as opposed to government from Albany, but our own individual government of ourselves and participation in the governmental influences that go to compose our municipal character and history. The best thing we can do for months to come will be, not to talk about candidates, and not to draw the net of partisan interest with which we may be severally affiliated, but to prevent the present municipal earnestness from mortgaging itself to any man, movement, or party; to make people intelligently and burningly conscious of the immediate situation; to go on uncovering the crookedness with which the members of our present city government have warped themselves, and the filth with which they have begrimed themselves; to be steadily drawing to a finer tension the motives and purposes of our citizenship; to protest untiringly against the adoption of any half-measures or compromise candidates; steadily to emphasize the moral element involved in the present warfare, and so to lift the struggle above the level of petty ambition and sectional prejudice that the popular mind shall become more and more elevated and insistent in its demands, and that its choice of leadership be determined, not by the scheming of a cabal, nor by a policy of barter and dicker, but by the wide drift of event and the high exigencies of the hour.

C. H. PARKHURST.

II. JUGGLING WITH THE BALLOT.

BY JOHN W. GOFF, COUNSEL TO THE COMMITTEE FOR THE PROSECUTION OF ELECTION FRAUDS.

AT a mass meeting held under the auspices of the Bar Association of the City of New York at the Cooper Union last October, a committee of fifty was appointed to invite the co-operation of citizens, irrespective of party, to secure as far as possible an observance of the election laws. A number of gentlemen volunteered to act as watchers at the polls on election day, and while it was, under the circumstances, impracticable to man each of the 1,157 polling-places in the city, yet there was a sufficient

number placed under observation to warrant a fairly accurate estimate of the general practice. Since the enactment of the reform-ballot law in 1890 no organized effort has been made to watch its operation or to detect any illegal practices. The public was satisfied with the popular catch-name of the act, and it slept peacefully upon the assurance that fraud was no longer possible; but the evidence obtained by the volunteer watchers, and the finding of over sixty indictments by the Grand Jury, mainly against election officials, demonstrate that false registration, false voting, and bribery are as easily and as safely practised as they ever were, and that perjury has enormously increased, owing to the number of safeguards which must be sworn away by the fraudulent voter and the collusive inspector.

During the last seven years there has been a great increase of cheap lodging-houses in the city of New York, whose capacity for accommodation is limited only by the number of lodgers that can be crowded around the stoves and upon the benches. The inmates of these lodging-houses are the nomads of our civilization, with no home, no family ties, no cares for nor interest in government or country, and who around election time are contracted for at so much a head to register and vote. On the days of registration these floaters registered mythical names, giving the lodging-house as their residence. In a majority of cases they claimed to be native-born citizens, and, if naturalized, that they had been naturalized in another State. Of course it may be said that if they swore falsely they were liable to punishment for perjury. That is true, but how is the perjury to be proven? Who can swear that such a man is not the owner of the name he has given, or that he is not a native-born citizen? There is no record to appeal to, and he is practically safe from contradiction. As to the period of his residence in the district, he is equally safe. There is no register or record kept in the lodging-houses; the only formality required is the payment of a small sum for the night. The lodgers usually turn in late at night, and are turned out early in the morning. They rarely spend three nights in succession in the same house. And these tramps, many of them criminals, each registered one or more names which were certain to be voted on by themselves or some other tramps on election day.

The same men who registered did not, as a rule, vote upon the names given. To have them do so would require their main-

tenance at the lodging-house, and that would be too expensive. A more economic plan was adopted. A few days previous to election the proprietors of the lodging-houses were furnished, by the election-district captains, with lists of the names registered from their houses. Separate slips for each name were then supplied, and on election day the tramps, as they came along, were handed the slips, and they voted on the names thus given as frequently as they could get the slips. The election workers were never hard pushed to bring out the registered vote. They simply sent for the men when they wanted them, and were always supplied with the required number. Sometimes the floater forgot the name given to him or could not read the slip; sometimes a man who could not speak English wrestled with an American name, or an English-speaking man struggled with a Polish name. In all of these cases the obliging inspectors helped them out either by looking at the slip or by giving some sort of pronounciation to the unpronounceable name. In some election districts there was a rivalry as to who could vote on the most names, and the man who won the honors was an ex-convict, who voted eighteen times in two election districts of the Third Assembly District. At another election district of the same Assembly district, four ex-convicts voted upon the names of four well-known men in the neighborhood, one of them being a German who kept a wine saloon next door to the polling-place, and was personally known to the election inspectors for years. It is generally accepted that even in presidential elections the vote falls off from the registration ten to twenty per cent.; but in those districts where the lodging-house flourishes, the full registered vote was invariably polled, and the trouble was not in swelling the vote to the number registered, but in keeping it down to that figure, as the supply of voters was inexhaustible. In the Thirtieth Election District of the Second Assembly District, which comprises a single block, there were registered from one small house two stories high above a liquor store, 62; from three houses, 239; and from thirty-one houses, 620. The full registration was voted in this district, and there being but 600 minutes of legal voting time, the rate was a vote a minute and twenty over.

In the Thirty-sixth Election District of the same Assembly District, from four lodging-houses there were registered

and voted upon 337 names. At this polling-place men went in and voted, came out and took their place in line to vote again. There were counted in this assembly district 12,770 votes, and the result of a careful and conservative calculation shows that at least 5,000 of this number were fraudulent votes. In 1892 there were registered from forty houses 1,410. In 1893 from the same houses there were registered 2,105. From one lodging-house in the Second Election District of the Third Assembly District, 183 names were registered and voted upon. From twelve houses in the same district there were registered and voted upon 382 names. The keeper of a well-known lodging-house on the Bowery, an ex-convict for election frauds, was captain of his election district, and whenever the voting became dull he sent around to his lodging-house for a fresh supply. It will be seen that this system of padding the registry is the necessary prelude to the fraudulent voting on election day; it is simple and inexpensive, and under the present administration of public affairs is reasonably safe from detection or prosecution.

The arrangements of the polling-places were in many instances designed for the perpetration of fraud. Doors from the rear portions of polling-places opened into hallways, and the retiring-booths were so arranged that the workers could go into them from the hall and prepare the ballot for the voter. In other places the booths were ranged in a row, leaving a passageway in the rear, and in the backs of the booths a piece of the muslin was slit out and a man stood there ready to fix the ballots for the voter as soon as he entered. In very few of the election districts was the law observed as to the time of closing the polls. It depended largely whether the full registry list was polled; if it was not, the election-district captain sent to gather in sufficient floaters to complete the list, and the pools were kept open to accommodate him. At one polling-place in the Tenth Assembly District the doors were closed at four o'clock and a piece of paper pasted over the slot in the ballot-box. The inspectors and poll clerks were preparing to canvass the votes when at fourteen minutes past four o'clock the captain hurried with a voter to the door, which was opened, the voter was rushed to the booth, the paster covering over the slot was broken, and the vote received. At a number of polling-places the ballots were secretly marked, and the inspectors, in handling the ballots, had no difficulty in ascertain-

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ing, by their sense of touch, from the size, the weight, and the mucilage of the blanket pasters used by the different parties, how the voter had voted.

The provision of the law permitting a blind or disabled person to have assistance in the booth in the preparation of his ballots was perverted into a means for the perpetration of the most shameless perjury and fraud. There were three classes of voters for whose especial benefit the plan was put into operation : *First,* the man who could neither speak nor read the English language ; *second,* the English-speaking man who could not read his ballot ; *third,* the man who it was suspected would not vote the Tammany ticket. These men were accosted on the street or in neighboring saloons, and as soon as the price was fixed, ranging from one dollar and a half to two dollars and a half, they were instructed to go in and take the oath of physical disability, and then select as their guide to the booth the "worker" who stood at the guard-rail. In some cases a pretence was kept up by the worker guiding the assisted voter to the booth, but in the majority of cases all disguise was thrown aside and the performance became a roaring farce. In one election district of the Eighth Assembly District twenty men, mostly colored, took the oath of physical disability, and each of them was accompanied into the booth by the worker, who put the prepared ballot either into the hand or the hat of the voter and stood by him until it was delivered to the inspector. No one of these men was in any sense physically disabled, and the frequent perjuries became the subject of jokes and laughter. One of the "blind" voters, immediately on depositing his ballot, asked for a match to light his cigar, and, seeing one on the floor about six feet away, stepped over and picked it up. Another "blind" voter, when leaving, was warned by a bystander that there was a pin on the floor and not to fall over it ; whereupon the "blind" man stooped down and picked it up. Another voter received his ballots in the ordinary way and retired to the booth ; in a few minutes he came out and said he could not fold his ballots ; the ballot clerk showed him how ; he retired again, but in a little while came out and returned the ballots, saying that he could not tell the Tammany ticket. He went outside the polling-place and in a few minutes returned with the "worker," took the oath of physical disability, was allowed the assistance of the worker in the booth, and this time his ballot was cast in the regulation way. A vol-

unteer watcher protested against what he termed an outrage, even the police officer remonstrated, but the inspectors saw they had no discretion, but were bound to accept the votes.

In some districts the inspectors construed the oath of physical disability to mean illiteracy, but in no instance was the law observed as to the form of the oath or as to noting on the poll-lists the particular disability sworn to, or as to recording the name of the person assisting. It was the common practice for the inspectors and poll clerks to fill up and sign during the day the blank statements and certificates which they were required to make at the close of the canvass, leaving the figures only to be inserted. This was not only a violation of law, but for obvious reasons afforded facilities for fraudulent computations and returns. Even if the minority inspector was disposed to object to a false count—a thing so extraordinary that it did not happen—the majority inspectors having the returns already signed could afford to ignore him; in other words, it was furnishing certificates in advance during the day for what was to take place at the close of the polls.

The names of men well known in their respective districts, and personally known to the inspectors, were voted upon early in the day, so that when the leisurely citizen went to cast his vote he was promptly challenged. In some few districts he was allowed to swear his vote in, but in the greater number he was not, particularly as it grew late in the afternoon, and the chances of a *mandamus* grew less. The names of many respectable Tammany men were voted upon; and when the owners went to vote, their mild complaints were assuaged by the assurance that the ballot already in was the same as they would have voted. A striking example of the extent to which this was carried was furnished in one election district of the Second Assembly District, where a floater voted on the name of the Chairman of the Board of Inspectors. The chairman did not even question, much less challenge, his impersonator, but gravely announced that he himself had voted on the ballot deposited by the floater.

Discipline and rigid political organization were never better exemplified than in the thorough and systematic fraud practised in counting the votes. The uniformity with which certain methods was adopted precludes the belief that they were spasmodic; but on the contrary it forces the conclusion that they were epidemic in conformity to a general policy. As soon as the polls

closed, the election-district captain assumed command. If a volunteer watcher demanded admission he was either kept without the guard-rail or, if admitted, he could not get near enough to the table to see the ballots, owing to a number of broad-shouldered men who, from their hustling capacity, secured the front places. All had blank printed forms of watchers' certificates signed by some candidate or officer of a party organization. It may be noted that watchers' certificates signed in blank convey no authority and are wholly insufficient in law. The whole number of ballots found in the ballot-boxes were first counted. This number should tally exactly with the poll clerk's list, showing the number of voters actually polled, and with the ballot clerk's last consecutive number, showing the number of ballots actually delivered to voters. Almost without exception there were more ballots found in the ballot-box than the ballot clerk's number showed to have been delivered or the poll-list showed to have been voted, and in a great number of districts more than the registration. How they came there is to some extent a mystery; but in some places ballots were folded in duplicate, and in others the pile of ballots on the table was added to by a sleight-of-hand performance. Where an excess of ballots is so found, the law provides that they shall be thoroughly mingled, and that an inspector shall, without seeing, approach backward and draw out indiscriminately a number of ballots equal to the excess. This law was improved out of existence. The ballots were first opened, then the Democratic ballots were placed in one pile, the Republican ballots in another, and the People's, the Prohibition, and the Socialists' in respective piles. The piles were then placed one on top of the other, the Democratic at the bottom, the Republican next, and the other three without regard to the order. An inspector then walked backwards and felt for the top of the pile, and from that top took the number in excess. One district illustrative of many was the Seventh Election District of the Third Assembly District. Here five hundred and eight names were registered, 495 votes were cast, and 567 ballots were found in the box—an excess of seventy-two ballots which were drawn in the way described, from the top of the pile. In the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twenty-second Election Districts of the Second Assembly District every name registered was voted upon, and every vote cast was given to a certain candi-

date, and yet a considerable number of men in each district have sworn that they voted for another man. In another Election District of the same Assembly District the inspectors took a number of a certain party's ballots and put them in the stove without waiting for even the formality of a count.

A wholesale attempt was made to count the party ballots as straight tickets without regard to scratches or individual pasters. It was anticipated that the principal scratching would be on Judge Maynard ; hence in the count the inspectors rushed the Democratic ballots as straight, but the volunteer watchers, though jeered and frequently threatened, insisted that scratches be noted, individual pasters be counted, and by their efforts many thousands of votes were saved from a false canvass. It was a common practice to count the ballots by tens, each ten counting one, two, three, and so on ; when all were counted, the total sum of numerals was multiplied by ten, and the result ascertained. While counting, a friendly misunderstanding frequently occurred between the inspectors as to the number of tens counted—for instance, whether it was six or seven or eight or nine—and it was invariably settled in favor of the highest number, thus making it easy to add one or more tens to the actual vote. Once the total figures were settled upon, they became immutable, and no amount of proof produced by the watchers, either of fraud, mistake, or miscalculation, could alter the infallible inspectors.

It would not be just to lay the blame exclusively upon the Tammany inspectors, though, of course, being in the majority and in full control, they were chargeable with all that took place. Republican inspectors either openly co-operated with or quietly acquiesced in the perpetration of the fraud. Many poll clerks and ballot clerks, who serve as such to escape jury duty, were not wilful wrongdoers, but were either ignorant of or indifferent to their duties, but whether from criminal intent, acquiescence, ignorance, or indifference, the result was the same —a great and organized crime was committed against the elective franchise.

JOHN W. GOFF.

TERRITORIAL SOVEREIGNTY AND THE PAPACY.

BY THE RIGHT REV. MONSIGNOR BERNARD O'REILLY.

THE Roman correspondents of some of our great newspapers assure us that both Leo XIII. and King Umberto are in danger of being compelled to fly from Rome. This can be news only for such as have not made themselves well acquainted with the condition of Italian politics, or who only look with a careless eye on the symptoms of approaching European convulsions.

Long ago some of the official organs of the Revolutionary party in Italy formally declared that, in case of a great European war, it would be exceedingly difficult for the Pope, the Papal Court, and the Roman clergy to escape with their lives from Rome. The return to power of Signor Crispi, extremely hostile as he is to the Papacy, is a guarantee that the danger of such a massacre is now, happily, a remote one. For Crispi is, I believe, sincerely devoted to the kingdom of Italy, and adverse to the sanguinary schemes of the Revolutionists and their allies, the Anti-Christian Masonic societies in the peninsula. Another publicist, a man of great repute and great authority, Signor Boughi, is credited with the saying that "On the day when Leo XIII. would leave Rome by the *Porta del Popolo*, Umberto, with his dynasty and his court, would also have to leave it by the *Porta Pia.*" Wherefore should a general European war, as so many predict, break out, or let loose in Italy, and especially in Rome, the volcanic passions now seething and boiling over there, the government of King Umberto will find its vital interests involved in protecting the Vatican and securing the lives and liberty of its occupants. Should Pope and King, in the eventuality of war, have to fly from Italy, we know from the history of the past century that Leo XIII. or his successor is as likely to return to Rome as the heir to the crown of the new kingdom of Italy.

Once more meanwhile the mighty question "Ought the Pope to be temporal sovereign of Rome?" not only agitates all Italy, but forces itself on the attention of the Old World and the New. I have called it a mighty question, because all nations whom we designate as Roman Catholic, or who possess, like Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, a considerable minority of Catholics, cannot help being interested in a subject which so deeply moves the Catholic conscience. Above all must it be considered a mighty question, because it intimately concerns the two hundred and twenty millions of human beings who revere in the Bishop of Rome the vicar of Christ, and look up to him as their divinely appointed teacher and guide in all things spiritual. A question which so nearly touches their convictions and their conscience as the perfect independence and freedom of the head of the church in the fulfilment of his high office as Bishop of Rome and pastor of Christ's entire flock must, by its very nature, agitate the whole Catholic world, the whole civilized world, in fact, so long as it is left undecided. This agitation and unrest has manifested itself in every Catholic congress, in every national or provincial assembly of Catholics held yearly during the last half century in European countries. The first act of all such assemblages, that even of the first Catholic congress held in the United States in the autumn of 1889, was to protest to the world that the Pope was not free in his own episcopal city.

What, then, constitutes this Roman question?

There are two very distinct aspects of it, which, to a superficial observer, would appear one and inseparable. The first is, "Should the Pope, being what he assumes to be, and what his immense flock believe him to be—the vicar of Christ on earth, the supreme visible head of the Christian Church—be made, for the free discharge of the mission imposed on him, absolutely independent of the sway, the domination, and dictation of any one sovereign or people?" And, secondly, since he is, and has been so long acknowledged to be, the Bishop of Rome, "Should the Pope not enjoy this absolute freedom and independence in Rome itself?"

Catholics maintain in substance that the head of the Church should, in the present as in the past, be in possession of a territorial sovereignty placed under the protection of international law, with its rights and limits guaranteed by the nations

of both hemispheres. Without such a territorial sovereignty the Pope could only be the guest of some one nation, while in practice and reality he would be the subject of the sovereign power, monarchical or democratic, affording him hospitality.

Looking at this side of the question as two hundred and twenty millions of Catholics look at it, and viewing the dependent and precarious situation imposed on the Pope by his not being a territorial sovereign, or by his being, as was Pius IX., and as is Leo XIII., a mere nominal sovereign, or rather a prisoner in the Vatican, it is manifest that such a position of dependence is repugnant to the idea of the Pope's office as ruler of the universal church.

The Pope, as Christ's vicar and pastor of the whole flock, belongs to all humanity. We are here taking for granted what Catholics believe on this head, and what the logical consequences of such belief impose as a practical necessity. As Pope, the Bishop of Rome belongs to no one nation ; he is the minister and servant of all. His mission, divine, universal, perpetual, and unfailing—as he and his Church believe and proclaim it to be—embraces all peoples and all time. The spiritual authority which he wields is and ought surely to be superior to the revolutions and contingencies of civil states and governments. His ministrations—in the hypothesis of the divine constitution of his church, of her saving labors among our race, and her supreme obligation to carry on Christ's work of redemption and sanctification—are superior in their object and nature to those of all earthly societies. Being in favor of all mankind, and ordained by God as such, all nations, rulers, and governments should encourage, protect, promote these ministrations and labors.

It should be the supreme interest of all mankind, of all, at least, who believe in the divine mission of the Church, and the authority of her visible head, to remove all obstacles to that mission, to render these ministrations and the exercise of that authority ABSOLUTELY FREE.

Nations and governments which, like our own, profess and practice great respect for religious freedom and the rights of conscience, must have a regard for the claims of such a body as the Catholic Church, demanding that its visible head should not be the creature, the slave, or the subject of any one empire, kingdom or republic, but an independent sovereign, free, in his own house

and domain, to extend his care to the whole earth, as Christ has commanded him. Protestant statesmen, impartial and unprejudiced Protestant students of history, will not and cannot deny that the civil principality of the Popes, as it was constituted before the Reformation, was the creation of the then existing Christendom. The right of the Popes to Rome and to the States of the Church was a vested right, more ancient than that of any sovereign or state in Europe, and in that right every single member of the Catholic Church participated.

International law, during a period of twelve hundred years, had sanctioned an arrangement by which the Bishop of Rome, held to be the common parent of the entire Christian family, was given in his Episcopal city a territorial sovereignty which made him independent of any one people or power. Catholic nations, like individual Catholics, were greatly jealous, during the middle ages, as they are jealous at this day, of any interference with the freedom of the Bishops of Rome in governing the Church Universal. Nations and individuals had then a right, as they have now, as they must ever have, to see that the Pope was free in his own city, and to have it manifest to the eyes of the whole world that he was perfectly free. There must be no superior authority in Rome which the Pope and his counsellors have to consult, to yield and defer to, before issuing instructions destined for the entire church, before laying down the *law of life and morality* for Catholics when error is abroad and corruption is overflowing every floodgate. The civil principality of the Popes must be a neutralized principality, on which none may make war and which should be ever at peace with all; because the divine mission of the Church and her pontiffs is a mission to souls which neither war nor pestilence should ever interrupt, trammel, or delay.

Every Christian people has a right to know and to feel that its relations with the Holy See are not influenced by the interference or dictation of a hostile, an unfriendly, or even a friendly nation. The moment, for instance, that our government at Washington had good reason to believe that the ministers of King Umberto in the Quirinal were exercising on Leo XIII. or his Secretary of State, or his Prefect of the Propaganda, a pressure in any way hostile or adverse to our country or its interests, it would be brought home to American Protestants why the Pope should be free, independent, sovereign in Rome, and master in his own house.

What happened in New Orleans two years ago led to serious complications with Italy. The kingdom established by the Piedmontese only feels secure by leaning on new friends and casting off the old. The day may come when, to avoid war between this country and Italy, a worse thing might be done than to invoke the peaceful mediation or arbitration of the Sovereign Pontiff. Should we, could we, do so, if the authority of the Quirinal were sovereign and supreme in the Vatican ?

They say that Leo XIII. is now arbitrating between the kings of Belgium and Portugal respecting the limits of the Congo State and the Portuguese possessions on the Dark Continent. No doubt the decision will be as prompt and as satisfactory as in the case of the Caroline Islands in 1885. But suppose the Pope to be under the control of the Italian Government, or that his present shadow of sovereignty were replaced by a real and effective dictation from the Quirinal, would either the Cabinet of Brussels or that of Lisbon have sought the intervention of the Holy See ?

During the last few years, especially since Leo XIII. inaugurated his new and liberal policy in France,—the influence of the Roman Pontiffs in European affairs, and their interference, at a critical hour, with the interior policy of a great country like France, have been passionately discussed by the public press in every civilized country. In this discussion both Catholic and non-Catholic writers have, with a few exceptions, entirely ignored or lost sight of the grounds for such interference, and the lofty principles guiding the action of the Pontiffs, so often solemnly asserted and explained by Leo XIII. himself long before the memorable discourse of Cardinal Lavigerie, proclaiming the new policy recommended by the Vatican to the Catholics of France.

Whenever, in any Catholic country, it happens that the majority of the Catholic citizens or their leaders contract such an alliance with one or other of the dominant parties in that country as to threaten the most sacred interests of religion or to imperil the independence, the very existence, of the nation itself, it becomes the imperative duty of the Vicar of Christ to interfere.

If such be the necessity for the Popes, of the freedom which can alone spring from territorial sovereignty, when one considers the mere mediatorial office of the Head of the Church in international complications, how much more is that necessity in-

creased when there is question of the Pope's uninterrupted, essential, and most sacred spiritual relations with every portion of his flock, and with the individual consciences which invoke his aid ? Free intercourse with Rome was one of the inviolable privileges guaranteed to all peoples and to all individuals in past ages, not only by the universal consent of nations, but by the express and solemn dispositions of the Pontifical Decrees. Feudal despotism often interposed barriers and obstacles to this free communication with Rome. But the Popes fought energetically and consistently for their freedom of intercourse. Nor, whatever prejudice may have said and written to the contrary, were their motives inconsistent with the highest spiritual interests of the faithful flock.

Rome was the home of the Common Father. Men wearied with life's battle and labors loved to seek there repose and consolation. It was no foreign or strange land for the Christian of any clime. It was the natural home and refuge of the unfortunate. The Popes had been Sovereigns of Rome and of the Patrimony of St. Peter since at least the middle of the eighth century. Their sovereignty had been acknowledged by all the States of Christendom ; it had been sanctioned—if a sanction were needed —by international law. No title among those of the potentates and governments of Europe could be compared in antiquity and universally admitted righteousness to that of the pontiff-kings. I say nothing, at present, of the incomparable services rendered by them to Italy, to Europe, to civilization. The territory thus guaranteed to them by the gratitude and the reverence of peoples and princes was the pledge and security of their independence of all foreign domination or dictation. That territorial and sovereign independence meant for the Common Father of Christendom—as he was regarded during all these centuries—absolute freedom in the discharge of his ministerial office.

It would be a most interesting and instructive study to search into the early annals of all civilized nations, and clearly establish on what right they hold possession of their respective territories, and what sanction they have for the exercise of sovereignty within the same. Few peoples can claim that they were the first to hold what constitutes their national domain, and they did not dispossess some prior occupant. So is it in the Old World : the right of con-

quest, or superior might, is the title deed on which they hold their birthright. The feudalism on which was built the whole of the Christendom of our fathers owed its birth, growth, and long reign to the sword. Whatever it came, in the course of ages, to boast of in civilization, refinement, and morality, was due to the religion of Christ and the beneficent influence of its ministers. He would be a bold, nay, a reckless writer of European history who would deny to the Church of Rome, her pontiffs, and her missionaries, a great share of the results of the influence of Christianity upon society and its institutions.

As to the Papacy and the Papal States, they can fairly challenge the attention of the historian, the jurist, or the statesman to the legitimacy of their origin and the long admitted validity of their rights. More than one Protestant writer of celebrity has triumphantly vindicated the right of the Popes to the States of the Church, as well as to the gratitude of all Christion peoples. Even Gibbon, who had little love for the Christian religion and little admiration for the social edifice it created in Christendom, admits the growth of the moral influence exercised by the Bishops of Rome in every province and city of the empire, and under the emperors most hostile to the faith. After referring to the immense patrimony the Church had acquired and to the wise manner in which it was administered by the Popes, he says:

"The successor of St. Peter administered his patrimony with the temper of a vigilant and moderate landlord. . . . In the use of wealth he acted like a faithful steward of the Church and the poor, and liberally supplied to their wants the inexhaustible resources of abstinence and order."

As the empire fell into dissolution, the Papacy became more and more the great conservative and creative power. Witness the action of St. Gregory the Great (590–604). He was the living Providence of Italy, the true Father of all Christendom, the Apostle of England and Germany, and the Saviour of Spain from the terrible oppression of the Arian Visigoths. Read his vast correspondence, and you will be convinced that God never bestowed on the nations an institution more powerfully and peacefully beneficent than the Papacy. It was to save and to perpetuate in Papacy, the foster-parent of Christendom and of the civilization which began to flourish amid the ruins of the Roman Empire, that Pepin and Charlemagne sent their armies into Italy and won for the Popes that civil prin-

cipality which secured at once both their independence as Bishops of Rome and their freedom in the exercise of their pastorate as Vicars of Christ.

Compare with the rise and growth of this peaceful sovereignty of the Bishops of Rome the origin of all, or nearly all, the States of America, North and South. Beginning either in sheer violence, the brute force of the stronger, or in fraudulent compacts with the natives, never honestly kept, if ever intended to be so kept, time alone has sanctioned our possession of the land. But the length of this possession, which might constitute a proprietorship by prescription—what is it in comparison to the prescriptive right of the Papacy over the Patrimony of the Church? American nationalties are as of yesterday, compared to a civil principality dating from the middle of the eighth century of our era,—and whose universally acknowledged titles were the very centre of international jurisprudence and Christian order.

This liberty at bottom is the very same cause for which Leo XIII. is contending at this moment. But here comes in the supposition that the right of the Popes to any kind of a territorial sovereignty has been set aside once and forever by the establishment of the present Kingdom of Italy, and by its recognition by all the powers. Certain it is that the civil principality of the Pope has not been in the past detrimental to the prosperity, the greatness, the glory of Italy. No less certain is it that the policy of the Pontiffs, century after century, tended to foster the best interests of Italy, to establish, promote, and defend its independence against foreign domination. And it is equally certain that Leo XIII., like Pius IX. and Pius VI., has ever been in favor of a confederated Italy. Let us hear Italians themselves on this subject. Ugo Foscolo (1778–1827) has been much praised by both English and American publicists and *littérateurs*. We quote him here because the *Italianissimi* regard him as one of their very own. And yet here is what he writes about the necessity of maintaining in Italy the civil principality of the Popes:

"We Italians should be resolved—and resolved even to the shedding of the last drop of our blood—that the Pope Sovereign, the supreme guardian of the religion of Europe, an elective prince and an Italian, shall not only exist and reign, but reign ever in Italy for the defence of the Italians."

Of the venerable and illustrious Cantù, himself the greatest

* Cesare Cantù, *Caratteri Storici*, Milan, 1881, p. 350.

living glory of Italy, and one of the martyrs of Italian independence, I shall quote no saying here. His whole life, his precious and numberless writings, have all been directed to one noble purpose—the freeing of the Italian peninsula from a foreign yoke, and the preservation therein of the religion of his forefathers. As in his writings, so in his splendid parliamentary career, Cantù was the eloquent and fearless defender of the Church against the Revolution—of the independence of the Papacy. He was the high priest of the Neo-Guelph party, which counted in its ranks Cesare Balbo and Massimo d'Azeglio. They had planned for Italy neither a centralized monarchy nor a centralized democracy, but the perfected ideal of the Lombard League of Free States—a confederation like our own, in which all the power and influence of the papacy would be used to secure the independence of the country against foreign domination, to promote and develop its internal prosperity, and to keep it at peace with all nations. This form of Italian unity is the very thing which Leo XIII. alluded to, as to his own cherished ideal, in the much-talked-of letter to Cardinal Rampolla, detailing his plan of conciliation with the Italian Government.

"It is usually put forward as an objection," the Pope writes, "that in order to restore the Pontifical Sovereignty, Italy must give up the great advantages she has already obtained; that no account must be had of modern progress, and that Italy must go back to the Middle Ages.

"But these are reasons which have no real weight.

"What is the advantage, true and substantial, to which the Pontifical Sovereignty would be opposed? It is most certain that the cities and territories formerly subject to the Civil Sovereignty of the Popes have ever been, in their character and manners, most distinctively Italian, and they have been preserved so, and kept from oftentimes falling beneath a foreign yoke, by the very fact of their belonging to the Popes. Nor could it be otherwise to-day. For, if, by reason of its lofty, universal, and perpetual mission, the Papacy belongs to all nations, on the other hand, because of the seat here assigned it by Providence, it is in a special manner one of the glories of Italy.

"Should such a restoration injure the oneness of the political state, we should, without entering on considerations touching the intrinsic merit of the case, and by simply placing ourselves on the standpoint of our adversaries, ask them whether or no this condition of unity constitutes, in itself, for nations a good so absolute that without it they can neither attain to prosperity nor greatness? Or is it a good of so transcendent a nature that it must be preferred to any other?

"We are answered in this by the fact that there exist most prosperous, powerful, and glorious nations who have not, and never have had, the kind of unity put forward here. Then natural reason furnishes a further answer, that in the conflict of pretensions it must give the preference to the rights of justice, which is the first foundation of the happiness and stability of

states, and this preference must be still more emphasized when justice is inseparably conjoined with the highest interest of religion and of the universal church. In presence of this reason no hesitation is possible."*

Of course the reasons which most powerfully militate in favor of the restoration to the Pope of his territorial sovereignty, plead with equal force in favor of making Rome the seat of that sovereignty. Diplomatists, politicians, sovereigns even may talk of giving the Sovereign Pontiff a slice of territory in the Tyrol, some island in the Mediterranean or the Atlantic. But all such expedients are but wretched shifts. The Spaniards would have their own *Irredentisti* to claim back Majorca, if Spain gave it to-morrow in full sovereignty to Leo XIII. The project of creating a principality for him in the Tyrol would not guarantee the territory from the designs and incursions of the Italian *Irredentisti*. No civilized nation in our times is willing to part forever with a single foot of its soil, even to secure a home for the Pope. And no matter where the nations of both hemispheres might agree to create a civil principality for him; to "neutralize" it, and take it under the protection of international law, would this changeable agency we call diplomacy, or international law and policy, be more powerful to-morrow and the day after to defend the right of the Pontiffs in their new home, than they were yesterday in saving Rome and the States of the Church from the ambition of Piedmont and the fanatical hatred of the anti-Christian Revolution? And to what corner of the globe, to what city in any land, would the vicar of Christ have a right so unquestioned and so universally recognized as to the city of Rome and the territory of which it was the capital less than twenty-five years ago?

The convention of September 14, 1864, solemnly bound King Victor Emmanuel and his ministers to respect the Sovereignty of the Pope, and to protect his territory against invasion.

"But," says Cantù, "when some legislators spoke in the Chamber of Italian Deputies of invading the Pontifical State, Venosta, Minister of Foreign Affairs, declared that they (of the kingdom of Italy) were bound by a responsibility from which even the States of Barbary would not hold themselves absolved. He acknowledged the obligation under which they lay of not attacking, and permitting no one to attack, the Pontifical frontier, because they were in this bound by the ordinary sanctions and rules of the law of nations. Besides this, Lanza, the Italian Prime Minister, said to the Chamber: 'Do you think, gentlemen, that it is a prudent step to come to

*Acta Sanctæ Sedis, vol. xx.

this chamber and to incite the government to take possession of a state acknowledged by all the powers of Europe, and to occupy it without any one of the motives ordinarily regarded as legitimate?'" *

Thiers, who never was a Catholic, but was a true statesman, thus described in 1865, in a discourse before the French legislature, what the Italian revolutionists were plotting:

"What will happen when we shall have seen the revolution they are bringing about in Italy fully consummated? They will compel the Pope to come down from his throne, and then the central authority in the Church will be destroyed. People go on repeating that the Pope, once he has been dethroned, will remain independent. In my judgment, he will then cease to be free. No nation will accept the authority of Rome once that authority has become, or is supposed to be, dependent. The unity of the commanding spiritual power will be destroyed. Its fragments will be transferred by Spain to Toledo, by France to Paris, by Austria to Prague or Gratz, or it may be to Vienna." †

Nor should we Americans—to borrow a parallel illustration from our political order—wish, for a kindred reason, to see New York, for instance, become in the year of grace 1894 or '95 the seat of the Federal Government, with Congress, the Supreme Court of the United States, and all the departments of our vast administration transferred to Manhattan Island. And here it is that we ask American readers, non-Catholic readers especially, to lay aside for the moment their preconceived notions about Papal Rome and to examine the claims set forth by Leo XIII. and supported by the entire Church of which he is the head, in the light of common justice and common-sense. Rome is unlike any other city. It is, and has been since Christianity began, the seat, the ordinary residence of the Bishops of Rome. Give it back to them, and let them be, more than ever in the coming era, the teachers, the guides, the shepherds, and parents of our humanity.

BERNARD O'REILLY.

* Cesare Cantù, *Storia di Trent Anni*, c. viii.
† Quoted by Cantù, *Storia di Trent Ultimé Anni*, c. viii.

THE CUSTOMS ADMINISTRATIVE ACT.

BY THE HON. CHARLES S. HAMLIN, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

THE Democratic party is charged with the grave responsibility of effecting a thorough revision of the existing customs tariff, to the end that the burdens of taxation, rendered even more severe by the McKinley bill, may be lightened. The latter bill, however, was not the only legislation of the Fifty-first Congress which involved a new departure in customs matters; the passage of the customs administrative act * so radically changed existing methods of administration that, temporarily at least, it caused in the mercantile world as great annoyance as did the McKinley bill, extreme as that measure was. It will be found, however, upon consideration, that there are certain underlying principles beneath its harsh exterior which are a decided advance over the old system, and which, amended as in the report of the Ways and Means Committee of the existing Congress, will insure a more uniform, speedy, and equitable system of collecting revenue than we have ever hitherto enjoyed.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893, there was imported into the United States dutiable merchandise to the value of over four hundred millions of dollars; the taxes levied by law upon this merchandise aggregated over two hundred millions of dollars. This vast sum was collected by the customs officials at the respective custom-houses, one hundred and twenty-four in number, throughout the country, by means of customs duties.

There are three modes of assessing these taxes provided for by law: 1. Upon the weight, measurement, or gauge of the merchandise, called specific duties; about five hundred men are

* U. S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 26, page 131.

yearly employed for this purpose at a cost to the government of nearly half a million dollars yearly. 2. Upon the value of the merchandise, known as *ad-valorem* duties; ascertainment of this value gives employment yearly to about seven hundred men, at a cost to the government of $900,000. 3. Upon weight or measurement and upon value, known as mixed duties. The total cost to the government of collecting these taxes is not far from seven million dollars annually.

One marked difference exists between specific and *ad-valorem* duties. In the former, duties are assessed upon the weight, measurement, or gauge of the merchandise as found in the United States at the time of entry. In the latter, the value for dutiable purposes is not the value in the United States markets nor at the time of entry; it is the value of the merchandise in the principal markets of the country from whence imported at the time of exportation from said country.

The Constitution prescribes that "all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States"; but a law uniform as to rates of duty may receive the widest diversity of interpretation at the different ports of entry. If all duties were specific, such diversity could not well exist, for we have the same standard of weight and measurement, and such weight or measurement would not materially differ between the time of shipment and arrival in this country.

Specific or mixed duties, however, are open to the grave objection that they bear unequally upon different grades of goods of similar kinds: for example, upon certain grades of worsted the duty of forty-four cents per pound and 50 per cent. amounts to a net duty, reduced to *ad valorem*, of over 112 per cent. upon the grade costing forty-eight cents per yard, while upon the dearer goods costing one dollar and sixty-two cents the duty amounts only to 68 per cent.

Thus where there are appreciable differences in quality of merchandise, the specific duty is objectionable.

Upon most imported articles it is believed that the *ad-valorem* duty is the most equitable, bearing with perfect fairness upon all goods of similar kind and disclosing by its very terms the exact amount of tax levied. The policy of the Democratic party has been from earliest times to substitute *ad-valorem* for specific duties; notable instances are the Walker Tariff of 1846, wholly

ad-valorem, and the Wilson bill, just reported, containing more *ad-valorem* duties than any legislation of this generation.*

The fact that the question of value to be determined is foreign, not home, value, and that the time is that of shipment, and not arrival, has in the past given rise to much difference of opinion as to value, and hence to wide variations in the amount of duty collected upon similar goods at the respective ports of entry.

The principal problem of customs administration is to insure correct determination of value and uniform interpretation of the law. This problem becomes to-day of the most vital importance to the Democratic party. Congress, true to the pledges made to the people, will reduce taxation; an enormous revenue must still be collected for the maintenance of the government by this same means of taxation; the rate being lowered, it is imperative that this lower rate be rigidly and uniformly collected; otherwise we shall suffer loss of revenue, which we can ill afford, and the honest merchant will be ruined by the successful evasion of the law by his dishonest rival.

To appreciate fully the changes in administration brought about by the customs administrative act, it will be necessary briefly to consider what the old law was as regards the two principal questions which arise in customs administration: 1. Classification. 2. Value. 1. Classification consists in determining under what clause of the tariff law an imported article of merchandise comes. The collector classifies all goods, in the first instance, both under the old and new law, and many difficult questions come up for his decision; for example, whether or not imported tiles can come under the classification of "paving tiles," thereby paying a much lower rate of duty than under the general head of "earthenware." † Under the old law the importer could appeal to the Secretrry of the Treasury from the collector's decision as to classification, and finally could bring an action at law against the collector to recover the excess of duties wrongly levied; in that suit he could have a trial by jury upon the questions of fact involved in the case. 2. The value of all goods imported into the United States is determined, in the first instance, under both the old and new

* The present law contains 129 *ad-valorem*, 260 specific, and 56 mixed duties; the Wilson Bill, as reported, contains 240 *ad-valorem*, 97 specific, and 15 mixed duties. This comparison is, it is believed, substantially accurate.

† Rossman v. Hedden (145 U. S., 561).

system, by the local appraisers; where the duties are specific, the value is of use only for statistical purposes. Under the old law the collector could order a reappraisal by the local appraisers or by three merchants appointed by him for that purpose, if he thought the valuation was too low; if the importer was dissatisfied with the valuation, the collector called in some merchant to act with one of the general appraisers* and reappraise the goods; or if it was not practicable to secure the services of one of the general appraisers, the collector chose two merchants for such reappraisal. † If the merchant and the general appraiser or the two merchants could not agree, the collector of the port finally determined the value of the goods; there was no appeal from this decision.

Under the present customs administrative act a board of nine customs experts is constituted, known as the Board of General Appraisers. All questions of dutiable value are referred to one of their number on appeal from the local appraiser, and their decision on appeal, sitting as a full board of three, is final. The collector no longer has any part in determining such dutiable value.

Appeals upon questions of classification from the decision of the collector to the Secretary of the Treasury are also done away with under the new law, and instead an appeal is allowed to the Board of General Appraisers; from its decision an appeal lies to the Circuit Court of the United States.

The advantage of having an impartial board for determining customs questions becomes manifest when it is considered that the dutiable value of imported goods to be determined is their value not at the port of entry, but at the place from which they are exported, perhaps thousands of miles away. At the place of exportation, the various conditions of manufacture, such as cost of materials, hours of work, etc., may be widely different from the conditions prevailing in this country, and therefore the judgment of trained experts is practically essential in determining this foreign value

Under the old law there often existed wide differences as to the results in the determination of the foreign value of similar kinds of imported goods by merchant appraisers at different ports

* The functions of these so-called general appraisers were entirely different from those of the present board; they supervised reappraisements merely.

† Hence the name popularly given to the old system: The Merchant Appraiser System.

in this country. In one port the actual transaction might be held decisive as to tne foreign value; in another, an entirely different rule might be established. In case the merchant and the government appraiser disagreed, the foreign value was finally adjudicated by the collector—in many cases not a customs expert at all, but merely a public personage, appointed largely because of his political rather than his business prominence in the community, and having no special experience in such matters.

The functions of the Board of General Appraisers under the present law are those of a jury of experts. The board is composed of lawyers and customs experts, holding office for life; under a new tariff, in which *ad-valorem* duties will largely be substituted for specific duties, some such board is essential to the proper collection of the revenue needed for the support of the government.

The principal objections which have been raised to the present law are :

1. The right of trial by jury has been taken away from the importer. It must be remembered that trial by jury has never been allowed upon questions of value; the present Board of General Appraisers constitutes in effect a jury of experts, who have had wide experience in determining such questions. Upon classification the loss of trial by jury, it is believed, has been more than compensated for by the speedier and more equitable determination of litigated questions at the hands of men whose sole business it is to familiarize themselves with such matters.

2. The existing system of trial of facts as well as law in the Circuit Court on appeal from the Board of General Appraisers on questions of classification is unsatisfactory and of no more value than a single trial. This objection is founded upon the fact that the Circuit Court in reviewing a case usually has to decide it on evidence not before the Board of Appraisers, and upon the further fact that the court in receiving the record from the board does not receive the most valuable part, viz., the expert knowledge on which the board presumably in part bases its decisions. How this objection can be rescinded will be considered later.

3. The government can appeal to the Circuit Court of Appeals on questions of law in any case; this right is allowed the importer only where the Circuit Court adjudges that the question is of such

importance as would warrant an appeal. This objectionable feature of the law can be and should be at once changed.

4. The existing law, in determining dutiable value, prescribes that the value of all crates, sacks, coverings, and boxes in which merchandise subject to *ad-valorem* duty is stored shall be added to the dutiable value of the contents, thus increasing the net duty. This provision, amounting to an average increase in duty of from three to five per cent., was law prior to the tariff act of 1883, which repealed all duties levied upon coverings. The existing law was favored by Secretaries Folger, Manning, and Fairchild. The principal reasons for levying a duty upon such coverings are prevention of fraud and saving of labor. If appraisers had to determine the value of foreign goods without any coverings they would have to separate such value from their total value as usually found in the market; under the tariff of 1883 they could not include the value of a barrel containing cement, but had to separate the value of the barrel from the value of the contents. This provision caused much trouble and confusion, and also, it is alleged, much fraud. Such reasoning, however, may not apply to outer coverings used merely for the goods in transit, and it is upon such coverings that the hardship of levying a duty is most felt. The chief objection, however, to levying such duty is that it increases thereby the net duty. This can easily be met by lowering the rate on the goods themselves.

5. In case the value, as fixed by the appraisers, exceeds the value entered by the importer by more than 10 per cent., a penal duty of two per cent. on the appraised value, in addition to the corrected legal duty, is levied for every 1 per cent. such appraised value exceeds the value declared in the entry. This penalty is altogether too stringent. In a case now pending before the Treasury Department the appraised value was $12.50, the corrected duties $3.13, while the penal duty was $2,100 !

6. The importer is not allowed, as of right, to be present when the Board of Appraisers takes testimony as to value or classification. By courtesy importers have always been allowed to have a hearing before the board, and to offer such evidence as they desire. This much should certainly be secured to them by law. But it would be manifestly unwise to limit the Board of Appraisers in deciding a case to such evidence as is submitted to it without allowing the members to use their expert knowledge.

Such a rule would change an appraisal to a lawsuit—which is manifestly not what is contemplated by the law.

7. If judgment is rendered by the courts in favor of the importer upon an appeal, the excess of duties is refunded without allowance of interest or costs. Under the old procedure, suit was brought against the collector to recover duties illegally assessed. Being a private suit the judgment against the collector included interest and costs. Under Revised Statutes U. S., Sec. 988, the judgment, including interest and costs, was paid by the government. It was held by the United States Circuit Court of Massachusetts that the procedure offered by the customs administrative act, was in effect a suit against the United States, and that, as the act made no provision for interest or costs, none could be recovered. A contrary decision has lately been rendered in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. It is reasoned, by those who are opposed to allowing interest, that, inasmuch as, in most cases at least, the importer receives back the duty paid in the price paid by the consumer, the final refund allowed to the importer by the courts is in the nature of a gratuity to pay interest upon which the consumer should not again be taxed.

8. The present law repeals all damage allowance upon goods in transit. Under the old law, when imported goods were found to be damaged, due allowance was made in assessing duties, but so many attempts at fraud were discovered that all damage allowance was repealed. The Wilson bill, as hereinafter shown, gives a modified damage allowance. The Wilson Bill, it is believed, has remedied the most important defects of the present law, leaving the administrative laws more effective than ever before. Under the provisions of the Wilson bill the existing Board of General Appraisers is retained, and its jurisdiction as to all questions of fact is made final, both as to classification and value. Appeals to the Circuit Court are done away with, and in place thereof an appeal lies on all questions of law directly to the Circuit Court of Appeals. Hearings are provided for on all questions of classification, and are made public. The severe penal duty has been greatly modified by the provision that an extra duty equal to the regular rates shall be charged on all advances over the entered value. Outer coverings used solely for transportation of goods to this country are exempted from duty, and a modified damage allowance is provided for in cases

where imported merchandise is injured or destroyed while in custody of the government. It is also provided that customs brokers hereafter shall be licensed by the collectors of the respective ports before doing business at custom-houses, which licenses may be revoked for cause by the Secretary of the Treasury. Certain other provisions bring the Board of General Appraisers more within the control of the Secretary of the Treasury as to all matters not strictly delegated to the Board by Congress.

Perhaps the most important administrative change in the Wilson bill is Section 9, creating the necessary machinery and providing that materials may be imported free of duty for manufacture of articles for exportation. To obtain the benefits of this section the various factories will be constituted bonded warehouses and the manufacture will take place under customs supervision. It is believed that this law will soon make our country the manufacturing center of the world ; it will demonstrate that the higher wages paid our workingmen are the measure of their superiority, not their inferiority, over foreign labor, and it will furnish an impressive object-lesson of tariff reform.

The work of Congress will not be complete until it has amended the existing law on the lines of the Wilson bill. Under the law so amended it will be possible to import goods directly from foreign manufacturers, and to enter such goods at any port with the certainty that the duties will be uniformly assessed, no one port being favored at the expense of another. Such uniformity could not be attained under the old system.

The new law with the proposed amendments will enormously extend our markets ; it will be simple where the old law was intricate ; it will be uniform where the old law was hopelessly complex. Such uniformity is essential to the autonomy of the respective ports of entry ; fraud will be minimized, and merchants will stand upon complete equality.

The mission of the Democratic party, among others, is to demonstrate that genuine tariff reform as contained in the Wilson bill will be of the greatest benefit to our whole people. The customs administrative act as amended, insuring uniform enforcement of the new tariff and doing away with fraudulent undervaluation, will greatly assist in that demonstration.

CHARLES SUMNER HAMLIN.

THE EVILS OF EARLY MARRIAGES.

BY CYRUS EDSON, M. D., HEALTH COMMISSIONER OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

THE evil effect of early marriages, first on the mothers, and second on the offspring, is beginning to attract the attention of scientific men in many parts of the world. It is only within the last hundred years that people have understood the value of statistics, and have learned how to keep them. It was formerly believed that it was impossible to predicate, with any certainty, anything about men and women, because the impossibility of knowing beforehand what any individual would do was apparent. We have found, however, while this remains true of the individual, that a number of persons will act in precisely the same way, and that we can prophesy for the mass without fear of failure.

The value of statistics, though great in sociological matters, is yet greater in those which affect the health or life. While it is true that we cannot say of any one man when he will die, we can with perfect confidence say what proportion of a thousand men of the same age will have died ten years from now. More than this, we can declare almost absolutely what percentage of a thousand babies will have measles or croup. In the same way, we can tell beforehand what effect on those children certain known acts in the lives of the parents will have. Given men and women who have been exposed to certain influences on the health, as, for example, living in crowded tenement-houses, and we can say what will be the diseases which the children of those men and women will develop.

There are certain inherited abnormal tendencies, just as there are certain inherited diseases. By tendencies I mean conditions of mind and body, that manifest themselves in physical and

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mental deficiencies. These, as a rule, come from the mother's side. If the mother be not fully developed and her character not fully formed at the time of the birth of her child, the latter will in all probability never be capable of full development. It will be a weakling, morally and physically. It has long been a recognized fact, even among the people at large, that the children of older parents are wiser and better than those of youthful parents.

Child-bearing is one of the most severe drains on strength of which we have any knowledge; and for this, nature stores up in the mother a very great amount of reserve strength. Not only this, but the girl will, if she be in good health, accumulate much greater latent energy and strength than will her brother. It may be easily understood, however, that this accumulation is not made until after the girl has had her growth, because, up to that time, she must not only satisfy the daily need of strength, but she must also provide the material for growth. As the majority of girls cease to grow after they are seventeen, it is from this age on that this storing up of the reserve strength which will enable them to undergo the physical strain of motherhood takes place. Consequently, it is apparent that when a girl is married before the reserve has been gathered, she is called on to meet the physical strain without the necessary force. This can only result in one way, because the draught of the growing offspring on her strength will not be denied. Strength that is vital to her being is drawn on, and she is sacrificed in order that her child may be born.

The only career open to girls in European countries for many centuries has been marriage. The father has supported his daughters until they have become women, and has then expected them to marry into homes of their own. As a matter of course, since it is the function of the majority of women in this world to bear children, this demand then made that these girls should marry has had nothing unnatural about it; it has been the result of a natural law. But it brought with it the feeling that the girls must marry, no matter whether they wished to do so or not. It created for them one ideal—marriage; it logically attached a stigma to the title of "old maid," and, with equal logic, made it, not exactly disgraceful, but certainly "bad form," for a girl to do anything to support herself. To further intensify the latter feeling, the pressure of overpopulation played its part. In homely

words, there was not work enough for the boys and girls both, and the boys were believed to have the first claim on what there was. In return for this, they were expected to support the half that did not work for the daily bread. Of course, in their homes and in the care of their children, the women did their full share of the labor. But the fact remained that they were not allowed to work in any other way.

It is not a little amusing, although it is perfectly natural, to find that Mr. Walter Besant, in his articles on this country, has applied those laws or natural rules under which he has lived his life, to affairs as he sees them here. He laments the freedom of American girls to enter the field of labor and to compete with men, and he points out as what he believes will be the result, that the men will be debarred from working. It is probably not possible for Mr. Besant to understand that the natural resources of the United States have not yet seen one-tenth of their development, and that in this country there is work, therefore, for many times the population we have. In point of fact, it is the demand for labor, the demand for more hands and brains to do the work, that has opened all fields of industry in America to women. The enfranchisement of these women is due primarily to the need for more people to do the ever-increasing mass of work. It must not be forgotten that we have forces under our control to-day which enable us to wrest far more from the natural resources of the country and to utilize the raw material to an extent and in a way that the world has never seen before. While these forces have more than doubled the effectiveness of each human being, they have perhaps more than quadrupled the possible result to be derived from his efforts.

As a consequence, the women of this country, having been enfranchised and being to-day at liberty to support themselves, even as their brothers may, it is but natural that this freedom should reflect itself in the marriage statistics. An American girl need feel herself neither disgraced, nor a burden to others, if she elect not to marry ; she has the right to labor and to earn her own living. She is therefore free to choose her line in life.

Now, it is a fact that nature is very conservative, and that she will guard a man or woman carefully. If there be no outside pressure of any kind, and if human beings are left to themselves, they will not undertake tasks which are too great for them.

This is effected by what we call instinct, because it is rarely that persons acting under its dictates are able to give any reason for it. Generally speaking, they are incapable of analyzing the motives from which they act; they do not understand that the disinclination they have for a certain proposed course is really but the expression of an instinct given them by nature for their preservation. It is said the camel will not attempt to rise if the burden be too great; but so far as we know, there is no record of any camel having given any reasons for sleeping on the ground. Quite as dumb are those girls who refuse to marry because they prefer their liberty.

The pressure of American life on one and all of us is very great. There is a drive, a bustle, an ever-anxious effort to keep up with the procession, to get through the mass of work which is before us. The society in which we live is based on excitement; the tax it puts on our nerves and brains is of the greatest. Women feel this even more than men, and they show the effects in the constantly increasing amount of nervous diseases to be found among them. With men and women driven in this way, the children are born with a predisposition to nervousness. Under our system of educating them, this tendency is stimulated to the utmost.

We have, then, in this country as factors in the problem of early marriages, a problem which is taxing some of the wisest brains across the water: First, the overwork put on the girls during their years in school; second, the fact that they are free to marry or not, as they see fit. This latter follows on the two facts: that they are at liberty to support themselves, and that there is no stigma on them if they remain single. If we will place these two factors in conjunction with that instinct of self-preservation which nature implants in all of us, we should expect to find early marriages among American women not to be the rule.

The statistics on this point which I find available are worthy of special study:

STATISTICS OF MARRIAGES IN NEW YORK CITY.

	1891.	1892.
Average age of grooms (years)	28.82	28.89
" " brides "	24.59	24.43
Number of grooms under 20 years of age	120	145
" brides " " "	2,839	2,959
Age at which there was greatest number of grooms (years)	25.29	25.29
" " " " next greatest number of grooms (years)	21.24	21.24
" " " " greatest number of brides (years)	21.24	21.24
" " " " next greatest number of brides (years)	25.29	25.29
Total number of marriages	15,764	16,001

The evil of early marriages in Europe, showing itself, as it does, in the health of the children, has engaged the attention of many scientific men. In a discussion before the London Diocesan Conference, it was declared as the unanimous opinion of that body that the evil of early marriages has grown to such an extent as to render some reform in the marriage laws urgently necessary. Subsequently, at the Congress of Hygiene, Dr. Korosi, of Buda-Pesth, read a paper on "The Influence of the Age of Parents on the Vitality of Their Children," containing remarkable statements in line with the above declaration. He showed, from a comparison of several thousand cases, that the proportion of deaths among children from weakly constitutions or maladies traceable to the mother was twice as large among the children of mothers under twenty as among the children of mothers over thirty. Investigation also showed that the healthiest offspring was born of mothers between twenty and thirty, united to husbands between thirty and forty; where either husband or wife was under twenty, the offspring proved generally weakly, this being the case, even in Hungary, where the girls become women at the age of thirteen. In that country, too, fifteen per cent. of the number of marriages shows the brides to be under twenty years of age, and in England twelve per cent.

It may be safely said that this evil does not exist in this country, at least to anything like the same extent among the American-born women. The reason is plain: we have removed the necessity which exists among foreign girls of marrying in order to be supported; and although the girls here are practically free to marry when they please, the instinct of self-preservation has guarded them well. They feel when very young they are not strong enough, and they instinctively or wisely wait until the time when they will be stronger. The remedy for the evil abroad would properly be to allow the girls to support themselves, to remove from them the reproach of not marrying, and then to trust to their instinct to guard the health of themselves and their offspring. Unfortunately, this remedy is one which time alone can bring to them.

CYRUS EDSON.

THE WILSON BILL.

BY SENATOR ROGER Q. MILLS, OF TEXAS.

THE annual expenditures of the Government, including the amount required for the sinking-fund, demand of the Treasury $500,000,000. In preparing any measure to raise that sum by taxation, two objects ought to be kept steadily before the eye of the legislator. One object should be so to lay the burden as that each citizen shall be required to contribute his just share to the support of the government. And the other is that as far as it can possibly be done the revenue should be raised without obstructing or hindering the movement of the products of labor on their way to market, so that they may find ready sale and our labor find constant and remunerative employment.

The Democratic party, now in possession of the executive and legislative branches of the government, has, from its origin, been the advocate and defender of equal rights and equal duties. It has been the uncompromising foe of class legislation and special privileges. In the press, on the stump, and in conventions it has condemned every form of legislation that conferred bounties and exclusive privileges on one class of people and corresponding burdens on another. Two years ago the people took us at our word and placed in our hands the constitutional power to redeem the pledges we had so often made. We are now face to face with the responsibility, and the future is soon to tell whether we have been sincere in the professions we have made and whether we have the ability to execute the trust confided to our hands.

Of all the objects which make the institution of government necessary, none is so important as the security of property. We often speak of the security to life and liberty as though nothing else was imperilled by lawless force. But the security of the person can be more easily maintained and defended than can the

security of property. There is no right so easily invaded as the right of property, and, when invaded, so difficult to defend. There is little motive to incite even the most hardened reprobate to do violence to the person of another. Malice in exceptional cases stimulates to the perpetration of personal injury, but a desire to deprive another of his property is widespread, and so potent is that criminal inclination that there could be no security for property except within the jurisdiction of organized force. The institution of government is indispensable to its existence, and, being so, it is just that each person embraced within the compacts of government should contribute to its support in proportion as the government supports him in the enjoyment of his property.

When men associate in ordinary business enterprises, they do so upon the principle that each is to pay toward the expenses and receive of the profits according to the capital he has invested. If two men purchase a vessel and engage in the carrying trade, and one puts in $100,000 and the other $500,000, the latter pays five times as much of the expenses incurred and receives five times as much of the profits earned. I doubt if it ever entered the brain of any sane man to organize and conduct a private business on any other principle. It is difficult to see why a different rate should be adopted in the organization of government. Equality in the enjoyment of all rights, and in bearing all burdens is the bed-rock principle of free government. The Democratic party promised the country that when it came into power it would institute a just system of taxation; and when it begins the work it is confronted within its own lines by a determined opposition to the execution of its promises. It is charged vehemently that a tax on wealth is odious and inquisitorial. If that be true, all state and local systems of taxation are of the same hateful nature, and have been so from the beginning of the government. All taxes are odious to the taxpayer, and they become more so in proportion to the size of the contribution. But after all, they must be imposed and paid, and every citizen should willingly share in their contribution. How are the $500,000,000 to be raised? Is the whole burden to be laid upon articles produced by the annual labor of the people, and the consumption of which is required year by year to sustain human life? Is all accumulated wealth to be exempt? Land cannot be

reached, because the Constitution has placed it beyond the power of Congress. But there are abundant means within our reach from which we may gather the required sum without destroying our commerce and shutting out our labor from employment. We have between sixty-five and seventy billions of acccumulated wealth, whose annual gain and income may justly be required to aid in supporting the government. We produce over eight billions of manufactured product protected against competition : it would not be unjust to call on it for a contribution. We have many millions deposited in banks which the government is guarding for its owners. There can be no good reason why these millions should not be taxed. We have ten thousand millions of railroad property which the government is protecting, but for that protection that property is contributing nothing. It should be called upon by the tax-gatherer. Adam Smith lays down the canon that

"the subjects of *every state* ought to contribute toward the support of the government, as nearly as possible, in proportion to their respective abilities ; that is, in proportion to the rsvenues which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the state."

This canon is correct both morally and legally, and it should be rigorously observed by the legislator in laying upon the shoulders of the citizen the exactions of government. But we have reversed the principle, and instead of laying the duties in proportion to what the taxpayer has, we lay it in proportion to what he has not. We do not "take out and keep out" as little as possible, as Smith admonishes us, but as much as possible. And we tax him, not only for the support of the state, but for the support of indigent millionaires. This policy must be reversed and the change must be made by the existing Congress. The bill reported by the Committee of Ways and Means has inaugurated the work, and it must be prosecuted to success. It has been criticised and denounced by those who are receiving the benefits of the existing system. The objections made by them are utterly destitute of merit. The tax proposed on incomes is but a light touch on the monumental piles of wealth, for the protection of which the government is standing guard. A just contribution would go much beyond the limit prescribed by the committee. Great Britain collects seventy millions of dollars on the incomes of her thirty millions of people, and we are not proposing to exact one-half that sum from over sixty-eight millions.

It may be impossible now to pass the bill with that feature and it may be eliminated from its provisions. But the time will come when that measure will be placed upon the statute-books, and when it is it will be much more exacting than the one now proposed. If the wealthy classes would consult the book of wisdom they would have their representatives tender it and cheerfully support it. To antagonize it, and persist in demanding the retention of a system so grossly unjust that it is prostrating the labor of the nation, is to defy all the fates at once. The schoolmaster is abroad in the land, and the masses are awakening to a consciousness of their rights and to a realization of their wrongs. They are beginning to feel their power, and they will organize and attack these abuses, and when they shall have finished their work there will be nothing left to be desired. The nobility of France, before the French Revolution, persistently refused to bear any of the burden of taxation to support the government. The revenues were running down, and the backs of the peasantry were breaking under the load. The States-General were summoned, and the nobles were implored to give their consent to share with the commons the burdens of supporting the government; but to every appeal they defiantly answered "No." The result was an upheaval in which they lost all their wealth, and with it their rank and station in the state. One thing may as well be accepted now as at any other time. The present system of taxation will not and can not be endured. The contest now on will continue till it is torn out root and branch. The controversy will be settled only when it is settled right.

The question recurs, How are we to raise the five hundred millions? The committee has answered by proposing to increase the internal-revenue tax. The step proposed is right, but it is not long enough. The field of internal taxation is a very inviting one. To say nothing of new subjects, those now bearing taxes can be called on for more revenues without burdening the consumers. The Wilson bill may be criticised, because it does not go far enough in the line of readjustment and reform, but no fair-minded man can attack it because it goes too far. With the proposed duty on imported spirits of two dollars per gallon, the internal tax could easily have been increased to one dollar and twenty cents a gallon. The increase of ten cents per gallon is too moderate with a deficiency staring us in the face. The existing

duty on foreign spirits gives a protection to the domestic distiller of 177 per cent., and the committee proposes to reduce that to 155 per cent. If protection against competition is justifiable on any article of commerce, it is not on whiskey. There can be no reason for building up that home industry. In taxing all alcoholic beverages, we should hold steadily to the revenue principle. If the exigencies of government demand a tax of a dollar and twenty cents per gallon on the domestic product, precisely the same rate should be fixed on the imported article. As it is, we obtain scarcely any revenues by import duties. The small domestic producers have been crushed out by the law, and the few large ones have combined and put up, and keep up, the price so high that the consumption of the duty-paid article is arrested, smuggling and moonshining are increased, and the revenues to the government decreased.

The wealth of the distillers is greatly enhanced by reason of this excessive protection. A tax of one dollar and twenty cents per gallon would greatly increase the revenues from spirits, and it would all be taken from that sum which the government has deposited in the pockets of the distillers. A tax on spirits at that rate would bring to the treasury $115,000,000. The same course should be pursued with reference to beer. Our internal tax is ninety-three cents per barrel of thirty-one gallons, or three cents per gallon. The duty on imported beer is forty cents per gallon. The protection to the home industry is more than a thousand per cent. There can be no good reason why this should be, but very good reasons why it should not be. The high duty on foreign beer practically prohibits all importation. We get no revenue from imported beer, and the only effect of the duty is to protect the American brewer against competition, while he fixes the price to the consumer as high as the traffic will bear. The tax on beer should be increased to six cents per gallon for the producer at home, and the imported beer should be rated at the same figure. The price to the consumer would then be lowered on both foreign and domestic beer, while the revenues from the domestic product would be increased from thirty-two to sixty-four millions. Distilling whiskey and brewing beer are monopolies created by law, and the government can justly claim a large share of the revenues which it has carried to the pockets of the beneficiaries.

The tax of $3 per thousand on cigars and cigarettes brought to the treasury last year $14,442,591. The internal taxes on cigars and tobacco are like those imposed on spirits and beer. They have created monopolies, and the government can increase its demands upon them without burdening the people. The duty on cigars imported into the United States is $4.50 per pound and 25 per cent. on their value. They are subject also to the $3 internal tax. The internal tax of $3 is paid on twelve pounds or its equivalent of one thousand in number. The specific tax amounts to $54. The average value of the cigars imported last year was $4.48 per pound, and the thousand cost $53.76. The *ad-valorem* duty, therefore, was $13.44. The total specific, *ad-valorem*, and internal taxes paid by the thousand imported cigars amounted to $70.44. This high duty is to protect the domestic cigarmaker, who has a monopoly and pays the government $3 for it. The duty keeps out all low-priced cigars that would come in and pay revenue and lower the price to consumers. Under this duty none but the highest quality can be imported. The machinery of the internal-revenue system makes competition by small cigarmakers impossible, and the large ones combine and make the market price at their own will. The limit of that price is fixed by their capacity to extort from the trade. If the duty on the imported cigars were laid by value at a revenue rate, the importation of all classes would be increased and the government and people would both be benefited. Then if the internal tax were doubled, the Treasury would receive double the amount of revenue. The cigars upon which the domestic producer pays $3 tax costs him less than $10 per thousand tax paid, and he sells them for two and three times that amount. The internal tax could be easily raised to $6 per thousand without adding a cent to the price of the cigars in the market. The import duty on leaf and manufactured tobacco is another exercise of the taxing power for the purpose of strangulation instead of revenue. The duty on the imported leaf is $2.75 per pound, and under the existing tariff we imported 6½ pounds last year, from which our treasury received the sum of $17.38. We have no internal tax on leaf tobacco, and the duty on the imported article is a prohibition against importation and against revenue. One quality of leaf tobacco, not suited for cigar wrappers, is dutiable at 35 cents per pound, and the revenue from its impor-

tation last year amounted to $5,712,762. This duty was equivalent to 82 per cent. *ad valorem*. A duty of 30 per cent. on all classes of imported tobacco would double the revenues from that article; and doubling the internal taxes on cigars, cigarettes, and manufactured tobacco would double the revenues received from the domestic product. The bill of the committee has been constructed on these lines, but it should have gone much further. To sum up, an internal tax of $1.20 per gallon on spirits would give us $115,000,000. A tax of six cents per gallon on beer would give us at least $60,000,000. Doubling the internal rate on cigars, cigarettes, and manufactured tobacco would give us $60,000,000, and an income tax of $15,000,000 would make $250,000,000 from internal taxation. We may rely on $100,000,000 in round numbers from postal revenues and miscellaneous sources. Now we must raise $150,000,000 from customs.

In approaching the subject, the first thought that rises in the mind is how to deal with our imports so as to guard against inflicting injury upon our labor. The constant employment of our labor at the best possible rate of wages is a consideration of incalculable importance, and must dwarf all others and remain uppermost in the mind of the legislator. Any act of legislation that obstructs or hinders the movement of the products of labor as they go from producer to consumer restricts consumption, both foreign and domestic; and the act which restricts consumption restricts production, lessens the demand for employment, and minimizes the earnings of labor.

In the unhappy condition of our country to-day—a condition which, in a great measure, is the logical result of this very evil—our statesmen, instead of defending these abuses, should bend every energy of mind and muscle to find employment for every one of our idle workmen. Public works, wherever they are to be constructed, should be entered upon now, and the most liberal appropriations should be made for their continuance: instead of discharging one person from government employ, two should be taken on. This course should be pursued by national, State, and local authorities. Instead of fencing in the genius and skill of our laborers, we should throw wide the gateways and permit them to enter every market and successfully compete with all rivals. Every obstruction should be swept out of the way of our products as they go to seek markets for their consumption. In

the inauguration of this policy, the very first step to take is to put *all* materials that are to be manufactured or remanufactured on the free list. The work must not stop with wool and coal and ores, but it must be extended to all materials.

In looking at the schedules, the first in the list is chemicals, every article of which should be placed on the free list. Almost every article on that schedule is used in our metal and textile manufactures. In the metal schedule, all ores, pigs, bars, blooms, slabs, ingots, sheets, plates, and rods, should be freed from taxation. In textiles, all wool, cotton, silk, flax, hemp, and jute, and the yarns and threads of every fibre should be admitted free. All machinery oils and dyes, and everything that increases the cost of the finished articles, and especially of those we export, should be untaxed, in order that we may produce our manufactures at the lowest cost, and be able to undersell all rivals in all markets. It is the tax on the materials of manufacture alone that keeps us out of foreign markets, and keeps our labor out of employment. A few years ago I was shown the bill of chemicals bought by one of the largest New England factories for one year. It amounted to over three hundred thousand dollars, and it embraced nearly all the chemicals in our tariff schedule. I discovered, in going through the mill, that a large number of machines were used that were imported. They cost from eight hundred to a thousand dollars each. The duty on them was forty-five per cent., and each had to be replaced by a new one in a few years. All this additional cost is summed up in every yard of cloth produced. When we reflect that the difference in the cost of production of a yard of cotton goods between the mills of the United States and those of Europe is a fraction of a cent, we see how inviting is the contest, and how easy is the victory if we will but cast off the weights and enter the lists.

England is manufacturing and shipping abroad annually more than three hundred million dollars' worth of cotton goods. It is in our power to take from her the greater part of this trade. To produce these goods would give constant and remunerative employment to more than one hundred and fifty thousand persons. The existing tariff shuts, bolts, and bars the door to that employment and protects the English laborer in enjoying the benefits of that trade. English manufacturers and English statesmen have for years seen with anxiety the slender hold they

have upon their foreign trade. They have watched with the utmost concern the growth of our manufacturing system and the superior capacity of our labor. They realize that they hold the world's markets by reason of our tariff on raw materials, which increases the cost of our goods so high that we cannot compete with them. They saw with alarm the triumph of Mr. Cleveland as the representative of commercial expansion. They knew that he was in favor of a reform that did reform, and they are eagerly watching every movement we make toward untaxing all raw materials. They would hail with delight a reduction of duty on their manufactures, which would help the trade of both countries. But they would regard as a calamity to them the untaxing of the materials of manufacture. The policy adopted by the committee, as shown by their bill, would lighten the burdens of taxation, increase our exports, and palliate to a considerable extent the evils of the present depression. But that falls short of the mark at which we should aim. The employment of *all* our labor, at *all* times, with a steady demand for it, is the condition which the interests of the country require us to establish and maintain. It was for that purpose the administration of government was placed in our hands. Invested with full power, the people expect us to emancipate them from the tyranny to which they have been so long enslaved. We have put our hands to the plough, and should not look back. We have started out from Sodom, and should "remember Lot's wife." There should be no halting, doubting, or debating as we stand on the banks of the stream. We must leave the dominion of the taskmasters, if we would be free and prosperous and happy. With our superiority in machinery, in the skill of our labor, and our proximity to the materials of manufacture, we have the easy advantage of all rivals. But it may be asked, How are we to get the $150,000,000 required from customs if these articles are freed from duties? The question presents no difficulties. I would tax articles that are now on the free list and that are not materials of manufacture. The tax on coffee, tea, and sugar will more than compensate for the tax released on the materials of manufacture. I have gone carefully over the list of imported articles for last year, and it is not a difficult work to select $500,000,000 of imports without embracing any materials of manufacture as I have indicated;

and upon these I would place a uniform duty of thirty per cent., which would give $150,000,000. These figures are based upon the imports of 1893, but the lowering of the rates of duty to thirty per cent. would greatly increase the imports, and the rate could be lowered at a subsequent Congress. It is not resources we want, but nerve with some, and more democracy with others.

The bill of Mr. Wilson, like the one of 1888, has only gone a Sabbath day's journey on the line of march. In both cases there is a long distance between what they are and what they ought to be, and the intervening space is filled up by insurmountable obstacles. This bill should be amended in some particulars and then passed, and the country will see and feel the benefits of larger and freer trade, and better employment and more earnings for its labor, and then it will advance with a bolder and longer step. The sugar bounty should be stricken from it. *Ad-valorem* should be substituted for specific duties wherever they occur, except on articles bearing internal taxes. With these and some minor changes the bill should be passed by the House at the earliest possible day. Before it reaches the Senate, the rules of that body should be changed, so that, after fair debate and full opportunity for amendment, it can be passed and sent to the President in the early spring. When that is done, the country will again spring forward and enter upon a career of prosperity; and the measure of its prosperity in the future will be marked by the extent to which its trade shall be liberated and its labor employed.

ROGER Q. MILLS.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE SENSES IN THE LOWER ANIMALS.

THE five senses of man—sight, hearing, touch, smell, and taste—are possessed by some of the very lowest creatures in the animal kingdom. This fact has been clearly demonstrated by Hessen, Lubbock, Wolfe, and many others. In the earthworm, one of the lowest forms in the scale of animal life, we first find the primitive eye. Careful inspection shows us on the body of the worm certain circumscribed spots, darker than the surrounding skin. These spots have been overlooked by other workers in this field, and, have not been recognized as eyes. Darwin, while recognizing the fact that worms are sensible to light, declares that they are blind. These ocelli, or primitive eyes, are found on the dorsal surface of the common earthworm. A microscopic examination shows that the spots consist of, first, a transparent membrane; second, an accumulation of pigmentary matter, and, third, a special nerve spread out in the pigmentary matter and going thence to the central nerve structure. These ocelli are exceedingly minute, being only one twenty-five hundredth of an inch in diameter. I believe that the transparent membrane is a true cornea, the pigmentary matter a true retina, and the special nerve a true optic nerve. There is no lens, consequently the worm is only able to distinguish between light and darkness. It is an eye nevertheless, and the worm is not blind. The worm is a nocturnal animal, consequently experiments with artificial lights can easily be made. They will continue feeding as long as the light is dim, but immediately withdraw into their burrows when subjected to the bright rays emanating from a large Argand burner. Experiments prove that it is the bright rays which affect them. They do not regard the dark or heat rays unless these rays are focussed on them. The sense of touch is distributed over the surface of the worm, and the arrangement of the terminal filaments does not differ very materially from that in man. They are, strictly speaking, devoid of the sense of hearing. Sound waves, however, are transmitted to the sensorium through an analogous sense—that of touch. Worms possess the special senses of taste and smell. This is shown by their selecting certain kinds of favorite foods in preference to others not so much relished, and by their hasty withdrawal into their burrows when an objectionable scent is sprinkled near them. Thus, when cabbage and fennel are mixed and strewn near the orifices of their burrows, they will select the cabbage. They will devour the fennel greedily, if it alone is given them. The odor of musk is particularly

objectionable to worms. It is amusing to see the rapidity with which they seek their burrows when a drop of this substance is placed in the vessel containing them. Rose, lily, verbena, and heliotrope odors do not affect them. Violet scent makes them slightly uneasy, causing them to move their bodies slowly from side to side. They probably derive pleasure from this scent. The nerves of taste and smell are blended together, and can be readily made out with the microscope in the lips, so to speak, of the oral pouch.

The eyes of ants are of two kinds, compound and simple. The compound eye, so-called from the fact that eight or many more facets go to make up a single eye, are two in number, one on each side of the head. The ocelli or simple eyes are on top of the head. The visual picture, made by the compound eye, is a mosaic of the object viewed; each individual facet making a portion of the whole. All the ants I ever examined microscopically had ocelli, except one specimen of *Formica fusca*. Some writers claim that these ocelli are not sight-organs; that they are not functional but merely ornamental. Careful microscopic examination, however, proves them to be true organs of sight. There is a transparent membrane, the cornea; the pigmentary accumulation, the retina; and the special nerve, the optic nerve in each of these ocelli. These ocelli have gone a step higher than those found in the earthworm, in evolutionary development. They have a central chamber filled with fluid, which is analogous to the anterior chamber and aqueous humor of our eyes. These ocelli, therefore, have the power of not only distinguishing the light, but can even form an image on the retina. The range of vision in an ant does not exceed twelve inches in the compound eyes. In the ocelli it is very much less; probably not over two inches. The sense of taste is located, in ants, in the tongue and jaws. I fed some ants with a few grains of white sugar. They ate it greedily. I then substituted some boracic acid. They stopped feeding at once after the first bite, and immediately proceeded to get rid of the objectionable tasting substance. Experiments and microscropic examination, show that their sense of smell is located in their antennæ. Their organs of hearing are located in their legs. If we examine the tibia of an ant we will find a curious enlargement of the trachea. In the femur the diameter of the canal is one three-thousandths of an inch, but when it enters the tibia, it swells to a diameter of one five-hundredths of an inch, then contracts to one seven-hundredths, and then again at the end of the tibia expands to one five-hundredths of an inch. At the upper sac, where it contracts, there is a conical striated organ which, in my opinion, bears a striking resemblance to the plates of Corti in our own ears. This organ has a special nerve, the auditory nerve. Ants can undoubtedly communicate with one another. Most authorities agree in saying that they communicate through their antennæ. They may communicate through sounds so low or so high that our ears, notwithstanding our four thousand plates of Corti, cannot perceive them, Microscopically, I can find no vocal organs or instruments of stridulation, such as we find in *Gryllus*. The lowest sound we can hear is probably about twelve vibrations to the second, while the highest is some thirty-five thousand vibrations Some men can distinguish sounds that cannot be noticed by other men. A music teacher gives me an instance of the fact in one of his pupils. When the piccolo stop is drawn, this pupil cannot hear the last note (A″) in upper register of the organ. The plate of the Corti that vibrates in unison with

this particular tone is absent in his ears. I have repeatedly noticed intelligent communication between ants. One day, while watching a herd of aphides and their attendant guards, I suddenly saw an army of *Lasius niger* approaching. They were marching in full battle array, with a skirmish line in advance. They came on with a rush, as if they intended a surprise. Some outposts, or pickets, of *Lasius flavus* discovered them when ten or twelve feet away from the town of *Lasivs flavus*. These pickets raced home and gave the alarm. Immediately the inhabitants poured out and arranged themselves in front of their beloved herd. Skirmishers were thrown out and soon met the advancing *Lasius niger*. In a few moments the battle was on, and it was a battle to the death. The *Lasius niger* outnumbered the *Lasius flavus* three to one. As near as I could reckon there were about 1,500 of the blacks and about 500 of the yellow ants. The yellow ants were larger and stronger, but the blacks were more agile. The yellow *Lasius* rushed at her enemy with open mandibles, and seizing her by the middle, crushed her through and through. The black *Lasius* endeavored to get behind her enemy and then seize her by one of her legs. If she succeeded in her attempt, no bull dog ever held on with greater tenacity. As soon as possible another black ant would come to her assistance, and mounting on the back of the yellow ant would begin at once to gnaw through the thoracic wall. In a few seconds the shell would be eaten through, the vitals would be reached, and the yellow ant would sink down in the struggle of death. Not until certain that she was dead would *Lasius niger*, who had her by the leg, loosen her hold. *Lasius niger*, in this foray, came in light marching order. They carried no commissariat department, no ambulance corps. *Lasius flavus*, on the contrary, had both. When wearied or wounded the yellow ants would drop to the rear and communicate their wants. The ambulance corps dressed their wounds with their tongues; the commissariat refreshed them by regurgitating food into their open jaws. All through the battle I noticed this wonderful power of intelligent communication. *Lasius flavus* sent repeatedly back to the town to bring out the stragglers. It was like a well-ordered battle between human beings. These ants acted as though governed by an intelligence analogous to that which directs the actions of man. In the end *Lasius niger* won the victory, but not until they had killed every *Lasius flavus*, and lost two-thirds of their own number. The survivors carried off the bone of contention, the herd of aphides, to their own nest, some fifty feet away.

JAMES WEIR, JR.

COLORADO'S BRIGHT OUTLOOK.

THE statement of Governor Waite in the January REVIEW that "the annual production of 27,000,000 ounces of silver cut off by the closing of the mines has deprived Colorado of about $24,000,000 per annum" is one which will not bear examination. The official figures just published in the annual reviews of the Denver papers show that in 1893 the silver product of the State was 23,017,089 ounces, against 26,542,135 ounces in 1892. The product for the past year sold for $17,797,890. The slight loss in quantity was unnecessary and was wholly caused by the needless shutting down of

certain rich mines for three or four months. The loss in value was only about 17 per cent. as compared with the prices obtained the previous year. Even this was a relative and not an actual loss, because the shrinkage in the average of all commodities which are purchased by the sale of silver has been fully as much, if not more, and the cost of labor in the mines has been reduced almost precisely as much as silver has fallen. At this moment all the smelters worth mentioning have resumed, and nearly all the silver mines which have pay ore are producing. It is certain that the output for the coming year will be within a few millions, more or less, of the previous average.

Intelligent Colorado business men believe that silver mining is not only as permanent an industry as iron or coal mining, but they are now convinced that the purchasing power of an ounce of silver bullion is more permanent than that of the unit of any other commodity produced in the world. It will purchase about as much of the staple commodities like wheat, cotton, and iron now at 68 cents as it would purchase before demonetization at 129 cents, at par with gold. By this tremendously important fact we prove that the purchasing power of gold has doubled during the life of any debt that is twenty years old, and that the "honest" lender receives, besides his interest, twice as much as he loaned to the "dishonest" borrower. To the objection that this cannot be so, because labor has not fallen, we reply that its decline has been offset by modern inventions which increase the value of its product.

While we all angrily opposed the silver repeal, we are rapidly coming to the conclusion that it is to prove a blessing in disguise. It has not permanently hurt silver, while it has already revived our comparatively dormant gold-mining industry to the very verge of a boom. In this time of great stagnation, and in the dead of winter, two rival railroads are actually running a construction race through the mountain cañons to the newly discovered gold mines of Cripple Creek, where, besides many rich veins, actual mountains of low-grade gold ore containing not less than a hundred millions practically in sight only await cheap transportation and cheap milling processes to be ground up. One tunnel is started to cut the old and deep gold veins near Central half a mile below the surface, which will be four miles long and take four years to finish. The established veins which it will make profitable again are estimated to contain 200,000,000 of gold. The great gold belt of Colorado, reaching from Long's Peak to beyond the southwest corner of the State, is over 200 miles long by eighty miles wide. All over it, every ten or twenty miles, gold has been found generally in low-grade ore. There are in the State, perhaps five thousand opened veins in old or abandoned camps which were discovered years ago, but which it did not until recently pay to work. While improved transportation and improved mining machinery have probably reduced the cost of mining one-half, the triumph of the gold standard has apparently doubled the value of the gold, and all the mines are starting up. A mine with vast deposits of low-grade ore worth $18 a ton had to stop because the cost of production was $20. But now, when production costs only $10, and the purchasing power of $18 is raised to $36, the profit in resuming is very clear. It is not extravagant to say that there are in Colorado a thousand millions of gold in the low-grade ore in sight, most of which will pay for working under existing conditions. The new gold mining revival is less than four months old, and yet it increased the old average gold product of less than $5,000,000

per annum to $7,802,453 for 1893. Experts estimate the gold output for the incoming year at $20,000,000.

It is a nut for both free traders and protectionists to crack that Colorado manufacturing industries are all prosperous and running full force and time, whereas there seems to be everywhere else a partial shutdown. Aside from the $43,336,385 worth of precious metal ores, one-third of which was from other States, which our smelters handled in 1893, and which was an increase over any previous year, the manufactories proper of Denver alone produced $20,000,000 of goods which found a market all the way to the Pacific. Among the newer products of these factories are paper, cotton goods, shoes, and woollens. The Pueblo steel-rail mills, employing 2,000 men, are just resuming. No fear of tariff reduction checks these industries. This is a point for free-traders. But the long-rail haul from the East is an actual protective tariff which will remain whatever Congress does. Here is an illustration of flourishing industries directly fostered by the operation of the protective principle. Our agricultural and live stock products for the year just closed are returned at $56,900,000. Of lead we produced $3,811,223. We supply the vast region between the Missouri and the Pacific with its petroleum. Our State produced 4,200,000 tons of coal in 1893, against 375,000 tons in 1880. This rapidly increasing product will soon be worth more than our silver. Indeed, its retail price amounts to more now. It is both bituminous and anthracite, and is sold all the way from Omaha to Los Angeles. We have endless quantities of it, as well as of iron. Of many minor items I will add only one. The colony of farmers which Horace Greeley founded in Colorado in 1870, and which is named after him, receives a million dollars a year for its fine potatoes, which are distributed from San Francisco to Chicago and New Orleans, and are so famous that they have immortalized the philosopher who advised their producers to go west.

Half the decline in Denver bank clearings is due to the fall of prices rather than to the reduction of business, and the other half to a stampede of customers from the banks which temporarily suspended last summer to the few that stood the storm. Denver real estate, which shows symptoms of revived activity, carries large mortgage indebtedness, next in *per-capita* size to Chicago, but it is mostly due to home building associations. It is a significant fact that the Rio Grande Railroad, which threads the mountain mining camps for more than 1,400 miles, weathered the storm without falling into a receiver's hands. Nearly all our idle workingmen are now employed again, and if several thousand had not recently come from the East we could boast that no man in the State lacks work. Colorado is the most loyal, debt-paying community in the world. She has the most barbarous attachment laws and a cruel trust-deed, cut-throat-foreclosure act upon her statute-books expressly to please Eastern capital. Even the present legislature, which is Republican in both branches, repealed the very moderate railroad law we had over Governor Waite's veto. Such a body will pass no law impairing the obligation of contracts. Public sentiment here is as strong against anything of that kind as it is in Boston. The only real misfortune which the State labors under just now is the widespread depression in the East. From that region our dependent capital must largely come. Eastern people, seeing stagnation all around them, cannot understand how prosperity can exist in a State which but a few months ago was supposed to be so prostrate that it was an object of pity.

JOHN E. LEET.

THE BANE OF FRIENDLY RECEIVERSHIPS.

THE judiciary of this country seems to be under the hypnotic charm of the officers of corporations. The facility with which corporation managers, when their individual interests require it, are permitted to precipitate their corporation into a receivership, and have themselves or some "man" whom they can control appointed, leads one to conclude that some judges must believe that the object of the laws creating corporations is to provide "soft places" for certain gentlemen, as officers, while the corporation lives, and, as receivers, after its death.

There is a great outcry among the masses against corporations. Some people, of radically socialistic tendencies, even desire the abolition of all corporate franchises. This, of course, is absurd. However, the abuses which have grown up are such as to imperil the existence of the laws under which corporations are created. When men, who have been swindled in their dealings with corporations, see the very men who have despoiled them appointed receivers, they, almost involuntarily, begin an indiscriminate crusade against corporations ;those that are honestly as well as those that are dishonestly managed, coming within the sweep of their condemnation. The most vicious abuse that has grown up with reference to corporations is "friendly receiverships." The law requires most substantial and urgent grounds for the appointment of a receiver. There is, however, a fascination about the exercise of power; and, on this theory only, can one understand on what meagre and flimsy grounds receivers are appointed. A corporation, through its counsel, recently applied to one of our great judges for a receiver, a "friendly" creditor being the nominal plaintiff. The application showed that the creditor could easily have satisfied his demand out of available assets, if he had so desired. The judge read the application and said indignantly: "This man comes into court and simply asks me to put handcuffs on him. I won't do it." But another judge did.

Many corporations that fail never had the capital that was claimed for them. A collapse comes, and then the men who have brought it about may seek the friendly shelter of a receivership, through which they can remain masters of the situation and practically prevent an investigation by retaining control of its books and papers. In many cases they ought to be sued, for the difference between the actual and the claimed value of what they put in to pay their stock, but who is to bring the suits? The receivers, who in such cases would be both plaintiffs and defendants!

Business failures more often result from poor management than accident, and, in the case of corporations, more frequently from reckless than weak management. Many corporations are wrecked by officers using the corporate funds as if they belonged to them. These wreckers, however, have little difficulty in getting a clean bill of health from the courts in their appointment as receivers. If a corporation manager is so unskilled or reckless that he is unable to keep it going, how can it be that he possesses sufficient ability or stability to operate it successfully as a receiver? Has an order of court the magic power to transform him into a man of business talent and genius? But, you might say, he acts under orders of court. Every one familiar with these matters knows that almost invariably the orders made are such as the receiver, who is supposed to possess the confidence of the court, applies for.

A railroad president, whose wild recklessness was largely responsible

for the deplorable condition of his corporation, experienced no difficulty recently in having himself appointed receiver, and this appointment stood until public opinion forced his retirement. Men float debentures on the theory that they are backed by first mortgages, when, instead, the collateral "securing" them consists of second mortgages or other questionable assets, and yet this seems no obstacle to their appointment as receivers.

Corporation officers often say, "We went into the hands of a receiver because we wanted a little breathing time." The law gives creditors the right to enforce their demands, when due, the same against a corporation as against an individual, and yet the courts appoint receivers for corporations on the flimsiest grounds, and permit them to carry on their business without interruption, but prevents the creditors doing anything, except to sit by and see the managers operate them as they deem proper. The larger number of receiverships are simply placing the strong arm of the court between the officers and the stockholders and creditors. If the officers knew in advance that when their companies failed they would lose control, they would be much more conservative. When they know they will have to seek new positions, they will be less apt to study how to "freeze out" by a receivership the rank and file of the stockholders and creditors. We would then have less "reorganization" schemes, which practically take the small holders by the throat and force them to accept the terms offered.

Courts in appointing receivers should "represent" those who are not present in court, and should appoint men who will guard the rights of all alike. Our corporation laws generally require radical overhauling. When anything besides money constitutes the capital, it should be put in at real value, to be ascertained by responsible public officers, and a statement should be filed, so the public can see what is put in, and at what price. Corporations should be examined at frequent intervals by competent officers, and when the capital is impaired a reduction should be advised, unless the impairment is promptly made good. The law should most rigidly prescribe the duties and define the liabilities of directors. Directors who are there simply for "show" should be weeded out. Insolvent corporations should not be permitted to make preferences. Their property is a trust fund, and should be administered for all creditors alike. And finally, when a corporation through insolvency is unable to continue, some disinterested man should be placed in charge by the courts, or, better still, by some department of the State government having supervision of all corporations.

When the officers of a corporation acknowledge their inability to successfully manage its affairs, by asking for a receiver, they should step down, and give way to some impartial, capable man who has no past to cover up and no selfish schemes to foster. The legislative enactments that breathe life into corporations should place the amplest safeguards around them for the protection of those who are to deal with them. The law should assume such supervision over them as will insure their honest management; and when they can no longer continue without serious peril to the stockholders and creditors, the State should see that their affairs are speedily, honestly, and economically wound up. HENRY WOLLMAN.

PARIS WORKINGMEN'S CAFÉS.

THE workingmen's cafés of Paris, as a class, may best be described by telling of a single evening in one of them. At eight o'clock the café

is already nearly full. As you pass the desk of the proprietor, he vouchsafes a nod, a smile and a pleasant word that put you at home at once. You are a guest, not a customer; so are all who enter.

Taking one of the few vacant seats in the back room, you give your order to a bright-eyed, quick-moving *garçon* for a *café cognac*, listed at twenty *centimes* (four cents) and guaranteed *sans rival*. The furnishings are not in the best of taste; they are chiefly glitter and gaud. Nevertheless the room is a beautiful sight; it is so full of the brighter aspects of humanity. Here are bloused and frocked laborers, with their white-capped wives and their black-aproned children; petty tradesmen and tradeswomen, and one or two uniformed soldiers. On the tables are glasses of dark-brown coffee, light-brown beer, red wine and pearly absinthe, beside cards, dice, dominoes, checker and back-gammon boards, tally slates and newspapers. Here also are tobacco smoke and good humor, and emulation and curiosity and labyrinthine chatter, but no drunkenness or rudeness or tobacco juice or saturated sawdust.

Across the table from you, sipping absinthe between the puffs of a cigarette he has just rolled, is a plump, old fellow, whose blue overalls and flannel shirt, under a cotton-velvet coat, are tell-tale of a menial employment. In spite of his costume, he is plainly a dreamer of such dreams as those with which Tartarin of Tarascon was wont to beguile his own credulity, and (in the utterance) that of his friends. A red rose in his button-hole indicates that his dreams sometimes promenade in the *beau monde* where his overalls dare not venture, and a red fez, only a trifle more red than the face it surmounts, hints that they sometimes stray to Africa to "hunt the lion." After a deal of mysterious whispering, two boys at another table get pen, ink and paper from the *garçon* and indite a joint epistle. A neglected looking old man near them takes a small loaf of bread from one pocket and a slice of sausage from another, and then, with the help of half a bottle of wine, makes his evening repast, thus happily escaping the dreadful sensation of preparing a solitary meal in a cheerless room. In a distant corner a dark-skinned, flashing-eyed beauty of not more than eighteen is engaged in an exciting game of dominoes with an elderly woman, evidently her mother. The mother was a beauty also before the wrinkles and disfiguring moustache came. Other women are sewing and chatting busily. A decayed *boulevardier* gossips from table to table. Whether decay is pathetic or diverting depends upon circumstances. The *boulevardier*, at his best, being but a pretty piece of pettiness, is merely grotesque when he decays. This particular specimen lost caste among his fellow *boulevardiers* long ago, and has since been engaged in trying to attract a court of admirers in the lower kingdom of the befrocked. The befrocked, however, pay no attention to his airiness. Their good sense is not to be dazzled by a piece of worthless bric-à-brac.

One does not look to find bibliophiles in a workingman's café, yet here are three touching heads over a tiny, parchment-covered book that one of them has just drawn from an inside pocket. It is a poem in several cantos—an antique treasure as yellow within and without as the chartreuse in its owner's glass. About nine o'clock a professional fire-swallower gives a startling exhibition of his skill for the sous he can collect. At ten o'clock the patrons begin to leave, and by eleven, despite the notoriously late hours kept in Paris, the room is practically empty.

What of the influence of the workingman's café? Does it not encourage

drinking and libertinism? Is it not a waster of time and money? Does it not destroy home life? There is just enough truth in the ideas from which these queries proceed to justify the putting of the queries—no more. That it encourages the drinking habit is true only in the sense that in a community where everybody drinks as a matter of course, the café is a pleasant place to drink, because there one drinks with one's friends. The café does not encourage intemperance. That is one of the many differences between it and the American saloon. Black coffee, though by no means the only one, is still the most popular drink, and it is the exception for a second order to be given. The glasses are always on the tables and there is always something in them, and everybody seems always to be drinking, and the *garçon* seems always alert, and the wonder of it is that the glasses are never refilled. Drinking of this sort is a veritable fine art. In fact for over a hundred years it has been the right of every café patron, at the price of a single drink, to be provided with light and heat (both dear in Paris), newspapers, games, writing materials and sedulous attendance for an almost unlimited number of hours.

If people were something other than they are, time and money would perhaps be better spent than they are now in the café. With the ten cents per night or less the Frenchman pays there, he might buy paper editions of the French classics; but we know very well that he would not. He might spend his evenings reading these classics aloud to his family; but we know just as well that he would not do that either. The café is merely guilty of making the idleness of out-of-work hours a bright and pleasant thing. Everybody knows that there are drinking resorts in Paris whose prime object is the encouragement of immorality, but it is a mistake to confound these with the workingmen's cafés. The latter are no more open to the charge than all social gatherings for both sexes. The girls who are permitted to visit the workingmen's cafés are almost invariably attended and carefully watched by their elders.

Because Paris has workingmen's cafés, workingmen and their families have ready at hand plenty of the innocent, economical enjoyment which philanthropic London is trying to provide its East End, through the People's Palace and similar agencies, and which public-spirited citizens are trying (without much permanent success) to devise in all the great cities of this country. Better still, Paris working people have, besides the family resorts, the inherent habit of frequenting the resorts they have. In providing this innocent amusement the café exerts a great conserving force. But the café is more than a conservator; it is an educator. It keeps its patrons intellectually alert by putting them in touch with the movements of the times, especially the political movements. Various journals are read aloud, and their reading is illuminated by subsequent discussion. This exchange of views soon makes accomplished conversationalists.

The constant social intercourse afforded by the café has marvellously developed the French social instinct—naturally strong, Continual contact with other people keeps a Parisian continually reminded of the existence of other people, and the reminder prompts to a recognition of social rights. In other words the café develops the courtesies of life—makes its patrons, though they be working people, true ladies and gentlemen. The café is to a degree the French neighborhood tea, church social, sewing circle, lyceum, current items club, reading club, social club and corner grocery, having some of the elements of all and all of none. And the work-

ing people of Paris have it very much to thank for their exceptional good breeding, light-heartedness, vivacity and intelligence.

ALVAN F. SANBORN.

THE AMATEUR NURSE—AN ACCOMPLISHED FACT.

IF AT times the world seems small, so intimately acquainted is one person with another, there are also times when our next-door neighbor is unaware of our deeds. Surely no one could have written more forcibly of the need of "amateur nurses" than has C. H. Crandall, in the December number of The REVIEW. Never has the philanthropic and domestic argument for the education of just such women been more eloquently and carefully stated. Yet apparently the author is unaware that instruction similar to that he proposes is given in several cities, chiefly in Brooklyn, New York, and Boston. The credit of originating and successfully training "convalescent nurses" belongs to Mrs. Charles N. Judson, President of the Brooklyn Young Women's Christian Association; and to Miss Katherine N. Adams, of the Red Cross Society, for three or four years voluntarily giving her services as teacher. A little more than a year ago, through the efforts of Miss A. C. Howes, a similar plan was tried in Boston, under the auspices of the Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association. It was important to distinguish clearly between the instruction of the "attendants" (the Boston term) and the services rendered by them, and the education of trained nurses and their subsequent duties. At the same time it was expedient to have the "attendants" recognized by legitimate medical authority as a class of women competent for certain work. This recognition was obtained through the Committee of the Medical Library Association, under the charge of the Massachusetts Medical Society, which granted permission to pupils, on passing their examination, to register at the Directory. Mrs. Dita H. Kinney, a lady specially fitted for the position and a graduate of the Training School for Nurses at the Massachusetts General Hospital, was engaged as teacher. The instruction is specific and limited to the duties of an attendant in care of the sickroom; taking temperature and pulse of a patient; preparation of poultices, baths, food; ventilation and use of disinfectants. A certain amount of physiology is also taught, pupils occasionally visiting the hospital with Mrs. Kinney. The examinations are conducted by some member of the medical society. No pupil is allowed to charge more than $7.00 a week during the first year of service, her certificate stating that she is only qualified to take care of convalescents, chronic invalids, feeble elderly persons, and little children. The advantages arising from these methods are threefold: (1) That a new avenue for self-support is opened to women. (2) That there is no possibility of confusion between the domain of the trained, skilful nurse with her two years of close application as student (which renders her able to cope with emergencies or wasting disease), and the limited knowledge and general duties of an "attendant." (3) Lastly, perhaps chiefly, tired or overbusy mothers, patient invalids, people with small means, are now able to procure in their nurseries and homes the services of intelligent, agreeable women, with whom children can be trusted, and who will tenderly watch over the convalescent and the aged.

The element of being personally agreeable through physical and mental

refinement is of greater importance in the tedious care of convalescents and children, who must be amused, read to, watched, and tended, than in the active fight with sickness when more valuable qualities of mind and body are requisite. Servants, even nursemaids, as a rule, know little of what to do in sickness, though they too often think they know, and mothers and housekeepers have such a multiplicity of things to do, that these attendants can do much to lessen the fatigue and anxiety of others. It is not only self-supporting women, but educated women, so to speak who need special instruction in the care of the sickroom, though it should, never be forgotten that to the physician belong authority and responsibility, and that to him implicit obedience is due. But as any woman at any time is liable to be called upon to assist in the care of the sick, and as the utter ignorance from which most of us suffer makes others than ourselves wretched, many "educated" women take the same training as an "attendant."

Talks on home nursing are also given at working-girls' clubs by lady doctors and by lay ladies, the latter of whom have gone through a certain course of limited instruction and been examined as to their competency and thoroughness by physicians. The girls are systematically taught the preparation of poultices, bedmaking, changing sheets, etc., the best way of washing and dressing a baby as shown by means of a huge rubber doll, the home process of sterilizing milk, etc. All this is not merely talked about, but actually done before the girls, who, in turn, are themselves obliged to do these things over and over before the class. Even if they learn their lesson well, they are repeatedly told that their only safety in sickness lies in following the physician's directions. It should never be forgotten that these "talks" should be purely objective. Nothing which in any way belongs to the province of the physician should be touched upon. Whenever doctors feel assured that such care is exercised, they are hearty in their approval of enlarging the boundaries of common-sense. But when they see rules and regulations prescribed by people who do not know what they are talking about, they do well to withhold their approval from such forms of philanthropy. Yet surely by the application of common-sense, which is neither a patent nor a quack medicine, the poor sick can render themselves and their families more comfortable. Those who are able to lighten their cares by procuring the aid of "attendants" will preserve their own health, while to the trained nurse and the good physician we owe our success in the struggles between life and death, in which we so often are enlisted for ourselves or others. KATE GANNETT WELLS.

CUBAN WOMEN.

A TYPICAL Cuban beauty—and Cuba is famed for its beautiful women—has large, languishing, black eyes, with long eyelashes, a small mouth, red lips, a colorless complexion—in the tropics red cheeks and a bright blooming complexion are seldom seen—and skin with the opaque whiteness of a camellia. She is of medium height, has a shapely form, graceful undulating gait, and her hands and feet are small, and exquisitely shaped. She is generally languid and listless, but she has a winning way and charming manners, with plenty of mother-wit to supply the lack of book-learning, because after leaving school Cuban girls usually relegate their books to oblivion, and only occupy their minds with the chit-chat of society, dress, fashion, or household matters. Nevertheless many are educated at

the best convents and schools in Paris or New York or in other large cities, where they acquire a brilliant education which fits them to hold their own in society. But after they return to the tropics, they learn that the climate is not conducive to mental labor, but rather to a life of *dolce far niente*.

A Cuban girl's life is very restricted, and she is never allowed to go out alone, nor receive callers of the other sex except in the presence of her chaperone or some member of her family. If during her childhood she attends a day-school, a maid or some family servant takes her there every day. And she cannot go as short a distance as across the street unaccompanied. In some instances Spanish customs are absurd and incongruous. Every well-fitted establishment in Cuba is provided with a *concierge* to guard the entrance and admit callers. This man, usually an ignorant peasant, sometimes escorts the young ladies of the family he is serving, and that is considered perfectly proper; whereas it would not be proper for them to go out attended by a gentleman, even if he were old enough to be their father and an old friend of the family as well. Of late years, however, the frequent intercourse between Cuba and the United States has somewhat modified the customs. For instance, two ladies can now go out alone in Havana in the day-time, which would have been considerd an unheard-of and most shocking proceeding a few years ago. The social pastimes a girl enjoys in Cuba consist of balls, parties, concerts, receptions, the theatre and opera, and picnics—for the Cubans have adopted this American diversion, although in a modified form to suit the requirements of Cuban etiquette.

Cuban girls usually marry very young, even at twelve and thirteen years of age; although nowadays such marriages are not usually deemed advisable nor countenanced by their parents, as that is too early for a girl to assume the cares and responsibilities of married life and maternity. Except in ultra-fashionable circles in Havana, which follow French customs and adopt French views of life, after a girl marries she does not care much for society, and devotes her time exclusively to her husband and her children. In their home life Cuban women are devoted to their children, being too indulgent and self-sacrificing sometimes. A woman's whole life is given up to her husband and her family, and she considers no sacrifice too great to make for them. In her social relations she is a warm, constant friend, and in time of trouble faithful and kind.

Perhaps some of the customs which cause a Spaniard or Cuban to guard the women of his household so jealously may be due in a measure to the influence of the Moors in Spain during olden times, and they may have adopted their ideas in regard to woman, considering her as a beautiful, charming being, made to delight a man's heart and grace his home, and be the guardian of domestic peace and joy, but to exist for him alone, without any aspirations beyond her household, nor desire to mingle with the world. Women, however, are gradually becoming emancipated from this social thraldom, and men look on them more as equals, or companions, than simply as beautiful creatures to be worshipped and treated with chivalrous regard, but to be kept excluded from the world or subservient to men's will; and we now read of women being admitted to the bar and allowed to practise medicine and other professions in Spain as well as in Spanish-American countries. But Spaniards will be the very last people in the world to approve of these "new-fangled notions."

MARY ELIZABETH SPRINGER.

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THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

BY THE HON. HILARY A. HERBERT, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

THE one factor in the American government that is subjected to more adverse criticism than all others combined is the House of Representatives. It is perhaps less honored in its own country than in any other, and this because the American public have never taken the trouble to understand its processes. Two foreigners, De Tocqueville, in his *Democracy in America*, and Professor Bryce, in his *American Commonwealth*, have treated of our House of Representatives and its methods with distinguished ability, and each has shown it quite as much favor as could have been expected. The ablest American work dealing philosophically with the subject is Prof. Woodrow Wilson's *Congressional Government*. The conclusions reached by the author seem to have been reasoned out in a spirit of fairness and impartiality, but they are very unsatisfactory to one who understands that the House, as we familiarly call it, must continue to be very much what it is now so long as our constitution of government remains as it is. It is limited by the law of its being, and nearly every serious objection urged against its methods by its critics grows out of organic causes.

It becomes, therefore, a matter of grave concern to inquire whether the criticisms of this body so generally indulged in are

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well founded. Professor Wilson naturally compares it with its far-away prototype, the British House of Commons. He points out that the fundamental difference between the two is that the House of Commons is governed by a ministry, one compact body, and the American House by many committees; that from this it follows that under one system the rules are less complicated than under the other; that leadership in the one house is in one man, while it is divided in the other; that there is more of open debate in the English House of Commons and of interest in its proceedings than in the House of Representatives and its proceedings; and that the legislation of any one session is likely to be more harmonious and shapely as a whole in the former than in the latter: but it is not a necessary conclusion from these premises, as Professor Wilson would seem to think, that the English is the better legislative system; or that, because responsibility in our House is divided among a number of leaders, the party dominant there at the time is not sufficiently amenable to the people; or that the House of Representatives is not as responsive as it should be to public opinion; or that the laws it passes are not as fairly considered and as well adapted to their purposes as the English laws.

The practice that has contributed more than any other one cause to bring the House of Representatives into disrepute is filibustering, blocking the way of legislation by interposing dilatory motions, refusing to vote, and other parliamentary devices. There have been occasions when obstructive tactics were resorted to with advantage to the country, notably in the Forty-third Congress, when the minority was thus enabled to defeat the Force Bill. This feat was considered remarkable at the time, and tended greatly to commend the practice to the party that had profited by it, the Democracy. If appealed to only for the purpose of defeating a measure like the Force Bill, to the end that the country might pass directly upon it at the next election, or, if resorted to now and then, for a short time, to call attention to some peculiarly obnoxious measure, filibustering might be considered as having a legitimate place in parliamentary tactics, and would no doubt continue to exist; but the misfortune is that this weapon is within the reach of any member, and it has been so often used without discretion that the best sentiment of the country now condemns it in unmistakable terms.

In the Fifty-first Congress the Republicans, having control

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of the House, to make up a quorum adopted the method of counting those who were present and refused to vote. As there was no precedent for this in the practices of the House, the Democrats naturally arrayed themselves against the new rule, and the contention over it was very bitter. The Supreme Court, however, has decided that the House, under the power to make its own rules, had the right to adopt this method, and it may therefore be safely affirmed that this rule or something like it will always obtain when the Republicans may be in control. This being so, it seems to follow that the Democratic party will be driven to the adoption of some similar rule, safe-guarded, perhaps, so as to prevent mistakes, which appeared to be unavoidable under the rule of the Fifty-second Congress. Either this must be done or some equally efficient method devised. No political party can afford to yield to its opponent permanently so great an advantage as the Republicans could claim if they, and they alone, could count their opponents to make up a quorum. That the Democrats are fully alive to the necessity of adopting methods that will enable them to despatch business is apparent, from the practice of the present House in bringing in hard-and-fast rules, limiting discussion, cutting off the right to amend and fixing the hour for votes. The large majority the dominant party has in the present House renders it possible for it now at the expense of considerable inconvenience, to proceed without counting the Republicans, who sometimes sit still and refuse to vote, but in future Congresses, whenever it becomes absolutely necessary, and the Democrats cannot count a quorum of their own, they will, it is believed, "count the quorum furnished by the voters."

The evils coming from obstructive tactics are not, however, peculiar to and do not grow out of our system of committee government. The British House of Commons has had its own obstructionists, and was at last, after many trying experiences, driven quite unwillingly to the adoption of rules that enable the majority to close debate and reach a vote. No political party with a majority in a legislative body can live if it allows its opponents to tie its hands, and this country need have no fear that, in the future, either of the two great parties will fail to do the business intrusted to it by the country according to the terms of its commission.

It is not possible to frame an excuse that would justify filibustering as it has been practised in latter years, but it is easy to show why it was so long tolerated. Twenty, and even ten years ago, the Democratic and Republican parties so profoundly distrusted each other that each was afraid to smooth for the other the pathway to easy legislation. The Republicans feared that some political revolution might "wipe away war legislation" including the tariff, and Democrats feared a more sweeping reconstruction law. It must be confessed also that there were Democrats, high in the councils of the party, who were not without their own anxieties lest, in some tidal wave, the high tariff might go. For these reasons "rights of minorities" were for many years sedulously cared for in the rules. More recently we have had to face the other question, "What are the rights of the majority?"

The reasons why the debates in the American House are not as fully reported and as keenly followed by the public as those of the House of Commons, and why the party in power in the House of Representatives has not and never can have any great leader who represents the government in every measure and upon whom all eyes are centred as they now are upon Gladstone or as they have been upon Disraeli or Charles James Fox or William Pitt, are fundamental. "The Government," as in England they call the Ministry, with the Prime Minister as chief, sits in the House of Commons; it matures and offers all important bills, and upon the success or failure of these it must stand or fall. Upon any signal defeat it goes out of power, and so every debate in the House of Commons is watched with somewhat of that lively interest with which, in America, we follow the progress of a presidential election. With us the defeat of a particular bill means simply the defeat of that measure. The consequences, whatever they may be to the party in power, are not immediate. The people have selected their officials for fixed terms. They have reserved to themselves the power, at the next elections, to vote upon the whole record made by a party, "confidence" or "want of confidence," and they are not watching to see what new "government" Congress is to give them. The Executive and Congress are, under our Constitution, so distinct and separate that there is nothing to bind them together in the maintenance of a common policy except allegiance to a common party. The power of these ties is, or ought to be, great, as there is not

much hope for the future success of a party if its legislators and its executive are at odds with each other; but this is all there is of it.

In the English House of Commons executive officers are present to answer questions, to explain their policies and to defend them. With us, as no executive officer can sit or vote or speak, either in the Senate or the House, the President must rely upon his party friends to defend his acts. From the nature of things he cannot have any one man, either in the House or the Senate, to defend him at all times and on all questions. Attacks upon the administration are made without warning. The constant effort is to surprise. If the assault is upon the dealings of the government with the Indians, as a rule, members of the Committee on Indian Affairs, who have the necessary information, come to his rescue; if on the management of the navy, the Naval Committee, or, on matters relating to the army, the Military Committee. must defend him. In England the Ministry sitting in the House of Commons, fully equipped to explain their policies, and having upon their shoulders the affirmative of every great issue, are represented by the Premier or some other of their number. Under such a system a great government leader on the floor of debate is not only possible, but he is a necessity; but with us such a leader cannot exist. No single member can be like an English minister, *caligatus omnia.* Presidents have generally had special friends on the floor of the House, and quite often some prominent member has been known as the mouthpiece of the Executive, speaking his sentiments, now and then, with more or less of authority; but a leader in the English sense, such a leader as our public prints and even our public men are often found deploring the need of, the parliamentary history of our country does not mention. Henry Clay was a great leader on the floor of the House, but he was not a government mouthpiece. Thad Stevens was a leader in the stirring times of the Civil War, and still more during the days of reconstruction, but he only stood for a leader on one idea at a time—on the prosecution of the war while it lasted, and on granting suffrage to the negro in the days of reconstruction. He was never known during the war as the special representative of the President, and in his reconstruction measures he boldly trampled under foot the policy that Mr. Lincoln

had formulated and President Johnson was endeavoring to execute.

A minority leader, however, in the House of Representatives is possible within limits. It is not difficult to unite members who are animated by a common desire to turn a party out of power—and we need not go far to seek in our history for opposition leaders. Mr. Randall, although he was out of sympathy with the majority of his party on the great question of the tariff, was nevertheless, for a time, the acknowledged leader of the Democrats in opposition; and Mr. Reed was the undoubted leader of the Republicans from 1885 to 1889. But except the Speaker, Mr. Cleveland during his first administration had no friend on the floor upon whom he could look as leader of the House; and Mr. Harrison certainly was in no better plight.

Bills, before they are put upon their passage, especially those that deal with the great questions of taxation and appropriations, must be formulated after careful study and preparation. This work "the Government" does for the House of Commons, most of it during the recess of Parliament, and this body can therefore get itself down to the work of legislating almost immediately after it comes together. The House of Representatives must formulate its own bills, and this it can only do through committees. When Congress convenes and the House elects its speaker, he sets himself to the task of dividing it into fifty-six standing and select committees. This requires time. When committees are organized, they must perfect and report upon the bills or subjects referred to them, and this requires still more time. Government reports are to be read, witnesses examined, figures studied and compared, information to be acquired from the departments, and then the form and nature of the reports and bills are to be decided upon. As a rule to which there are few exceptions, the members of the great committees labor with unremitting zeal and fidelity. Duty impels them, and they know, too, the temper of the public. If, for example, a majority has been elected to increase subsidies, every subsidy-seeker knows just what he wants and he fails to see why Congress does not give it and go home. If on the other hand the majority chosen favors a reduction of taxation, one portion of the public is importunate for immediate relief, while the other is shouting through the press that Congress is depressing business by "tinkering with

the tariff." Nobody understands this impatience better than a member of the House, who ordinarily has, in the necessity of looking after his own interests, business and political, at home, still another incentive to haste. There are several well-known instances of members breaking down, some of them dying outright from overwork, as did Haskell, of Kansas, Burnes, of Missouri, and probably Randall, of Pennsylvania; but the work of such men is done in the privacy of the committee-room, and while it is going on the public is usually clamoring about the delays in legislation.

Inasmuch as in England the Ministry prepares every important bill, the claim made by Englishmen may be true that the laws passed at any one session are more harmonious and consistent than they can be without any common supervision. In the earlier days of the republic, when the legislation of Congress was confined within narrow limits, our own laws had, in a great measure, such supervision. One committee, the Ways and Means, had jurisdiction over all questions of finance, taxation, and appropriation, but now no single committee could possibly perform all this work. The interests embraced in the legislation of Congress have multiplied even more rapidly than population, and the jurisdiction originally exercised by the Ways and Means Committee has been distributed among many other committees.

In England the majority represented by the Ministry ask no counsel of the minority in framing bills. The minority never see the bills until reported and ready for the action of the House of Commons. With us the minority is fairly represented on every committee. The speaker, partisan though he be, is expected to act with the utmost impartiality in apportioning the opposition to all the greater standing committees, and, as a matter of fact, having no friends among them to whom he is indebted for his seat, he is generally more just to the opposition in the make-up of committees than he is to his own party. One single case is remembered of a speaker who was said and believed to have told his friends that he had put the opposition where they could do the least possible harm. That speaker was a failure; this treatment of his political opponents was his first stumbling-block.

The speaker is the real party leader, upon whom, if they be of the same party, the executive must rely. The powers he may exercise to advance or retard legislation are in many respects au-

tocratic ; yet if he is to measure up to the full height of his great office he must not transcend the authority vested in him by the rules and the usages of the House. This his party does not expect or demand. In the Forty-ninth Congress the Republicans of the House presented to the Democratic speaker at the close of the session a silver service, in testimony of their appreciation of his fairness and ability, and yet no presiding officer was ever more acceptable to his party than Mr. Carlisle.

In our important committees not only all parties, but, as far as practicable, all sections of the Union are represented, and ample scope is given to debate. Does this system operate as a check on bad legislation ? Theory and doubtless all experienced members of the House would say that such is its tendency, although no one could be found to contend that any mere system can be relied on to always produce wise laws.

Professor Wilson, however, seems to think that this system is responsible for most of our vicious legislation. He mentions the "manufacturers who cultivate the favor of the Committee of Ways and Means, the interested persons who walk attendance on the Committee of Rivers and Harbors, and the mail contractors who court the Committee on Appropriations." If the charges he makes are well grounded, they go to the very foundations of our government, for it is not perceived how the House as an independent body can frame and perfect bills without the intervention of committees of some sort. Suppose the present system of many committees, working during the session, to be abandoned and one grand committee formed, having all the powers now exercised by the British Ministry, still such committee, whenever and wherever it might sit, would be subject to the solicitations of the lobby. Under any conceivable method interested persons may "cultivate the favor" of those who are framing bills. Subsidists pool their issues, get their jobs all, as far as practicable, into one bill, and force this through by their combined strengrh. This the people only can prevent. It would be useless for a committee of the House to report a high-tariff bill if the majority on the floor were unwilling to pass it, and it would be folly to enact it into law if it could not be sustained at the polls. As a rule tariff bills have been debated at greater length before the House, and discussed more fully before the people, than any other class of legislation. If high-tariff and

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other subsidy laws be vicious, the responsibility for their enactment does not lie at the door of the committee system. The combinations now made to pass bills of this character would be made all the same whatever our system might be. Everybody knows that the people of the United States could not be induced to favor at the polls one industry, or even several, at the expense of others, and that those seeking class legislation must unite in their demand every possible interest. It matters not, therefore, when or where or by whom a tariff bill may be framed: there and then will be found every subsidy-seeker asking to be let into the combine, and if he can command votes at the polls he will be admitted, provided only that the party favoring subsidies be then in control. The remedy for evils such as these is to be sought at the hands of the people.

It is not intended in this article to assert that the committee system is perfect, but only to maintain that under our form of government the House of Representatives must necessarily have committees of its own members to prepare legislation, and that the system at present existing is not subject to the grave objections urged against it. It is true that members may trust committees too implicitly, but the same objection would seem to lie against a system of parliamentary government where the ministry must be followed implicitly in every important measure, the penalty of a defeat of the government, in every such case, being the immediate loss of every seat and another appeal to elections.

In one respect the House of Commons always appears to advantage when compared with the House of Representatives. The spectator, looking in upon the latter, sees a desk before each member, and unless upon occasions of extraordinary interest he finds perhaps a majority engaged in writing letters, reading newspapers, clapping for pages, etc., and he is quite likely to go away with the impression that Representatives generally do not know or care what is being done, whereas in the House of Commons there are no desks, no reading, or writing, or clapping for pages—only those are present who wish to listen. The advantage, however, is not so great as it appears to be. Under both systems members who have not heard the debate are on hand, when a division comes, to vote with their parties, and certainly those who have been brought by a "whip" into the House of Commons are no better prepared to vote intelligently than those who, in our House,

have been sitting by, listening perhaps to the debate by snatches. The truth is not to be ignored that, whatever be the system and however large may be the legislative body, a few men will control the business. In the House of Commons one committee—the Ministry—controls everything. With us the several great committees control in turn.

The American practice of having desks and permitting members to read and write was defensible before Representatives voted themselves clerks, as they very properly did in the last Congress, as it was impossible for them to do their necessary correspondence without utilizing the hours of the session. Now it is hoped that in the near future desks will be removed, as nothing detracts so much from the respect the public ought to entertain for the House as the ragged appearance it ordinarily presents to the visitor.

The charge is also made that the House of Representatives is not sufficiently responsive to the demands of the people. The real grievance seems to be that individual members are too sensitive to what they imagine to be the demands of their immediate constituencies. They are generally too apprehensive that they may not please everybody, and rather than incur displeasure they abandon, now and then, the principles of the party which elevated them and rely upon their party friends at home to excuse the defection in that instance, because the lapse was in favor of some local interest. Here again the remedy is with the voters. The committee system is not at fault.

One undeniable advantage of our committee system is that it brings members of opposing parties and different sections into close personal relations with each other. The extent of population and territory, the variety of climate and products, with the geographical distribution of our industries result in a constant clash of interests. It certainly is desirable that those who are to reconcile these interests should be able to attribute to each other, where they exist, the virtues of patriotism and integrity, and every experienced member knows that mutual respect and confidence are a common, and warm friendship between men of opposing parties and from different sections a not uncommon, result of joint service on committees.

There has been a remarkable reaction from the estrangement and bitterness caused by the Civil War. The writer remembers

to have heard a Republican member from the far West, some years ago, express his astonishment that his Democratic friend from the South should say a kind thing about Abraham Lincoln on the floor of the House, and "let it stand that way in the *Record.*" Another newly elected Republican member went up one day and introduced himself to a Southern Democrat with the remark that he was anxious to know the ex-Confederate "who was patriotic enough to vote an appropriation for continuing the monument to the Father of His Country." "Oh!" replied the Southerner, "I never go back on a slaveholder and a rebel like George Washington." The retort was not courteous, but the ex-Confederate was nettled at the imputation on the patriotism of his section.

The distrust of those days has passed away, and at this writing there is more of kindly and generous feeling and mutual confidence and less of ill-will between the members of the two great parties in Congress than at any other period within the last fifty years. This is attributable largely to joint service on committees. Such progress could not have been made if the two great parties had been constantly pitted against each other in debate only from opposite sides of the House under a parliamentary system like that prevailing in the British House of Commons. Quite a number of men on both sides of the aisle can now be pointed to who by long and continuous service have thoroughly established themselves in the confidence of the House. These men divide leadership in their respective parties among them. They are not all chairmen, or even first on the minority side of committees, though most of them are. When a chairman and his committee once get the confidence of the House, their bills, if they have no partisan edge to them, usually pass with little debate. The chairman who, in the familiar language of the House, means "business" and not "Buncombe" wisely commends himself to his fellow-members by not taking up the time of the House with unnecessary discussion. Thus it happens that the most useful and influential men are frequently not the most famous. There are many coustituencies in the United States who never have a chairman or a representative of influence in the House, for the reason that they are continually changing their members. They seem to utterly ignore the value of experience, which to a member of ability and character always gives knowledge and power.

An incident occurring in the House near the close of the last session of the Fifty-second Congress furnishes a striking illustration, not only of the value of long service in that body and of the kindly feeling now existing there between parties, but also of the influence a broad-minded member can acquire, and the confidence with which his political opponents may come to regard him. It may also serve to show how it is that important bills often pass without much, and sometimes without any, debate. On February 4, 1893, Mr. Blount, of Georgia, who was about voluntarily to retire from the House after twenty years of continuous service, had just moved to report the Diplomatic Appropriation Bill from the Committee of the Whole, when Mr. Holman, Democrat, of Indiana, rose and complimented him on "having brought into the House a very important appropriation bill, which was so perfect in all its details as to receive the unanimous approval of this Committee of the Whole House." Among many other complimentary things Mr. Holman said:

"The House has become accustomed to pass bills reported by him without controversy. It must be gratifying to my distinguished friend to know that it is taken for granted that a bill reported by him has undergone the severest scrutiny in every detail, and that no consideration whatever has been taken into account except the interests of the public service."

At the conclusion of Mr. Holman's speech Mr. Hitt, the leading Republican upon the Foreign Affairs Committee, and who had served ten years in the House with Mr. Blount, arose and "heartily joining" with Mr. Holman "in every word he has said in testimony of the personal worth, of the high character, of the industry, of the energy, of the honorable gentleman from Georgia," added:

"I will mark most of all that patriotism above party that inspired him in the House when last year, leading a great committee charged to consider the affairs and interests, not of a party, but of a whole nation, embroiled in sharp dispute with a foreign power, he rose with the occasion and proved himself first and altogether a patriot, an American, so that a foreigner, looking down from the gallery upon this hall, could never have told whether he was a Republican or a Democrat, but would have known that he was in every fiber an American.

Mr. Hitt was alluding to the fact that Mr Blount had supported President Harrison's Chilian policy. He was followed by Mr. O'Neill, the oldest Republican in the House, and by other members in the same line, and every speaker was greeted by loud applause from all quarters of the House.

When President Cleveland desired to know the exact truth about the Hawaiian affair, he selected Mr. Blount as his special agent to Honolulu.

No portion of the government can claim exemption from the severest criticism, but so much ridicule has been levelled by the press at the *personnel* of the House of Representatives, and so many insinuations are constantly indulged in against the habits and integrity of its members, that every newly elected representative on coming into that body within recent years must have confessed to himself a feeling of profound surprise at what he has seen. He has heard much of corruption, but he sees no evidences of its existence. Possibly among so many there may be some who are corrupt, but the body, as a whole, may challenge comparison for integrity and fidelity with any in the world; he has heard of dissipation, but he finds that, with very few exceptions, the members are remarkable for sobriety and steady habits; and what surprises him most of all is the average ability and range of information possessed by those who surround him.

The career of many a member is a disappointment to himself and his friends. The surroundings are not what he and they expected. Accustomed at home to the homage of his friends, he thinks to be easily a leader in the House. He finds himself there surrounded by the most critical audience in the world. On whatever subject he would speak, some of his audience are more thoroughly informed than he, and it may be he never speaks at all. Of course it must be understood, all the time, that there are many exceptions to every general statement of this character, but a careful scrutiny of the *personnel* of the House, as it has existed for some years past, is sufficient proof that, as a rule, the people of a Congressional district do not send a Representative to Congress unless there be something about him, either ability, courage, high character, or other attractive quality, to commend him to their support. Taken altogether there can be no better guaranty of the capacity of the people of the United States for self-government than the character of the men they send to Washington to make their laws. The people who elect these men differ widely in their politics, but they are of one mind in intending, as they show by the selection of their Representatives, that this country shall be great and free and prosperous. And so it is to be.

HILARY A. HERBERT.

THE NEW ASPECT OF THE WOMAN QUESTION.

BY SARAH GRAND, AUTHOR OF "THE HEAVENLY TWINS."

It is amusing as well as interesting to note the pause which the new aspect of the woman question has given to the Bawling Brothers who have hitherto tried to howl down every attempt on the part of our sex to make the world a pleasanter place to live in. That woman should ape man and desire to change places with him was conceivable to him as he stood on the hearth-rug in his lord-and-master-monarch-of-all-I-survey attitude, well inflated with his own conceit; but that she should be content to develop the good material which she finds in herself and be only dissatisfied with the poor quality of that which is being offered to her in man, her mate, must appear to him to be a thing as monstrous as it is unaccountable. "If women don't want to be men, what do they want?" asked the Bawling Brotherhood when the first misgiving of the truth flashed upon them; and then, to reassure themselves, they pointed to a certain sort of woman in proof of the contention that we were all unsexing ourselves.

It would be as rational for us now to declare that men generally are Bawling Brothers or to adopt the hasty conclusion which makes all men out to be fiends on the one hand and all women fools on the other. We have our Shrieking Sisterhood, as the counterpart of the Bawling Brotherhood. The latter consists of two sorts of men. First of all is he who is satisfied with the cow-kind of woman as being most convenient; it is the threat of any strike among his domestic cattle for more consideration that irritates him into loud and angry protests. The other sort of Bawling Brother is he who is under the influence of the scum of our sex, who knows nothing better than women of that class in and out of society, preys upon them or ruins himself for them, takes his whole tone from them, and judges us all by

them. Both the cow-woman and the scum-woman are well within range of the comprehension of the Bawling Brotherhood, but the new woman is a little above him, and he never even thought of looking up to where she has been sitting apart in silent contemplation all these years, thinking and thinking, until at last she solved the problem and proclaimed for herself what was wrong with Home-is-the-Woman's-Sphere, and prescribed the remedy.

What she perceived at the outset was the sudden and violent upheaval of the suffering sex in all parts of the world. Women were awaking from their long apathy, and, as they awoke, like healthy hungry children unable to articulate, they began to whimper for they knew not what. They might have been easily satisfied at that time had not society, like an ill-conditioned and ignorant nurse, instead of finding out what they lacked, shaken them and beaten them and stormed at them until what was once a little wail became convulsive shrieks and roused up the whole human household. Then man, disturbed by the uproar, came upstairs all anger and irritation, and, without waiting to learn what was the matter, added his own old theories to the din, but, finding they did not act rapidly, formed new ones, and made an intolerable nuisance of himself with his opinions and advice. He was in the state of one who cannot comprehend because he has no faculty to perceive the thing in question, and that is why he was so positive. The dimmest perception that you may be mistaken will save you from making an ass of yourself.

We must look upon man's mistakes, however, with some leniency, because we are not blameless in the matter ourselves. We have allowed him to arrange the whole social system and manage or mismanage it all these ages without ever seriously examining his work with a view to considering whether his abilities and his motives were sufficiently good to qualify him for the task. We have listened without a smile to his preachments, about our place in life and all we are good for, on the text that "there is no understanding a woman." We have endured most poignant misery for his sins, and screened him when we should have exposed him and had him punished. We have allowed him to exact all things of us, and have been content to accept the little he grudgingly gave us in return. We have meekly bowed our heads when he called us bad names instead of

demanding proofs of the superiority which alone would give him a right to do so. We have listened much edified to man's sermons on the subject of virtue, and have acquiesced uncomplainingly in the convenient arrangement by which this quality has come to be altogether practised for him by us vicariously. We have seen him set up Christ as an example for all men to follow, which argues his belief in the possibility of doing so, and have not only allowed his weakness and hypocrisy in the matter to pass without comment, but, until lately, have not even seen the humor of his pretensions when contrasted with his practices nor held him up to that wholesome ridicule which is a stimulating corrective. Man deprived us of all proper education, and then jeered at us because we had no knowledge. He narrowed our outlook on life so that our view of it should be all distorted, and then declared that our mistaken impression of it proved us to be senseless creatures. He cramped our minds so that there was no room for reason in them, and then made merry at our want of logic. Our divine intuition was not to be controlled by him, but he did his best to damage it by sneering at it as an inferior feminine method of arriving at conclusions; and finally, after having had his own way until he lost his head completely, he set himself up as a sort of a god and required us to worship him, and, to our eternal shame be it said, we did so. The truth has all along been in us, but we have cared more for man than for truth, and so the whole human race has suffered. We have failed of our effect by neglecting our duty here, and have deserved much of the obloquy that was cast upon us. All that is over now, however, and while on the one hand man has shrunk to his true proportions in our estimation, we, on the other, have been expanding to our own; and now we come confidently forward to maintain, not that this or that was "intended," but that there are in ourselves, in both sexes, possibilities hitherto suppressed or abused, which, when properly developed, will supply to either what is lacking in the other.

The man of the future will be better, while the woman will be stronger and wiser. To bring this about is the whole aim and object of the present struggle, and with the discovery of the means lies the solution of the Woman Question. Man, having no conception of himself as imperfect from the woman's point of view, will find this difficult to understand, but we know his

weakness, and will be patient with him, and help him with his lesson. It is the woman's place and pride and pleasure to teach the child, and man morally is in his infancy. There have been times when there was a doubt as to whether he was to be raised or woman was to be lowered, but we have turned that corner at last; and now woman holds out a strong hand to the child-man, and insists, but with infinite tenderness and pity, upon helping him up.

He must be taught consistency. There are ideals for him which it is to be presumed that he tacitly agrees to accept when he keeps up an expensive establishment to teach them: let him live up to them. Man's faculty for shirking his own responsibility has been carried to such an extent in the past that, rather than be blamed himself when it did not answer to accuse woman, he imputed the whole consequence of his own misery-making peculiarities to God.

But with all his assumption man does not make the most of himself. He has had every advantage of training to increase his insight, for instance, but yet we find him, even at this time of day, unable to perceive that woman has a certain amount of self-respect and practical good sense—enough at all events to enable her to use the proverb about the bird in the hand to her own advantage. She does not in the least intend to sacrifice the privileges she enjoys on the chance of obtaining others, especially of the kind which man seems to think she must aspire to as so much more desirable. Woman may be foolish, but her folly has never been greater than man's conceit, and the one is not more disastrous to the understanding than the other. When a man talks about knowing the world and having lived and that sort of thing, he means something objectionable; in seeing life he generally includes doing wrong; and it is in these respects he is apt to accuse us of wishing to ape him. Of old if a woman ventured to be at all unconventional, man was allowed to slander her with the imputation that she must be abandoned, and he really believed it because with him liberty meant license. He has never accused us of trying to emulate him in any noble, manly quality, because the cultivation of noble qualities has not hitherto been a favorite pursuit of his, not to the extent at least of entering into his calculations and making any perceptible impression on public opinion; and he never, therefore, thought

of considering whether it might have attractions for us. The cultivation of noble qualities has been individual rather than general, and the person who practised it is held to be one apart, if not actually eccentric. Man acknowledges that the business of life carried on according to his methods corrodes, and the state of corrosion is a state of decay ; and yet he is fatuous enough to imagine that our ambition must be to lie like him for our own benefit in every public capacity. Heaven help the child to perceive with what travail and sorrow we submit to the heavy obligation, when it is forced upon us by our sense of right, of showing him how things ought to be done.

We have been reproached by Ruskin for shutting ourselves up behind park palings and garden walls, regardless of the waste world that moans in misery without, and that has been too much our attitude ; but the day of our acquiescence is over. There is that in ourselves which forces us out of our apathy ; we have no choice in the matter. When we hear the "Help ! help ! help !" of the desolate and the oppressed, and still more when we see the awful dumb despair of those who have lost even the hope of help, we must respond. This is often inconvenient to man, especially when he has seized upon a defenceless victim whom he would have destroyed had we not come to the rescue ; and so, because it is inconvenient to be exposed and thwarted, he snarls about the end of all true womanliness, cants on the subject of the Sphere, and threatens that if we do not sit still at home with cotton-wool in our ears so that we cannot be stirred into having our sympathies aroused by his victims when they shriek, and with shades over our eyes that we may not see him in his degradation, we shall be afflicted with short hair, coarse skins, unsymmetrical figures, loud voices, tastelessness in dress, and an unattractive appearance and character generally, and then he will not love us any more or marry us. And this is one of the most amusing of his threats, because he has said and proved on so many occasions that he cannot live without us whatever we are. O man ! man ! you are a very funny fellow now we know you ! But take care. The standard of your pleasure and convenience has already ceased to be our conscience. On one point, however, you may reassure yourself. True womanliness is not in danger, and the sacred duties of wife and mother will be all the more honorably performed when women have a reasonable hope of be-

coming wives and mothers of *men*. But there is the difficulty. The trouble is not because women are mannish, but because men grow ever more effeminate. Manliness is at a premium now because there is so little of it, and we are accused of aping men in order to conceal the side from which the contrast should evidently be drawn. Man in his manners becomes more and more wanting until we seem to be near the time when there will be nothing left of him but the old Adam, who said, "It wasn't me."

Of course it will be retorted that the past has been improved upon in our day; but that is not a fair comparison. We walk by the electric light: our ancestors had only oil-lamps. We can see what we are doing and where we are going, and should be as much better as we know how to be. But where are our men? Where is the chivalry, the truth, and affection, the earnest purpose, the plain living, high thinking, and noble self-sacrifice that make a man? We look in vain among the bulk of our writers even for appreciation of these qualities. With the younger men all that is usually cultivated is that flippant smartness which is synonymous with cheapness. There is such a want of wit amongst them, too, such a lack of variety, such monotony of threadbare subjects worked to death! Their "comic" papers subsist upon repetitions of those three venerable jests, the mother-in-law, somebody drunk, and an edifying deception successfully practised by an unfaithful husband or wife. As they have nothing true so they have nothing new to give us, nothing either to expand the heart or move us to happy mirth. Their ideas of beauty threaten always to be satisfied with the ballet dancer's legs, pretty things enough in their way, but not worth mentioning as an aid to the moral, intellectual, and physical strength that make a man. They are sadly deficient in imagination, too; that old fallacy to which they cling, that because an evil thing has always been, therefore it must always continue, is as much the result of want of imagination as of the man's trick of evading the responsibility of seeing right done in any matter that does not immediately affect his personal comfort. But there is one thing the younger men are specially good at, and that is giving their opinion; this they do to each other's admiration until they verily believe it to be worth something. Yet they do not even know where we are in the history of the world. One of them only lately, doubtless by way of ingratiating himself with the rest of the Bawling

Brotherhood, actually proposed to reintroduce the Acts of the Apostles-of-the-Pavements; he was apparently quite unaware of the fact that the mothers of the English race are too strong to allow themselves to be insulted by the reimposition of another most shocking degradation upon their sex. Let him who is responsible for the economic position which forces women down be punished for the consequence. If any are unaware of cause and effect in that matter, let them read *The Struggle for Life* which the young master wrote in *Wreckage*. As the workingman says with Christ-like compassion: "They wouldn't be there, poor things, if they were not driven to it."

There are upwards of a hundred thousand women in London doomed to damnation by the written law of man if they dare to die, and to infamy for a livelihood if they must live; yet the man at the head of affairs wonders what it is that we with the power are protesting against in the name of our sex. But *is* there any wonder we women wail for the dearth of manliness when we find men from end to end of their rotten social system forever doing the most cowardly deed in their own code, striking at the defenceless woman, especially when she is down?

The Bawling Brotherhood have been seeing reflections of themselves lately which did not flatter them, but their conceit survives, and they cling confidently to the delusion that they are truly all that is admirable, and it is the mirror that is in fault. Mirrors may be either a distorting or a flattering medium, but women do not care to see life any longer in a glass darkly. Let there be light. We suffer in the first shock of it. We shriek in horror at what we discover when it is turned on that which was hidden away in dark corners; but the first principle of good housekeeping is to have no dark corners, and as we recover ourselves we go to work with a will to sweep them out. It is for us to set the human household in order, to see to it that all is clean and sweet and comfortable for the men who are fit to help us to make home in it. We are bound to raise the dust while we are at work, but only those who are in it will suffer any inconvenience from it, and the self-sufficing and self-supporting are not afraid. For the rest it will be all benefits. The Woman Question is the Marriage Question, as shall be shown hereafter.

SARAH GRAND.

A PRESENT CHANCE FOR AMERICAN SHIPPING.

BY THE HON. EUGENE TYLER CHAMBERLAIN, COMMISSIONER OF NAVIGATION.

THE entire range of federal affairs offers no other more promising field for reconstructive legislation at the present time than that afforded by the navigation laws of the United States. That they are old and out of date and out of joint with American progress and performance since the time of their enactment is indicated by their failure to produce the results for which presumably they were framed and by discontent with them, shared by ultra-protectionists and extreme free traders alike. The advocates of free shipping, indeed, bring no stronger indictment against the navigation laws of the country than that brought by those who confess, in effect, the insufficiency of those laws, after a trial lasting almost throughout the nation's lifetime, by asking that they be supplemented by bounties and subsidies paid from the Treasury. Protectionism has been carried to its utmost statutory limit by the absolute prohibition of the purchase of vessels in any but the home market, and surely no more insidious attack upon its inadequacy to produce results could be made than in the assertion of protectionists that a bonus directly from the Treasury is still a necessary incentive to bring purchasers into that exclusive market.

Where discontent with statutes is manifestly so general as to include those who stand at the opposite extremes of an economic theory, as in the matter of the navigation laws, discussion of the theory ties the hands of those who have an earnest desire to accomplish something positive to relieve a condition of affairs far from creditable to the United States. Is there more than an academic value to debates in which the free-ship theory is opposed to

the subsidy theory, when those debates do not hoist the American flag over a single additional vessel and do not give the country the fraction of a per cent. more of a diminishing share in the world's carrying trade? Treasury conditions forbid the consideration of subsidies as a practical measure now and for some years to come; and existing political conditions, as well as the failure of Congress, during many years of alternating party domination, to pass a free-ship bill, are not encouraging to the supporters of such a measure at present, however desirable it be in principle.

If anything is to be done to encourage American shipping, men of widely different views, united, however, on the one point of the insufficiency of existing law, must be willing, at least for the time being, to hold in abeyance their preconceived notions of what *ought* to be done, and look toward what *can* be done. If there be any practical method in legislation by which more American vessels can be built and the American flag can be hoisted over more vessels engaged in the ocean carrying trade, to obtain those desirable results practical men may well afford to waive extreme views and unite upon middle ground, especially if there prove to be a precedent, which is reliably prophetic of benefit to all interests directly involved and to the general welfare.

The present is peculiarly a favorable time for the consideration of such a measure, if one can be found. The friends and opponents of the Wilson tariff bill agree that it will increase our international exchanges; and that increase surely may be taken as a propitious opportunity for the effort to obtain a larger share of the business and profit of ocean transportation. Again, our navy is now more widely scattered over the globe and our national emblem a more familiar sight in foreign ports than for many years. The encouragement which the flag, according to the familiar adage, affords to commerce, for the first time in a third of a century now exists. Still further, a measure of which it may be safely predicted that, in some degree at least, it will afford more employment for labor and capital, appeals with especial force to the American people under existing industrial conditions.

Such a measure fortunately lies close on the surface of recent statutes, needing no change in principle to bring about desirable results, and only such changes in detail as will give it general application, instead of application restricted virtually to one cor-

poration. The act of May 10, 1892, in effect admitted to American registry the two Atlantic liners, "Paris" and "New York," on condition that complete American ownership should be established, and that the American purchasers of those vessels should contract to build in American shipyards a tonnage equivalent to the tonnage of those two vessels, no American-built steamship so constructed to be of less than 7,000 tons burthen. The act also provided that vessels registered under it could be acquired by the government at a fair valuation, if needed as cruisers or transports in time of war. Other conditions were laid down in the act, but their sole effect, if not purpose, was to define two splendid steamships as specifically as if they had been called by name and to give the International Navigation Company a special privilege. This act passed the House of Representatives without division and passed the Senate on a unanimous report by the Committee on Commerce, presented by the Hon. William P. Frye, with few dissenting votes, and that dissent in the main appears from the *Record* to have been based upon objections to the bestowal of a special privilege rather than to the theory of compensating American shipyards with an equivalent in work for American purchases of foreign steamships.

The privilege bestowed by the act of May 10, 1892, has been wisely and beneficially used; so well used, in fact, as to suggest that if American shipowners and shipbuilders generally were permitted to avail themselves of the privilege it bestowed upon one corporation, our merchant marine would soon be augmented by the purchase and registry of desirable foreign-built vessels, while at the same time construction in our own shipyards would be stimulated.

What would be the probable immediate effects of an act of Congress in brief terms permitting any American citizen to purchase abroad, free of duty, a vessel of any description and of recent construction, and to obtain for it an American register, on the simple condition that before the issue of such register he shall give a bond to the United States, under suitable Treasury regulations, to build in American shipyards a vessel or vessels of equivalent tonnage and value? The answer to this question need not be speculative, for in a restricted field the question was put an the answer rendered by the act of 1892. That act has added two steamships, which have not half a dozen superiors afloat, to the American merchant marine, and the admission of the British-

built "New York" to American registry was made the occasion for jubilation on Washington's Birthday last year, to share in which President Harrison journeyed from Washington to New York. So far from diminishing the opportunities and rewards of American labor, that act has put on the stocks in the yards of Messrs. Cramp & Sons, of Philadelphia, two steamships, all of American design and material, to be launched this year, of which the American public, judging from the splendid work of construction done by the same firm for the American Navy, is warranted in having high hopes. And under the same act the purchase of more foreign steamships by the same corporation, and the construction of an equivalent tonnage in the American yards of the firm named, are contemplated or in progress.

But every American shipowner cannot command the capital to purchase vessels of 8,000 tons or upwards, capable of a continuous speed of twenty knots an hour across the Atlantic, nor has every American shipbuilder the facilities to construct a like class of vessels. The bulk of the carrying trade of the Atlantic and Pacific is not carried on in ocean greyhounds and doubtless never will be. If the principle, so successfully invoked in the case of the "New York" and the "Paris," is to be of general service to American shipowners and shipbuilders, it must not be restricted by conditions as to tonnage and speed which enable only those with the great capital commanded by the International Navigation Company and the Cramps to make use of it. Possibly as a tentative measure the act of 1892 was properly restricted; and certainly the corporation which secured the passage of the measure, and the shipbuilding firm which has developed it into a source of profitable employment for labor and capital, deserve credit. They have demonstrated that a more liberal policy toward shipping than that which was adopted in the early years of the republic as the price for the continued maintenance of the institution of slavery does not mean the closing of American shipyards. The experiment has now been made successfully. It has been shown that the admission of foreign-built vessels to American registry is possible with a simultaneous increase in American construction, and may even contribute to it. To stop with the act of 1892 without carrying it to its logical conclusion by giving it general application and enabling all to share in its benefits, is avowedly to stop short at the grant of a special privilege, to put

SOUTH END.

aside an opportunity to increase the tonnage of the American merchant-marine and the construction of vessels in American shipyards.

But the act of 1892 is not the only ground on which the admission to American registry of foreign-built vessels, under conditions, if necessary, is manifestly desirable. There is a curious anomaly in the navigation laws of the United States as they stand. If a foreign vessel be wrecked in American waters, and this wreck be repaired at three times its cost as a wreck by American purchasers, it is then entitled to American registry. The eagerness and persistence with which American shipowners and shipbuilders seek to avail themselves of this peculiar provision of the law throw a powerful sidelight on the use which would be made of such a general act as that suggested. Should a staunch vessel of the most recent and approved construction, built abroad, though owned by Americans, be forbidden to fly the American flag, even if its American owners be willing to expend the entire amount of its value as a new and sound vessel or more, in domestic construction? To the American shipowner the new vessel must be of greater value than the repaired wreck, and to the American shipbuilder original construction must be more profitable and more creditable than repair work; yet no possible chance to make use of this old law is neglected. The opportunities afforded by the proposed act, it is safe to predict, would be welcomed.

And if use is made of them, a simple act as outlined must contribute much to a final solution of the shipping question, so called, by giving American shipowners and shipbuilders precise *data* as to the relative first cost of home-built and foreign-built vessels, their relative efficiency, durability, cost of operation, and other factors which make up profit and loss in the carrying trade.

It must stimulate inventive ingenuity by putting side by side with American vessels under one ownership the newest and presumably the best vessels of foreign build of various classes and descriptions.

It must increase the opportunities for the employment of American labor on land and sea.

It must increase the activity of American shipyards by giving them the work of repairs on an increased tonnage of registered American shipping.

It must aid in the development of the industries in steel and iron and other materials, contributory to shipbuilding, now in progress under the stimulus of the rehabilitation of the American navy.

It must increase the share of the United States in the carrying trade of the world.

Finally, these results will be obtained without the objectionable application of public funds to the promotion of private enterprise, without the violation of any canon of equitable taxation, but solely through the methods employed every day by the business man who offsets a high-priced purchase of securities or land or goods with a lower priced purchase in the same lines, and finds his profit by striking an average of his purchases.

Doubtless the time is not many years distant when we shall build ships of iron or steel better and more cheaply than they can be built anywhere in the world, as our native forests enabled us to surpass all in the days of wooden vessels. The navigation laws of the United States will not hasten the dawn of that day, nor can they effectively retard it. But they can and do operate to deprive this generation of opportunities for national development, which the Fifty-second Congress saw and made limited use of when it admitted the "New York" and the "Paris" to American registry.

EUGENE TYLER CHAMBERLAIN.

THE OUTLOOK FOR WAR IN EUROPE.

BY ARCHIBALD FORBES.

THE editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW has paid me the compliment of desiring that I should place at the disposition of his readers my views and impressions in regard to this subject. It is a subject so full of intricacy and many-sidedness as to enforce on a serious writer a deep sense of diffidence in venturing to deal with it. Indeed, I should decline the requisition which has been made upon me were it not for one thing: for the recollection that I have studied the respective military characters of most of the nations of continental Europe under the truest test—that of the actual battlefield; and for another thing: that during the subsequent years of peace I have taken great pains to keep abreast of the colossal expansion and development in the armaments of the European nations. This species of personal equipment is, I am sensible, not strictly germane in the discussion of the specific theme allotted to me. It may constitute me something of a minor authority regarding the relative fighting merits of the nations when engaged in actual warfare, and the probable outcome of a gigantic European struggle if that should occur. If and when a great European war is clearly and inevitably imminent, the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW may honor me by desiring to have my impressions on the points referred to. What it calls for now is a contribution towards the problem, whether the present "bloated armaments" and prolonged military tension must inevitably result in a great war, and if that be assumed, when, according to the signs and tokens, and having regard to the strain of oppressive military preparation and the yet more oppressive strain of military preparedness, the outbreak of the tremendous conflict may be looked for.

Regarded superficially, looked at from the point of view of "the man in the street," it would seem that there is really no problem at all. The light-hearted outsider, and the continental citizen who writhes under the burden of taxation for military purposes, agree in the conviction that early war is inevitable. But, on the other hand, the responsible heads of affairs have to realize the certainty that, burdensome as is the existing armed peace, the resort to war would, in the nature of things, be infinitely more costly. Nor could any approximate estimate of that enhanced expense be made in advance, because of the indefiniteness of the war's duration. Yet the charges of a war might be endured—indeed, might be welcomed—if the war were the means to an end: that end being, when peace time should recur, a great and reasonably permanent reduction in military expenditure. But this is extremely improbable. Modern wars have the pestilential result of being invariably followed by greatly increased armaments. Thus the future is gloomier even than the present, and the national authorities may "rather bear the ills they have than fly to others that they know not of."

In his old age, Moltke wrote:

"Generally speaking, it is no longer the ambition of monarchs which endangers peace; but the impulses of a nation, its dissatisfaction with its internal conditions, the strife of parties and the intrigues of their leaders. The great wars of recent times have been declared against the wish and will of the reigning powers. To-day the question is not so much whether a nation is strong enough to make war, as whether its government is powerful enough to prevent war."

He had forgotten the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, made by Wilhelm and Bismarck right in the teeth of the Prussian nation's unmistakable manifestations of dislike. But he was right in regard to France in 1870, when the frantically excited nation whirled into war the reluctant Napoleon. And again he was strangely right regarding Russia in the winter of 1876–77, when Alexander II., absolute despot though he was, had his hand forced by the Pan-Slavist majority of a normally voiceless nation. But Moltke's dictum does not hold as concerns the present. Of the five principal nations of the continent which to-day stand armed to the teeth under the baleful shadow of obstinate militarism, there is but one that proclaims a burning ardor for war. This France has never ceased doing for more than twenty years. She cherished and professed a bitter rancor against England for

twice as long as that, and nothing came of it. But England had cut no provinces out of France's vitals ; and France's purpose of revenge against Germany is to-day more intense than it was when the crape still covered the face of the statue of Strasbourg in the Place de la Concorde. The Russian squadron which recently visited Toulon, and whose officers were fêted so lavishly at Paris, displayed an enthusiasm tempered with reserve on one important particular, an enthusiasm which unquestionably had a certain significance so far as it went. But the Russian people are destitute of any channel of expressing themselves as a nation, and the sporadic ebullitions of nihilism through the medium of dynamite do not entice to an investigation as to any popular opinion that may exist ; the outcome of the unique burst of Pan-Slavic fervor in 1876–77 was not of a character to stimulate a recrudescence of zeal in favor of a new crusade. So much for the national feeling in each of the two populations which now constitute what has now come to be called the "Dual Alliance."

Of the peoples which make up the "Triple Alliance," Germany as a nation evinces no ardent fervor for war, and she is grumbling louder and louder as the incubus of taxation waxes heavier. But the Teutons, nevertheless, have fine soldierly instincts, and when their Emperor gives the word, they will wheel into line with all the grand old discipline and promptitude. Austria-Hungary is a fascine of states and nationalities destitute of internal cohesion, and loosely bound together mainly by the universal popularity of the Emperor Francis Joseph. To use the metaphor of a well-known writer : "The sole centre of attraction which, powerless to fuse and unite, is content to keep the various peoples of the Austrian Empire in juxtaposition, is the dynasty working through the parliament." Its diversified races are mainly engrossed in somewhat disquieting internal questions, and disclose no evidences of an eagerness for war. But they are all of a lively soldierly temperament, and although they have almost invariably been curiously unfortunate in war, there are no finer troops than those which march under the banner of the Dual Monarchy. Italy is the weak vessel of the Triple Alliance. She has lived too fast during her short life of thirty-three years, and is now mournfully undergoing the sombre results of having freely burned the candle at both ends. Her membership of the Triple Alliance has cost her much more than she could rightly afford.

and unless she is subsidized by an opportune loan, she cannot but be within measurable distance of virtual bankruptcy. Impecuniosity so severe as to result in bankruptcy deteriorates a nation internally and externally, but bankruptcy has never hindered a nation from engaging in war to preserve its existence. At the beginning of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877, Turkey was in the deepest abyss of national bankruptcy, yet she held her own for six months in the field, and it was not financial exhaustion, but Skobeleff and Gourko, that brought about her collapse. Italy staggers under the burden of a national debt amounting to $2,550,000,000, and she has a floating debt of about $130,000,000 more; her revenue for the current year will not exceed $310,000,000, of which interest on the indebtedness absorbs one-half. The balance is quite inadequate to defray the national charges, and the naval and military efficiency of Italy is undergoing impairment. But in the frank language of Satan, in the book of Job: "Skin for skin; yea, all that a man hath will he give for his life"; and it is the same with a nation. Default in meeting the interest on her debt would furnish Italy with the wherewithal to meet her enemy in the gale—to become a powerful and efficient member of the Triple Alliance when the time should come for the great continental issues to be fought out. There is an impression which seems to have some foundation that some time ago Italy was swerving from her fidelity to the Triple Alliance. But if so, she was brought up with a round turn by Germany, and her present government is in firm adherence to the Alliance and in thorough accord with England as to Mediterranean questions.

Obscure and ominous as is the present situation in Europe, it has one redeeming characteristic—a comparative immunity from isolated surprises. On July 5, 1870, a British statesman, who certainly had claims to be well informed, affirmed publicly that the political horizon of Europe was without a cloud; on the 19th of July the French *chargé d'affaires* in Berlin delivered to Bismarck France's formal declaration of war against Prussia. The Europe of to-day need not live in apprehension of any such sudden and startling rupture of her existent and sombre quietude. No one of the five great powers has an independent individual freedom of action. Indeed, it may be said, in a sense, that there are no longer five, but only two great powers—the Dual Alliance, consisting of France and Russia, and the Triple Alliance, consisting of Ger-

many, Austria, and Italy. It follows that, instead of there being five possibilities of sudden war, there are only two—an offensive initiative taken by the Dual Alliance, or the same action taken by the Triple Alliance. I limit myself by designating these two latter possibilities simply as abstract possibilities, because I know of no means of actually ascertaining whether the respective alliances contemplate hostile action, or prefer to maintain indefinitely the arduous attitude of armed peace. But I believe myself justified in definitely specifying the length of time that must elapse before the stupendous conflict can begin, regarding the question from a reasonable military point of view.

Basing myself, then, on that view, I have the confident anticipation that the present year will elapse without echoing to the clash of arms; and I consider it very probable that 1895 will also pass without bloodshed between the two alliances. The after-future is inscrutable. The facts on which I found are condensed below.

1. The Triple Alliance.—Germany, its leading power, although for the last ten years the empire has been borrowing for "extraordinary purposes" about $42,500,000 annually with the resultant increment of taxation, is, as she has been for many years, ready for war to the minutest item and on the shortest notice. She is stronger to-day than ever before, by the added 70,000 men which the Army Act of last October sanctioned. Her army of twenty army corps consists now of 538 battalions and 173 half-battalions of infantry—the latter recently established for the training of reserve-formations and as depots in war time—465 squadrons of cavalry, and 494 batteries of artillery. A third division will be assigned to each army corps in war time, and the corps on the French and Russian frontiers are exceptionally strengthened in artillery and infantry. Germany is now superior to France in field artillery. By the reduction of color-service to two years, she will henceforth annually pass into the reserve half as many men again as were passed under the three-years service. Full ready in men and arms, she possesses in the Kriegs-Schatz, or war-treasure, a great hoard of money accumulated solely for meeting the earliest charges of a campaign. It was stout old Friedrich Wilhelm, father of Frederick the Great, who began this accumulation—"depositing the silver in barrels in the cellars of his schloss," and moulding more of it into

"chandeliers, mirror-frames, balustrades, and music-balconies." Before Fritz had ended the seven-years war, barrelled bullion and balustrades had gone into the melting-pot. But in time the Kriegs-Schatz was re-established; and I have heard that when the French milliards came in after 1870, the war-hoard amounted to $100,000,000. Strong as Germany is to-day—I have been writing mainly of her peace strength—she will continue steadily to increase in strength in the future, because of her constantly swelling population, now amounting to 49 millions. Meantime, while she whets her sword assiduously, she follows after the manner of the patriarch Asher by abiding in her breaches; and this the more wisely because, although the fact is often overlooked, the Austro-German treaty is simply defensive, or, properly speaking, rather non-aggressive, as against Russia. The attitude of Austria is in a general sense identical with that of Germany. The former, however, is less fully equipped for war; her army, I believe, is not yet supplied in its entirety with the magazine rifle. But Austria's principal weakness is, and always has been, in the lack of capacity in the higher commands—a defect which will continue while her armies and corps are commanded by archdukes and courtiers. Owing to the abuse of the practice of granting, for the sake of economy, "unlimited leave" to a great proportion of the troops of the "permanent army," and to the disproportionate numerical superiority of the two militias over the line troops, the army of Italy cannot be described as being in the highest condition of efficiency.

2. THE DUAL ALLIANCE.—To-day France is at the very apex of her military strength and preparedness. She had her fortunate escape from virtual destruction in 1875, when she so strenuously rushed the increase of her armaments that Moltke always held it a political crime that he was not then allowed to go in upon her and crush her outright. Thanks to the devoted patriotism and wonderful resources of the nation, the army of France has grown in strength and efficiency by leaps and bounds, until in 1889 the system of universal service was actually pushed to its logical conclusion, and since then, with a minimum of exemption, every man fit for service and of proper age has been taken into training. Although rendered by this rigorous measure actually stronger than Germany, France in her isolation has refrained from trying issues with a state possessed of allies; and she remained biting the file

until her recent *rapprochement* with Russia. Whether there now exists between the great empire and the great republic, between the extremes of absolutism and of democracy, a firm and specific alliance, offensive and defensive, or whether the relation is merely something between an understanding and a pledge, is not revealed unto us. Of the Tsar's recent visitors to France, amidst the gushing reciprocation of affection the watchword was always "Peace! Peace!" whereat the Frenchman blandly smiled and murmured *sotto voce*, "Hey for the recapture of Alsace!" I do not think it is too much to say of France that, whether because of satisfactory assurances or cherishing the wish that is father to the thought, ever since the Toulon effusiveness she is content to subordinate her own initiative and to watch with all eyes for any signals that may come across the continent from St. Petersburg. She may well pray that if these are to come at all, they may not be long delayed. It is true that she may be rich enough to support the prolonged strain of rigorous universal service. But in contrast with the elasticity of Germany, resulting from a larger and more prolific population, France can add nothing to her present military strength, because of the non-increase, and indeed threatened decrease, of her population.

Russia is the bogey of Europe. The annual spring scare, which for the last five years the newspapers and the busybodies have punctually tried to galvanize, uniformly concerns itself with Russian designs of imminent aggressiveness. A twelvemonth ago, I remember, a clever American gentleman, Mr. Poultney Bigelow, devoted himself in a London weekly newspaper to the effort of fluttering the bourses and messrooms of the Continent, by adducing a multiplicity of data which he held to be convincing evidence that, to quote his own words: "Russia is on the eve of enterprises which, if successful, will give to Europe, not merely one, but a dozen Polands." Mr. Bigelow had picked up a good deal of information about Russian military movements, but he did not quite understand that, in the sapient phrase of Captain Cuttle, "The bearings of an observation lays in the application on it." It is perfectly true that of Russia's twenty army corps plus three independent infantry divisions, four independent cavalry divisions, and thirteen rifle brigades, there are to-day in Russia literally no troops of the active regular army, apart from the local army corps of the Caucasus, east of a line roughly drawn from

Archangel in the north to Taganrog in the south. The concentration of Russian troops toward the western frontier Mr. Bigelow averred to have been in progress with more or less energy ever since the Triple Alliance was called into being. That alliance was definitely formed in the spring of 1883. But, as a matter of fact, this westward trend of the Russian army had begun long before that date. Its inception was the outcome, and the legitimate outcome, of Sadowa and of Prussia's sudden advance into the first rank of military powers in the startling campaign of 1866. In the movement there was no shadow or suggestion of menace, at all events up to the dissolution of the *Drei Kaiser-Bund* in 1878, although later, it is true, events might have seemed to impart to it something of that complexion. But Russia was certainly within her clear right—nay, it was her clear duty to herself—to enter upon and persevere with the movement of her forces toward her western frontier, which is her strategic frontier, and on which, therefore, lies her chief vulnerability. The movement has no doubt progressed in recent years with greater vigor than previously. Unquestionable as are the potential military advantages of the western concentration, its drawbacks are extremely serious. Were each division to remain on its own recruiting-ground, the process of mobilization—of calling out its reserves to raise it from the peace strength to the war strength—would be easy. But then the delay would present itself involved in moving the mobilized force toward the frontier over long distances by sparse railroads, unequipped with a sufficiency of rolling stock and of expert hands to work the lines up to their full power. So a compromise is had recourse to. The expense is incurred of maintaining the field army in its westward positions, not in its economical peace strength, but midway between that and the full war strength. For example, the peace strength of a battalion, exclusive of officers, is 400 men, its war strength 1,000; the "increased peace strength" at which is maintained the bulk of the battalions of the field army, is 600 men per battalion, or six-tenths of the war strength. But on the outbreak of war, mobilization—*i. e.*, the work of bringing the army up to its war strength—involves the delay in bringing up to the front the reserves from their homes in the distant interior. During this mobilization period, which is computed to last for two and one-half months, the Russian army on the Polish frontier would no doubt confine itself

to the defensive, and while awaiting its reserves would probably harbor in the great pentagon formed by the fortresses of Warsaw, Novo-Georgiewsk, Brest-Litowski, Bialystok, and Ivanograd. Formal declarations of war are now out of fashion, and the commencement of mobilization on Russia's part, ascertained by alert spies, would doubtless be regarded by Germany and Austria as full justification for utilizing their condition of comparative readiness to take the offensive.

Russia makes ends meet, at all events on paper. She expends large sums in the construction of harbors and railroads, mostly for strategic rather than industrial purposes. Her foreign indebtedness is diminishing by the automatic action of the faithfully maintained sinking-funds. Her Finance Minister has just announced that the treasury has funds to meet "any considerable disbursement during the year, and that there is not the slightest necessity for incurring any fresh loan." It is a significant fact that she has accumulated a fund of twenty million dollars in gold to meet the disbursements of her army operating on foreign soil, where her paper currency would not find acceptation. The armed strength of Russia has attained unprecedented proportions. It would not be a Russian army if it were not a good deal stronger on paper than in the field. Since the Armageddon on the plains of Leipsic in 1814 Russian troops have encountered only Turks and barbarians. They have been by no means uniformly successful against the latter, and the former once and again sent the Russian masses staggering backward in the campaign of 1877–78. Than the Russian soldier there is no braver or clumsier man. Napoleon said of him that it was not enough to kill him—you had to knock him down afterwards. The regimental officers are recklessly brave, perfectly frivolous, amusingly ignorant of their profession, and dissatisfied with life without alcohol, preferably in the form of champagne. The superior commanders, except in the Guards, are for the most part neither able, zealous, nor methodical. Skobeleff in his untimely grave, and Gourko on his death-bed, one searches in vain for military genius, save in the rugged and truculent Kuropatkin, now, I believe, Chief of the General Staff. From the commander-in-chief to the corporal the Russian Army is unspeakably corrupt; the offence of fraud and dishonesty is as rank and ripe to-day as when seventeen years ago the Grand Duke Nicholas, his knavish old

chief-of-staff, and the Greger-Horowitch Commissariat Contracting Company formed a cheerful ring and plundered their millions.

The situation is strange, lurid, and in a sense humiliating. Armed Europe waits upon the ultimate mandate of one man. "The heaven for height," says Solomon, "the earth for depth, and the heart of kings is unsearchable." Tsar Alexander III. has two ruling emotions—a horror of war, and a hatred of Germany. The problem is, Which passion in him shall conquer the other? Trammelled by no parliament, influenced neither by responsible ministers nor by personal favorites, the big, lonely despot is wrestling out that problem single-handed. It is an awful position. There is no real public opinion in Russia whose voice might sway the autocrat; he must fight out his own battle with himself. Probably no solution would better please him individually than a general disarmament, but that is hopeless. We must leave him to his wrestlings with himself; meanwhile, at all events, there is a period of reasonably assured respite. Russia is never quite ready, and the millennium will probably surprise her in her chronic attitude of unreadiness. At present she is swapping, not horses, but rifles. A year ago there was not a magazine rifle in the Russian army, and the great majority of her soldiers are still armed with the improved "Berdan," a very inferior weapon both to the German and the Austrian rifle. But Russia retains still the warning memory of her fearful losses before Plevna from the "Remingtons" which America placed in the hands of the Turks, and with which her obsolete "Krenkes" could not cope. After much tedious experimenting, a year ago a definite selection was made of a weapon known as the "three-line rifle," and the production and issue of this firearm are being pushed forward with great energy. But you cannot order in two and a half million rifles as you can a bundle of toothpicks. I believe that about a third of the requisite quantity is now delivered. It is absolutely impossible that the equipment can be completed and the troops trained to the use of the new weapon within the present year; it seems extremely improbable that this result can be attained before the spring of 1896. The opportunity for war—I do not say the certainty of war—will come when Russia shall have completed the equipment of her hosts with the "three-line" rifle.

Finally, one thing is certain: if the conflict comes, it will be

a struggle to the death. The *vae victis* will be overwhelming, for the nations which shall be vanquished must reckon on suffering dismemberment. The map of Europe will be transformed out of recognition. If the Triple Alliance conquers, there will be no longer a French nation, and Russia will be reft of all territory west of the Dnieper, and of the Baltic Provinces as well. In the contrary result, Italy will be the washpot of France, and over Germany will Russia cast her shoe.

ARCHD. FORBES.

N. B.—The following statistics, which I have carefully compiled from the most recent and trustworthy authorities, can be relied on as approximately accurate, and may be found of service by the readers of the foregoing article:

	Officers and men.	Horses.	Guns.
DUAL ALLIANCE. Peace strength. Russia	1,033,661	150,000	2,200
France	538,738	122,000	2,810
Total	1,572,399	272,000	5,010
TRIPLE ALLIANCE. Peace strength. Germany	593,550	120,000	2,964
Austria	319,235	65,500	1,000
Italy	238,000	52,000	860
Total	1,150,785	237,500	4,824
DUAL ALLIANCE. War strength. Russia	2,411,105	463,000	5,200
France	2,715,600	800,000	4,500
Total	5,126,705	1,263,000	9,700
TRIPLE ALLIANCE. War strength. Germany	2,440,000	562,150	4,430
Austria	1,590,000	292,000	2,140
Italy	1,253,200	134,000	1,620
Total	5,287,200	988,150	8,190
DUAL ALLIANCE. Total peace strength	1,572,399	272,000	5,010
TRIPLE ALLIANCE. Total peace strength	1,150,785	237,500	4,824
In favor of Dual Alliance, peace strength	421,614	34,500	186
DUAL ALLIANCE. Total war strength	5,126,705	1,263,000	9,700
TRIPLE ALLIANCE. Total war strength	5,287,200	988,150	8,190
	160,495	274,850	1,510
War strength Triple Alliance infantry superior to Dual by 160,495 men. Number of horses inferior to Dual by 274,850; guns ditto by 1,510.			
Total forces available by both alliances in war, field troops only	10,413,905	2,241,150	17,890
Gross population of both alliances, 272,569,462.			

A. F.

NATURAL MONOPOLIES AND THE WORKINGMAN.

A PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL REFORM.

BY RICHARD T. ELY, DIRECTOR OF SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

THERE are various undertakings which are monopolies by virtue of their own inherent properties. Recent discussions have made these businesses well known. They are railways, telegraphs, telephones, canals, irrigation works, harbors, gasworks, street-car lines, and the like. Experience and deductive argument alike show that in businesses of this kind there can be no competition, and that all appearances which resemble competition are simply temporary and illusory.

It will be observed that these undertakings are nearly all of them comparatively new. They are an industrial field which has recently been opened. They are a non-competitive class of industries super-imposed upon the world of competitive industries, viz., agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. They have nearly all come into existence in the present century, and their growth has been so marvellous that they now represent a large proportion of all the wealth of the civilized world. It has even been claimed that railways alone in the United States comprise one-fifth of the entire wealth of the country. This is doubtless an exaggerated estimate, but it is probably an under-estimate to claim that all these businesses represent one-fourth part of the entire wealth of our industrial civilization. Moreover, their nature is such that every other kind of business is either directly or indirectly dependent upon them. Their significance becomes at once manifest. The manner in which they are managed must affect very materially the entire population, and in particular the wage-earner.

The policy which in the United States has heretofore been pursued with respect to these businesses has been to turn them over to private corporations and to encourage attempts at competition. There are exceptions which prove the rule. The post-office has from the start been a government undertaking, and, in the East, water-works have generally belonged to cities. A few cities have owned gasworks, and there may be some two hundred cities in the United States owning electric-lighting plants.

The results of the policy are now clearly manifest. First, we observe vast waste. As these businesses are non-competitive, every attempt to force competition upon them means a waste of a great amount of labor and capital. One railway manager claims that if the railways of the country were operated as a unit, the saving would be $200,000,000 per annum. This may be an exaggerated estimate, but the waste is enormous; and when we begin to estimate what it has been in the past in railways alone in the United States, we at once run up into the hundreds of millions. Every one of the businesses named has its enormous waste to show. A single city like Baltimore has easily wasted $10,000,000 in attempted competition in the gas business. The telegraph business in this country and in England furnishes a good illustration of waste through false policy.

A second result of the policy advocated, which now appears plainly, is the enormous and unprecedented inequality in fortunes in the United States. A large proportion of our mammoth fortunes can be traced to this false policy. Had the post-office been private property, we would have had a still larger number of multi-millionaires who would have absorbed a large proportion of the benefits of improvement in that business, the advantages of which have, through public management, accrued to the people at large. Wherever railways have been from the beginning public property, we notice the absence of the so-called "railway magnate." Political sages, like Aristotle, have in all ages told us that excessive inequality of fortune is a social danger, and especially so in a republic.

A third result of the policy mentioned is a growth of artificial monopolies. Businesses which are not in themselves natural monopolies, have, through favoritism shown by railways and other natural monopolies, themselves become monopolies. Perhaps no better illustration on a small scale could be offered than that which

may be seen in Chicago in the transportation of baggage and passengers from one railway station to another. It costs now fifty cents to ride from one railway station to another in the only omnibus line whose agents have access to passengers; whereas, if the business were not an artificial monopoly, omnibuses would take passengers from one station to another for ten cents, if not for five. The way these natural monopolies under private management foster artificial monopolies can be seen even in small things, as when an employee of a railway unlawfully drives newsboys from the sidewalk in front of the railway station, in order that the news agent in the station may be secure in his monopoly.

A fourth result is seen in the dependence of the rest of the community upon those who furnish services or commodities of the kind which fall under the designation, "natural monopoly." As these services and commodities are indispensable, those who furnish them can too often dictate their own terms. Residents of cities frequently have to pay street-car companies to make extensions which would be profitable to the street-car companies, without any bonus. The people of the United States were dependent upon railway managers for cheap fares to the World's Fair at Chicago, which cost so many millions of dollars. In so far as the railway managers thought low fares meant increased net earnings, they were reluctantly granted; not otherwise, no, not even as a matter of grace. The people have built many of these railways in subsidies and land grants, but they had not on that account any effective rights with respect to rates. Their relation is one of dependence, and the railways exercise such paternalism as they see fit, the people having abandoned the principle of self-help in railway management. Farmers are dependent on railways to enable them to market their own products and, on the other hand, to bring them their supplies. Workingmen by the hundred thousand are dependent upon these monopolies for wages.

A change of policy with respect to businesses of the kind mentioned is advocated. It is laid down as a general principle that non-competitive businesses should be owned and managed by the government, either national, State, or local, and that competitive businesses are the domain of private industry. As it is not a question, with respect to the business mentioned, whether we will have competition or not, but only a question whether we shall have private or public monopoly, public monopoly is preferred to

irresponsible private monopoly. The history of the world teaches us that private monopoly is a menace to the public. Men are not good enough to be intrusted with such a despotism as that which monopoly confers.

One of the principal aims in industrial reform must be the elimination of unearned incomes, or rather their reduction to a minimum and a nearer approximation than at present to equality in opportunities. This general aim is in harmony with the clearly expressed views of the founders of this republic, and any effort to carry it out is pre-eminently American, while opposition to the aim is essentially un-American. In the time of our forefathers privileges were largely political. Now the most serious special privileges are economic in nature, but in so far as they discerned special economic privileges, the founders of the republic endeavored to overthrow them.

The change in policy advocated with respect to natural monopolies would go a long way towards the abolition of special economic privileges. The receipt of unearned income is a general expression which covers nearly, if not quite, all peculiar economic privileges, for economic privilege means the opportunity to gain excessive returns. Another term for unearned income is economic surplus, and it is found everywhere in modern society and is the source of a large proportion of all vast fortunes. A recent careful investigation traces over three-fourths of the great fortunes of the country to monopolies of one sort or another. Perhaps two illustrations may make clearer what is meant by "unearned income." Suppose I buy a lot in a city and, without putting any labor upon it, sell it at the expiration of a period for twice what it cost me. The difference between what I paid and what I receive is unearned income, or economic surplus—something over and above the returns to labor and capital. Another illustration is afforded by a street-car company with which the writer is familiar. The dividends are about 17 per cent. on capital actually invested, while bonds of the street-car company, bearing five per cent. interest, sell at about 110. This would seem to show that five per cent. is the normal return for capital invested in street railways in the city where this street-car company is located ; but even if we would admit that six per cent. is a normal return on the stock, we still have an excess of eleven per cent. Now, this eleven per cent. is not returned to

labor, for wages and salaries have already been paid; and it is not return to capital, for abundant capital can be found which would be content with six per cent. It is then an economic surplus—something over and above returns to labor and capital. Those industrial classes which receive this surplus are privileged classes: they are favored above others.

When it is said that there is such a thing as unearned income, it is meant individually unearned; that is, unearned by him who receives it. Of course, no one enjoys any income for which some one does not toil, and the individually unearned income is socially earned.

A further aim which, it is claimed, the reform advocated would promote is the elevation and purification of public life. The greater proportion of corruption in public life is connected directly or indirectly with natural monopolies. It is absolutely necessary that some control should be exercised over these, but those in charge of these monopolies attempt to escape this control. Sometimes they are unjustly attacked by legislatures, and they use bribery and corruption to defend themselves against injustice; and sometimes they use bribery and corruption to ward off legitimate regulation. Aggression sometimes proceeds from the one source, and sometimes proceeds from the other, but the result is that we have become involved in a vicious circle of corruption proceeding from monopolistic undertakings.

Government ownership and administration of these businesses would tend to the simplification, and therefore to the improvement, of government. Private ownership necessitates endless legislation; and if all laws on our statute-books which have been placed there by such ownership should be removed, the lawbooks of the country would begin to look comparatively lean. How brief and simple is the legislation concerned with our post-office compared with that which deals with railways, for example! Then how largely is litigation connected with private ownership! Remove all litigation peculiar to private ownership and management of monopolies, and the courts would not be so far behind in their cases. Another misfortune is that so large a proportion of the talent of the country is absorbed by private enterprises. Public life does not offer corresponding inducements to capacity.

These are general grounds for the change from private to public ownership, and the workingman is affected, inasmuch as

he belongs to the social body. But we must consider the subject in its more immediate relations to the workingman. It is important to show that this is a reform to which he should direct his attention, rather than to many others which now absorb an undue proportion of his energies.

We are speaking of the wage-earner—the receiver of wages. The monopolist is not likely to be a good employer of labor. His power is so great, and that of a single wage-earner so small in comparison, that the former is exposed to the danger of becoming an arbitrary and arrogant employer. Even when the employees of monopolists unite in labor organizations, their power is not great enough so that they can enter upon labor contracts upon an equal footing with their employers. The outcome of recent railway strikes in the United States demonstrates this sufficiently.

It has been held by some that it should be made a penal offense for those who are employed by railway corporations and other corporations of the kind with which we are dealing, to strike, because the interests of the general public are involved. There can be no question that the general public is concerned, for the services rendered by undertakings of the class called "natural monopolies" are necessities in the modern business world. But, if these wage-earners—the most important and numerous group of wage-earners in the country—cannot resist oppression and injustice in the only way in which resistance is effective, namely, by strong combination and united action, then they are virtually reduced to slavery. The only way out of the dilemma is government ownership. If government is the employer, then the employed have representation in the controlling body ample to protect their interests. It is perfectly legitimate for the people to say: "As we guarantee to you equitable treatment and fair wages, we insist that you shall serve the public faithfully like soldiers. This is only a just return for what you receive."

It is claimed that the policy advocated would tend to steadiness of industrial development. At present, times of great prosperity are followed by times of stagnation, and during the latter hundreds of thousands and even millions seek labor in vain. Government could make far-reaching plans for the development of those industries which we call natural monopolies,

and execute them regularly. A large industrial field for government as well as for private enterprise gives a certain balance to the whole industrial life which must otherwise be wanting. It is to be noticed, also, that a time which is unfavorable for private industry is often a time most favorable for the public undertakings, because labor is cheap and capital also, as a rule. Moreover, government credit does not break down as does that of the vast private corporations with which we are dealing. Reflect upon the great railway corporations which have recently gone into the hands of receivers in the United States! It is unquestionable that enterprises of the sort which we have been considering have, in their failure, had not a little to do with the present crisis.

We may look at crises and consequent industrial depressions from a different point of view. What does stagnation in business mean but absence of exchange? The wheat-grower in Iowa wants shoes, and the shoemaker in Massachusetts wants wheat, but they are not able to supply each other's demands, and both suffer. Now, cheaper and better transportation would facilitate exchanges and thus tend to promote general and continuous prosperity.

The private monopolist fails conspicuously in protection to life and limb, whereas government in this respect manifests decided superiority. Government is peculiarly sensitive in regard to human life. If a government building collapses and destroys a number of human lives, we are astonished and indignant, and those in any way responsible for the disaster are placed in a most unfortunate position; but we take it as a matter of course that railways should every day in the year destroy human life needlessly. In proportion to the number travelling, there are thirteen times as many accidents in the United States as in Germany, where government ownership of railways obtains, and six or seven times as many accidents to employees in proportion to the total number. And no wonder! The first thing which attracts attention in Germany is the careful protection to to life and limb. Accidents of daily occurrence in Chicago are an impossibility in Berlin, a city of equal size. Contrast the efforts of the United States to save life as seen in our truly admirable life-saving service on our coasts with the conduct of those railway presidents who rush to Washington and to our State

capitals to prevent the passage of laws to compel the railways to use well-known and approved safety appliances!

It is claimed that there is greater freedom in the service of government than in the service of the vast corporations which manage natural monopolies. And the freedom of the employed may be still further increased by better civil-service regulations. The nobility of public service is of importance to the wage-earner of every grade. The uniform of government is an honor, while the livery of private service is considered a badge of inferiority. It is public service which has developed the great leaders of our civilization. Private service could never give us a Washington or a Lincoln. Government ownership implies use for general social purposes, and not merely exploitation for dividends.

In determining railway fares under government ownership, the question has to be asked, not merely, What will be the net financial returns? but, What will be the total social effect? Recently, what is called the "zone system" has been introduced in Berlin and vicinity, to encourage a decentralization of population. Without attempting to describe the zone system, it may be said that it implies a reduction of railway fares.* It was not merely necessary to ask whether the reduction in fares would yield large net returns, but whether the result would be beneficial, because the railways were public property. It has been found desirable in some instances even to sacrifice a pecuniary return for social advantage of a different sort, which far more than counterbalances the sacrifice in money.

In Australia, with a similar view, school children are carried free on the state railways. Under municipal ownership of street-car lines, the weary workingwoman can receive consideration, and the difference between a three-cent and a five-cent fare need not be considered merely in the light of dividends. The price of gas, electric lights, etc., can, under such ownership, be similarly regarded from a broad social standpoint.

If what Macaulay says is true, and "of all inventions, the alphabet and printing-press alone excepted, those inventions which abridge space have done the most for civilization," then we must favor an administration of railways, telegraphs, etc.,

* Even at the time, it should be remembered, workingmen's trains were running, on which the fare was only two-thirds of a cent a mile.

which aims to place them most fully at the service of the public, making social welfare the chief consideration.

Certain minor reforms would also be accomplished by this socialization of natural monopolies, and one of these is the possibility which it would afford of establishing postal savings banks. The purchase of the railways would involve large issues of government bonds, and these bonds would serve as a basis for postal savings banks. Postal savings banks would in turn furnish an opportunity for the safe investment of money, and would do more than anything to encourage saving on the part of the wage-earner. Experience in England and other countries has shown that no private banks furnish so great an incentive to thrift.

This is a practicable reform. The purchase of the railways would give the property far greater value than the government bonds issued to pay for them, because the consolidation of the railways would at once increase enormously their value. The increase in value would be equal to the saving capitalized, and if we reduce the estimate of $200,000,000 per annum by one-half, we will still have a capitalized gain of $2,500,000,000, even if we capitalize the same at four per cent. We have a further saving which results from the superior credit of government, for this superiority would lead to a vast reduction in interest charges whenever the bonds could be refunded.

The mode of accomplishment, of course, is something which requires very careful consideration; but only a few suggestions can be thrown out at present. One of the most important is that a fair, but never an excessive, value should be paid for the property acquired, and a fair value does not mean simply the cost of duplication of a plant. The policy which has been pursued has been favored by the nation as a whole; and the nation as a whole, and not simply a fractional part of it, should bear the loss. It is largely competition which has led to such enormous expenditures in this non-competitive field, and for this attempted competition the public at large is responsible. If it is insisted that a property should be purchased at the cost of duplication, it makes one part of the community bear the loss due to a false social policy; and, moreover, to urge a hard policy with respect to purchase does more than anything else can to defeat the reform. Of course it arouses against it all those who are interested in these enterprises, and they constitute a large and a very influential

proportion of the entire community. Not only do they feel their interests attacked, but they are themselves embittered by a feeling of injustice. If it is needed to raise money to carry out the reform, it is suggested that the fairest way to do this is by means of a well-defined system of inheritance taxes, for such taxes diffuse the burden of the change among the community in proportion to ability to bear it.

The importance of civil-service reform in this connection cannot be too strongly emphasized. The reform itself must necessarily bring with it civil-service reform, but at the same time every improvement in the civil service tends to remove current objections to the change. The wage-earners, so greatly interested in these enterprises, will want for their management the most capable men in the country. Is it rational for the general public to desire inferior service?

It would be interesting, were there space, to treat of the relation between socialization of natural monopolies and other reforms. The relation of land reform and the ownership and exploitation of mines in particular would be interesting. But for lack of space it is necessary to pass over these.

To the anti-socialist it may be said that what is advocated is not socialism, but something far from it. A policy which leaves to private enterprise agriculture, manufactures, and commerce is something quite different from a policy which leaves no field for private industry. To the socialist it can be said: "Let us try this reform first. You want this, and so do we. Here is a point of union." To the wage-earner it can be said: "The change proposed is not one which holds out extravagant hope, but it does give a prospect of gradual and steady improvement and is a preparation for other steps forward. Will you not put aside bitterness and contention and unite in measures which tend gradually to bring about the socialization of natural monopolies? Maintain friendly relations, so far as in you lies, with all men. Cultivate peace, patience, and long-suffering. Make haste slowly and secure each step forward. Attend to your individual duties while working for social measures. Put aside envy and jealousy and be willing to learn even from your enemies. While allowing nothing to turn you aside from your purposes, follow these purposes 'with malice towards none and charity for all.'"

RICHARD T. ELY.

VILLAGE LIFE IN ENGLAND.

BY THE RIGHT HON. SUSAN, COUNTESS OF MALMESBURY.

LIVING the greater part of the year in English villages, as I have done from my earliest childhood, the daughter of one and the wife of another landed proprietor, I have doubtless seen the pleasantest side of the question, which has lately been agitating public opinion in England and has deprived many excellent and well-meaning—if weary-headed—men of their Christmas holidays, to say nothing of injuring their constitutions by too close a confinement to the heated and exhausted air of the House of Commons. But neither the admirable sentiments of these gentlemen nor their perhaps somewhat less admirable devotion to party exigencies, has so far resulted in anything but the saddest waste of their precious time, and in a cumbrous bill, the working of which no one can foresee and which is calculated to do a great deal of mischief whether it accomplishes any good or not. No legislation can ever change the real nature of the English laboring class. All that can be done is to change their circumstances, and it is most curious to compare their present position with that which Cobbett, the grammarian and friend of Tom Paine, describes in his *Rural Rides*. In his days the rural population was as differently situated from what it now is, as that same period differs from the times of serfdom, when the smallest offences were punished with mutilation and death. It is a good lesson in the steady progress of civilization in England to read the opinions which were the cause of Cobbett's exile to America, and many of which might now be held by any Tory-Democrat among us without reproach.

Even within my own recollection, the spread of education, and the high standard of attainments required of national schools by the school board, have had an immense influence—and that

not altogether for good—on the rural laborer. It is, I believe, physiologically certain that the present inferiority of skilled workmen is due, in a great measure, to the fact that they are detained in the national schools beyond the time when they ought to have already begun to learn their trade, before they have lost that elasticity of the brain which enables it to develop freely more in one direction than another under the influence of the daily exercise of a special set of muscles. Thus, and thus only, can the real handicraftsman be made; and if you keep a child up to the age of thirteen entirely at his lessons, precious time has been lost which he can never wholly regain. In addition to this, it is certain that in country villages—and no doubt in towns, too—children are pushed beyond their powers of learning. Underfed and thinly clad, they have not stamina to support labor which it would be hard for a seasoned brain to endure. I remember visiting one day a poor woman about one o'clock, the usual dinner-hour among the poor. My own meal was at two, and I thoughtlessly stayed on talking to her until one of her children, home from school, and who had been hovering anxiously about, at last could stand it no more, and hiding his face in her apron, burst into tears: "Mother, my bit of bread!" That was all he had to work upon from 9 A. M. till 12, and again for several hours of steady work in the afternoon. I was going home to a meal of several courses, most of which I should probably leave on my plate if they were not cooked entirely to my satisfaction.

Many poor women have complained to me of the over-wrought condition of their little children; how they wake up feverish in the night, crying that they are unable to learn their lessons. On the other hand, it would be difficult now to find any one under thirty unable to read or write; but in the year 1887 a curious event took place, in my own parish, in a remote part of Somersetshire, which proved to be an exception to this general rule. I was at this time called from my new home in Hampshire to attend the funeral of a friend in Somerset, where I had spent my girlhood. In spite of my distress I noticed that the parish clerk, who was leading the responses at the side of the open grave in the little churchyard amongst the Quantock Hills, had a very odd voice. The sad ceremony over, I turned to see what could be the matter with this man, who used to be my combined terror and

admiration as a child—and behold! it was a woman. In the whole parish there had not been found one man who could both read and *raise*, as it is called, the bell, two absolutely imperative duties for a parish clerk. My old friend had, therefore, appointed his daughter to officiate, being himself crippled with rheumatism, and this, in spite of opposition, it was found he had a legal right to do. The new parish clerk was a pretty, prim little woman in a plain black dress and a neat white tie, as like her father's as she could possibly make it.

This little village was then, and is still, the home of many superstitions disregarded elsewhere. I remember well the parish witch, whose life would several times have been sacrificed had it not been for my father's constant protection. Everything that went wrong was attributed to her. If cattle fell ill, she had "overlooked" them; if the farmer fell out of his gig after too convivial a market day, she had "ill-wished" him. There was nothing, from the birth of a new baby to the crowing of an old hen, that that unfortunate woman had not had a hand in. Finally one night the cottage in which she lived was fired and burnt to the ground, she herself escaping unhurt, while her daughter was crippled for life. I need not say that those who formerly had only "misdoubted" her were now absolutely certain that she had a good friend down below, and from that time they dared not openly attack her again. I used often to sit with the poor old woman and read the Bible to her, but I suspect she sometimes found it useful to keep up her reputation as a past-mistress in the black art.

"Wise women" play a great part in village life, "stroking" and "saying a prayer" being part of their method of healing. Many a man has solemnly assured me that he has been completely cured by the wise woman who passes her hand two or three times over the affected part and mutters a few sentences. These are admitted to be "good" words, and she has nothing to say to the devil. It is certainly strange that workingmen, to whom idleness means starvation, and who can be treated free of cost by the parish doctor, should prefer to pay the wise woman for her services if she does not really relieve them.

I never knew until years after I had left my early home, that I had myself established a reputation in this direction. It came to pass in this way. My father, being tender-hearted about the

sufferings of animals, undertook to teach his men not to kill the harmless glowworm, which is so like a snake, and which too often pays for that mischance with its life, whenever it is foolish enough to allow itself to be caught napping in the sun. He therefore took one of these creatures and gave it to me, saying to his men : "Do you think I would put a venomous reptile into my daughter's hand ?" No reply was made, but years after one of these same men asked me whether I would teach him the prayer I must have said that day over the snake to kill its poison !

It is sad to think that most of the old English customs are fast disappearing. Village fairs, once held in almost every village in the southern counties, are now hardly ever heard of. Only in the north the larger horse fairs flourish as much as ever. Formerly the fairs held in the village I have mentioned, and many other surrounding spots, were the excuse for the whole neighborhood to turn out in their best clothes. Booths and merry-go-rounds were set up on the green, and there were dancing and fun till a late hour in the night. Increased means of access to the county town, by better roads and easier vehicles, has spoiled these country outings, where now no business can be done.

Life in most villages is carried on under much the same conditions. There is a squire or principal landowner, of greater or less degree. He lives in a "court," "manor," "castle," or "hall," according to his ancient family and state or modern acquisition of wealth. The farmers round about are his tenants, and he and they employ the inhabitants of the village. In one such as I describe, poverty—real poverty—is, so to speak, unknown, although the pinch of need is sometimes felt. Still, when sickness and trouble come upon the laborer, his employer, the squire, will always hold out a helping hand to tide him over a bad place. Public opinion would be very much against him if he did not ; and I cannot call to mind any case where a laborer has been allowed to starve or go to the workhouse when he had faithfully served his master for a number of years.

A farmer cannot, of course, afford to give his men the same wages as his landlord, and it is here that want and suffering come in, particularly since bad times have overtaken the agricultural population. Farmers give from eight to twelve shillings a week in the southern and more than that in the northern counties, but they will sometimes discharge their men in the winter or put

them on half-pay. How, then, can a man with his wife and children live? One shudders to think on what they keep body and soul together. This lasts for a time, and then the workhouse or starvation stares them in the face. Still the farmers' wives must drive a pony carriage and wear a sealskin, while their daughters are too fine to milk the cows and churn the butter, as their grandmothers did, but instead sit and play on a jangling piano. Therefore, naturally their dependents suffer, and "farming does not pay."

The parson is a very important factor in the parish, and much depends upon his tact and management of the resources of the place. He is naturally at the head of the village temperance club, which is open to workingmen during all the winter months, and the various charities are under his superintendence. There are in this, as in all other professions, men who do their duty, and men who do not; and this must always occur under a system where everything depends on the individual. The Church of England has, no doubt, of late years, roused itself and turned out good and active men who give up their lives and work hard in a profession where prizes are few and poverty the rule, but dissent has a strong hold on the rural mind, and the emotional services in chapel are too often more attractive than the parson's plain-sailing discourses on your duty to your neighbor. Vivid descriptions of himself and his friends in the flames of eternal perdition are fearful joy to the laboring man, and his parish church is mostly rather empty. Still, when he comes to be married or buried, "parson" is the man applied to.

Among the other inhabitants of the village there is always the blacksmith, the carpenter, both of them well-to-do unless they drink; and the village postmistress, the dispenser, as the legend outside her door will inform you, of "tea, coffee, tobacco, and snuff." She also drives a brisk trade in groceries, which she sells at famine prices to the poor, excusing herself for this proceeding by the number of bad debts among her customers and the long credit she is obliged to give to families out of work. The net result, however, is that in a few years she mostly makes a tidy little fortune.

The ordinary squire employs, let us say, from half a dozen to a dozen men as gardeners, woodmen, and underkeepers, and he has, of course, his head keepers and head gardeners. These latter

are naturally paid on a different scale to the others, have superior houses, allowances, and perquisites of their own, while their wives and daughters hold their heads very high indeed. I wish I could say the same of their skirts, which trail through all the mud of the lanes. To teach you what mud and a lane can be, no counties can compete with the "primrose paths" of Devon and Somerset, although it is no longer, as a rule, necessary to harness a cart-horse in front of your carriage horses at the foot of a hill, or take them out and then go back half-way up a steep hill because you have met some one coming down, and there is neither room to turn nor to pass!

Ordinary day laborers are paid from eight to sixteen shillings a week, and are generally allowed in addition a cottage and garden valued at eighteenpence, for themselves and their families. The difference in wages depends upon the employer, gentlemen in the southern counties hardly ever giving less than twelve, which rises to sixteen, shillings in the case of skilled wood or axe men. The under keepers and game watchers are mostly paid on the latter scale, as they are more exposed to night-work, to say nothing of attacks from poachers which may injure them for life. An ordinary head keeper would get about thirty shillings a week, his house and garden; generally a cow is kept for him that he may have curds for the young birds he rears, and he has often fire-wood and coals, these latter being always hauled for him, an expense he could ill afford. These wages are of course immensely increased by tips he receives from visitors who come to shoot with his master and who rarely give less than "gold," or sometimes "paper," which, I might remind American readers, means nothing under a five-pound note.

In large properties the agent plays a great part in village life, and here again much depends on his personal tact and temper, squeezed as he is between the tenants on the one side and the landowner on the other.

Of the many burning questions which of late years have taken so much from the charms and happiness of country life, there is none more fraught with irritation to both rich and poor than the game laws, which are scarcely even second to rights of way in their power of creating ill-feeling between the different classes. Yet, if the preservation of game were given up, hundreds of men would be thrown out of employment, all kinds of

wild birds would soon be exterminated, and large quantities of valuable food lost to the community, almost the only article of diet left us now in which we do not compete with foreign countries at a hopeless disadvantage.

I remember once in a village near Christchurch I had gone into a cottage, leaving my pony, cart and groom in the road outside. All at once I was startled by the sound of hoofs, and, on running out, saw the backs of two men in a cart, fast disappearing in the distance, their horse galloping at full speed. "What is that?" I cried to the groom; "has the horse bolted?" "No," answered the groom; "they are flogging him along. I saw their faces and will swear to them anywhere." Just then a game watcher came up exhausted, breathless, and as pale as death, saying that a keeper had been knocked down and was lying badly hurt farther up the road. He said they had caught two men poaching pheasants, had taken a short cut and made a rush for the horse's head as they were making off in their cart, which had been left in the lane close by. The poachers knocked down the keeper, drove over him and galloped away. I went at once to the rescue of the wounded man, but before I got up to him was assured by his fine flow of language that his injuries were not serious, although he was covered with blood. That evening the groom was confronted with the two poachers, who had been traced in the mean time, but during the interval he had, I conclude, been got at, for he refused to identify them and I was unable to do so, having only seen their backs.

Of late years one of the worst troubles the landowner has had to contend with has been the steady and undoubted tendency of all younger agricultural laborers to flock to the larger towns for employment and leave their country homes. Many reasons are assigned for this—low wages, want of constant work, bad cottages, and above all that restlessness which a half-and-half education gives, with the desire for excitement and a town life. As regards the latter, that is a disease of the world rather than of a class, and incurable even by the change to a city, where they carry their discontent, and find that with higher wages they have heavier outgoings and are no better off. As for wages, in counties where the laborer is most highly paid the statistics of the Labor Commission show that he will not remain, and the same is the case with cottages which are in some places disgracefully bad

and in others quite habitable, the result as to discontent and departure being identical. If, however, the people have once tasted city life never again can they return to their old simple habits—they are forever unfitted to settle again in their village homes.

It is true that machinery has reduced the amount of labor required to an immense extent. I have seen two fields of corn about the same size: one with a McCormick reaper, drawn by a horse and managed by a man and a boy, was cut and stacked long before the other, where I counted fifteen persons at work. It is also a fact that women work much less in the fields than they used to do, with the result that they are greatly deteriorating in physique; while those of the upper class who have taken to outdoor sports have gained in height, breadth, and health. In Hampshire they will not even do a day's washing for hire, or help in the kitchen at a pinch. They prefer to sit at home and knit woollen gloves, by which they can with difficulty earn sixpence a day.

It is possible, we are told, for a laborer to put by, but I must say, to me it has always seemed beyond his power; and one cannot but feel that an estate on which a man has spent his labor, his youth, health, and strength, should support him in his old age. This, as I have said before, is the rule with the larger and more well-to-do employers of labor, but in many cases at present the landlord is very hard hit; heavy taxes, competition, reduced rents, and increased demands for repairs and improvements hamper him on all sides, and he cannot, if he would, be generous.

It is an awful thought that a life of honest and unremitting toil may land a man at last, through no fault of his own, in the workhouse, and set the seal of failure on a past without reproach. I feel convinced that this fact lies at the root of all labor troubles, and no legislation which does not accomplish something towards smoothing this difficult and thorny point can prove of any lasting benefit. To overturn the social coach is only to block the road for traffic, and gets one no further on one's way; but that the heavily burdened and sorely tried classes who depend on land in England should stand side by side and bear their privations together seems the only loyal course, while they possess their souls in patience and hope for better times.

SUSAN H. MALMESBURY.

HOME INDUSTRIES AND THE WILSON BILL.

BY CHARLES STEWART SMITH, PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK CHAMBER OF COMMERCE; EDWARD KEMBLE, PRESIDENT OF THE BOSTON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE; A. K. MILLER, PRESIDENT OF THE NEW ORLEANS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE; AND W. H. DIMOND, PRESIDENT OF THE SAN FRANCISCO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

CHARLES STEWART SMITH, ESQ.:

PROTECTION VS. FREE TRADE has been a good political war-cry in times of election, but there is not now, and never has been, any considerable number of men in this country who believe in actual free trade.

It is the settled conviction of a large majority of our people that, excepting the revenues derived from the internal taxes on whiskey, tobacco, and beer, which might well be increased, the necessary provisions for federal expenditures should be collected from foreign imports; and this opinion prevails among all political parties irrespective of their views regarding the merits or demerits of protection as an economic policy. To state the matter briefly, the people of the United States in general, believe in continuing the policy of indirect federal taxation by the agency of the custom house which, in the main, has prevailed since colonial times.

If the foregoing statement be true, then it logically follows that any political party in this country which may impose an income tax upon the people will display a profound genius for blundering, and must bid a long farewell to official power and influence.

That this is the teaching of experience is proved by the verdict of history concerning the income tax during our late war. No

SOUTH BND.

one who was familiar with its operations will deny that it was inquisitorial and called into being and supported a small army of spies and informers, that it was odious to the people and promoted lying and perjury, and finally that it was an unjust distribution of the burdens of taxation. It was only tolerated as a war measure, and was abrogated by common consent and with evident relief to the whole country.

The nation will hold the party in power responsible for providing the ways and means to carry on the government and enable it to discharge its obligations promptly without resort to an income tax. No one who can read the signs of the times will deny that it requires small gift of prophecy to foresee that those members of the House of Representatives from the North and West who recently voted for the passage of the income tax amendment to the Wilson bill will be judged by the country and rejected at the next Congressional election.

The proposal not to tax incomes under $4,000 per annum is an obvious attempt to promote class distinction in legislation, and is socialistic and vicious in its tendencies. The tax would be borne by less than one-fifth of one percentum of the population of the United States. While we are not in favor of a federal tax upon real estate, yet we believe that a far better method for the support of the general government than an income tax would be a tax upon all the land in the country, as well as upon the improved real estate. Such a tax would bear upon all classes alike and would not be subject to the demoralizing influences that invariably follow an income tax. It would also have the great advantage of being more easily levied at less expense and with less opportunity of defrauding the government.

If we omit the income tax, to which the distinguished author of the tariff bill has given an unwilling consent, the Wilson bill is an honest attempt to carry out the views and professions of the party in power. The declaration of the unconstitutionality of a protective tariff by the late Democratic convention was an utterance unworthy of a great party, and no one in or out of it seriously believes in the declaration or proposes to act upon it.

It is only fair to consider the difficulties which Mr. Wilson and his associates necessarily encountered in framing a reduced tariff measure and at the same time providing a sufficient income

to meet the largely increased needs of the government. The Committee on Ways and Means met at the outset the enormous extravagance of the late pension legislation, which added within the last twenty years one hundred and thirty millions to the annual expenses of the nation when most of the principal actors in our civil war had passed away. In 1873 pensions paid were twenty-nine million dollars; in 1883, sixty-six million dollars; and in 1893 one hundred and fifty-nine million dollars.

In addition to this, the prolonged effect of the silver heresy seriously complicated the work of the tariff reformers. A very distinguished authority, Mr. Edward Atkinson, of Boston, says:

"I think it is safe to say that the delay in dealing with this question (silver) has cost this country ten per cent. upon its annual product of the present year at the very least, or from one to two thousand million dollars."*

The serious mistake of the Committee on Ways and Means was in presenting a bill which did not provide sufficient revenue to pay expenses without the addition of an odious income tax. This error might readily be obviated by an increase of the taxes on tobacco, whiskey, and beer, and a moderate duty also on tea and coffee, all of which would bear lightly upon the consumer. On these England readily collects a large revenue.

Another grand error of the Wilson bill is the placing of sugar on the free list. This practically does away with the advantages of our reciprocity treaties with more than thirty millions of Spanish-Americans on our southern borders, and in the judgment of the great free-trade statesmen of England this action is the giving away of a real advantage for nothing and is only repeating what Lord Salisbury characterized as the blunder of Great Britain. Other mistakes in the schedule may be criticised, such as putting cotton-ties on the free list, and placing substantially the same article used for baling hay in the schedule subject to a duty of 35 per centum, but this error and others of like nature will, we trust, be remedied before the bill receives the signature of the President.

There is nothing that commerce fears so much as change and uncertainty concerning the laws which affect commercial transactions. The delay in the Senate in passing the silver repeal bill

* This estimate of Mr. Atkinson does not take into consideration the enormous losses arising from the depreciation of corporate stock, bonds, or other securities, a part of which may be recovered.

practically ruined trade last fall or deprived it of all profit. It is now greatly to be feared that a like delay in settling the tariff question will seriously damage the commercial prospects for the coming season. Whatever may be the ultimate fate of the Wilson bill, it should be decided promptly, in order that commerce may know what the law is, and adapt its operations at once to the changed situation. If, in order to save the spring business, it were politically practicable for the Wilson bill (not including an income tax) to be passed at once by the Senate, with an understanding on the part of both its friends and opponents that sixty days be given to the consideration of reasonable amendments, which might be subsequently adopted, a large part of the bill would in the public mind be considered as definitely settled. The country would then know at once what to depend upon as far as the main features of the bill are concerned, and business, now at a standstill, would move on.

CHARLES STEWART SMITH.

EDWARD KEMBLE, ESQ.:

THE new tariff bill, commonly called the Wilson Bill, can no longer rightfully be considered as imposing an adverse influence, either material or general, upon the business situation of the country. The suspense, which was of some consequence pending the utterance of the bill, has disappeared and is no longer a factor in the situation. There are, of course, some individual and a few corporate interests which may await with some anxiety the final adjustment of some of its provisions; but so far as the general business of the country is concerned the bill has no weight now—not even the weight of suspense. Its enactment into law would not produce a ripple. The business community is prepared for it, and it has been accepted as a foregone conclusion. Is has not been much more than a bugbear at any time, and the claim made by some that it is still a weight on the situation cannot be sustained.

In periods of depression men look for a cause, and are very likely to jump at a conclusion. The cause of the present depression in business—now long continued—was at first said to be the purchasing of silver by the government: so the purchasing

clause of the act of 1891, commonly called the Sherman Act, was repealed. Then the financial panic—or semi-panic—was said to be the cause. That soon passed. Then the trouble was attributed to the scarcity of money. Now there is a plethora of money. Later the cause was said to be the expected new tariff bill. This bill has been before the public for weeks, and the worst is known. These so-called "causes" have all disappeared, but their disappearance has not put a wheel in motion nor a hand to work. It is not, perhaps, within the scope of the greatest intelligence to account satisfactorily for the present state of affairs. It is world-wide. Its beginning may be traced to the time, three years ago, marked by the failure of the Barings. Next came the crisis in Argentine affairs. Then, shortly, the panic in Australia; and later this wave of depression over the United States, which does not yet recede, although the supposed causes have been eliminated.

What is most wanted, I submit, to change the situation is *demand*. There has been an absence of demand. All see that. How can there be prosperty anywhere without trade demand? What stopped demand, or reduced it? It has been said by a good authority that demand stopped because the mill stopped, and the operative and the wage-earner were left without money to buy with; and that the mill stopped because a new tariff was to be made. But demand existed before the mill was built; and because of it the mill was built. Moreover, is it reasonable to suppose a mill will stop while demand continues, tariff or no tariff? Demand must stop before the mill stops and the operative goes out. Let it be remembered that operatives and wage-earners are not the only buyers, either. Is it not better to say demand has stopped because the people have not so much money as formerly to buy with; that they have not so much money because values have declined, and that these values have declined, in most cases, because of superabundance, for there seems to be a superabundance of almost everything? So every one receives less money for his produce or his labor, or from his investment. Is not this a reasonable proposition? Take, for illustration, one of the natural products of the country—wheat. This article is of less value to-day than for forty years, and because of a superabundance of it throughout the world. The proposed tariff does not concern the value of wheat. The

farmer is receiving very little for this article, perhaps forty cents per bushel. How, then, can he be the customer for other articles, and in other ways, that he is when he is receiving eighty cents per bushel, which he often does receive ? Is it to be believed for a moment that if one have the money to pay for an article, and wants it, he cannot get it ; that if the demand is made on the dealer he will not supply it ; that if the manufacturer is called upon for his production he will not make it, because there is to be a change in the tariff ?

It was not the buying of silver by the government, nor the tightness of money in the financial centres, nor the expected new tariff, nor all these combined, which caused demand to stop, and, later, the present state of business, although they all unquestionably had some influence in the way of aggravating the situation, and making it more embarrassing than otherwise it would have been.

There are connected with this proposed new tariff two important matters, namely, that of revenue and that of wages—neither of which is it proposed to discuss now. Its effect on the first can be figured out with reasonable accuracy by the government experts, and no doubt this has been done. Its effect on the other, of course, must remain undetermined. But it is by no means certain that a reduction of wages will follow its enactment ; or, if such a reduction does follow, that it will have been caused by this tariff. The question of wages is to be one of the great questions of the future, in any event, and must be settled by itself. It is recalled to mind in this connection that some years ago, when hides and leather were made duty free, the cry was raised that wages would be lower in consequence and that many of the tanneries would be closed ; but nothing of the kind occurred. The previous standard of wages was fully maintained, the production of leather increased, and it became an article of export and is so to-day. Wages probably depend more upon the skill or the ability of the worker—and they ought to—than upon any tariffs or other laws.

Demand will bring prosperity ; the absence of it produces depression, and during periods of depression various weaknesses and defects and errors are brought to light which create a want of confidence and intensify and prolong the situation.

It is probable that the present crisis has already been turned,

and that from this time forward a gradual improvement in business affairs will be observed, whatever may be done with the so-called Wilson bill.

EDWARD KEMBLE.

A. K. MILLER, ESQ.:

THE New Orleans Chamber of Commerce is opposed to the Wilson tariff bill in its present form. In our opinion, it was too hastily prepared, and is therefore crude and ill-conceived, not following any distinct or intelligent economic policy, but full of contradictions and mistakes. The majority in the House seems to be impressed with the idea that a radical tariff measure ought to be passed; and with this idea it supported the Wilson bill, without sufficiently considering what its effects will be. We believe that it is most untimely, as it will greatly aggravate the industrial and financial disturbances from which the country is suffering, and delay its recovery from them; and we know that it will carry such ruin and disaster to the most important interests of Louisiana as to cause a serious crisis here, one that will necessarily make itself felt throughout the country.

A great commercial city like New Orleans is interested in having trade as free as possible, and as little trammelled by tariff taxes and regulations; and the mercantile classes would naturally favor any legislation having these objects in view. They expected and desired an intelligent tariff measure; one that would provide the government with sufficient means to pay its debts, and that would stimulate foreign trade, but would do this without injury to our home manufactures, without lowering the standard of wages, or increasing the already excessive army of the unemployed.

The Wilson bill has not fulfilled these conditions. It fails in two of the essentials of an intelligent tariff measure, for it does not provide the revenues needed, and seeks to eke them out by an unpopular tax, whose results we cannot count on; and it would prove an undoubted shock to many, if not all, our industries, already in a somewhat demoralized condition, and requiring encouragement rather than a blow. Coming at this moment, when the country is in a disturbed condition industrially and financially, when the factories are only just beginning to get to work again, it would unsettle them once more and revive the crisis. We cannot speak authoritatively of other sections or

cities, but we can say of Louisiana at least that the Wilson bill would create a crisis here far worse than that we are now passing through, and the whole country could not but feel its effect.

It is bad surgery to perform a dangerous operation on a patient still weak and just recovering from a serious illness. Yet this is what the Wilson bill proposes to do. Our business and manufactures could not stand the shock. It is difficult to see how the many Alabama and Tennessee iron furnaces which were closed last year by the depression in the iron industry, can hope to re-open for years to come, in the face of the iron schedule, which will make the manufacture of iron even less profitable; or how the sawmills of the Southwest will begin work again if the Western markets are closed to them by the lumber schedule, which turns these markets over to the Canadian lumbermen.

But without going to other sections, and confining ourselves strictly to Louisiana, whose industrial condition we know, and about which we are able to speak authoritatively, we can say that it would be difficult to exaggerate the disaster that the passage of the Wilson bill would bring to Louisiana and New Orleans. Louisiana has confined itself largely to a few industries. Its sugar crop gives employment to at least two-fifths its population. Next in importance is its lumber industry; the latter is engaged largely in the manufacture of cypress lumber, the greater portion of which goes to the North and West. It is the opinion of millmen that the lumber schedule, which would open the country to free Canadian lumber, would, on account of the high freight rates now prevailing, completely shut out the Louisiana mills. A number of them are already closed. They will scarcely be likely to re-open under the Wilson bill.

It is, however, the sugar schedule which would precipitate the most severe financial crisis in Louisiana, and render any good provision the bill contains nugatory and of no avail. Nothing is more clearly established by the most searching and careful consideration, than that sugar cannot as yet be produced as cheaply in Louisiana as in Cuba, with its slaves and coolies, or in certain countries of Europe, where labor is ill-paid. The lowest price at which it has been manufactured in Louisiana —and that only in large plantations, backed by abundant capital—is 3.5254 cents a pound, and the average cost of production for the past eight years has been 5.027 cents. Sugar of this quality

is sold in New York for three cents a pound. If the Wilson bill became a law, it would be impossible to raise a pound of sugar in Louisiana without loss. Sugar is the chief crop in twenty-two of the parishes of Louisiana, and an important one in several others. It constituted this season half the total value of the agricultural product of the State, and supported directly 350,000 persons, and indirectly 125,000 more, in the rural districts of the State. In New Orleans it contributed more to the general prosperity of the city, and gave employment to more persons, than any other single interest. Two-thirds of the work done in the foundry and machine shops and boiler factories is for the sugar plantations, and two-thirds of that in the cooperage. Half of the agricultural machinery and nearly half of the coal, and mules, etc., are sold to them. If the large number of persons employed in the refineries, the fertilizer factories, on the steamers engaged in the sugar trade, and in loading and unloading them, be included, it would make a total of 8,000 to 9,000 men in New Orleans, and 40,000 to 50,000 people—one-fifth the population of the city—dependent on the sugar industry for support. If the Wilson bill was passed and destroyed that industry—and it would have that effect beyond all question—these men might tramp elsewhere to look for work, but what would become of their families ?

The Wilson bill would be for Louisiana almost as ruthless an act as the devastation of the Palatinate, which a century ago ruined thousands of industrious farmers and mechanics and filled all the capitals of Europe with beggars. The disaster might be set right in time, but it would be years before this could possibly be accomplished—years of suffering and destitution.

The alluvial lands of the Mississippi are the most fertile in the world, but their fertility renders them unfit for many crops. Cotton grows too luxuriantly—becomes a tree instead of a shrub, and yields little lint. They cannot produce wheat or compete with the West in the production of other cereals. They will grow indigo, as formerly, but chemical dyes have rendered this crop unprofitable ; rice, but we are already raising more than we need ; early fruit and vegetables, but the supply is also excessive ; and finally sugar, for which it is best fitted. The crop is growing larger year by year, the yield per acre better, while the cost of production is materially less.

It is now evident that if the United States pursues for five years longer the policy it has followed since the birth of the government—either the Democratic policy of a duty on sugar, or the Republican policy of a bounty—it will be possible to raise enough sugar in this country to supply all our needs, and keep at home some hundred million dollars which now go abroad each year; and to produce it as cheaply here as in any land on the globe where slavery does not prevail. We cannot compete with slave labor—the Emancipation Proclamation has rendered this impossible. In 1891–92, Louisiana produced 357,875,557 pounds of sugar; in 1892–93, 445,857,840; in 1893–94, 667,127,450; an increase of 86 per cent. in two years. The yield per acre increased from 1,782 to 2,602 pounds in this period, and the cost of production fell from 4.6225 cents a pound to 4.128.

It is not necessary here to discuss the question of the pledge of the United States under which so much capital was invested in the sugar industry. We are discussing only the effects of the Wilson bill, and these would be such in Louisiana as to render it impossible for the Chamber of Commerce or any other commercial body of New Orleans to favor it as long as it contains its present sugar schedule. To do so would be to advocate and uphold the murder of an entire community. That single schedule would add nearly half a million persons to the already overswollen army of the unemployed and destitute who are clamoring for bread and appealing to the charity of the world. It would cut down the population of the State nearly one-half and that of New Orleans one-fourth, and it would fill the Southwest with beggars looking for work and food.

This section of the Wilson bill is against every principle of justice; a violation of the pledges of the government; a breach of political economy; opposed to the doctrines of the Democratic party, which is now in control of the country; and against the interest of the whole people. It is a departure from the usages of over a century, and would render it impossible to reap the fruit of any good provision the bill may contain.

The Chamber of Commerce of New Orleans cannot approve it, and must earnestly antagonize it, in its present shape, as dangerous to our industries and the prosperity of the country, and well-nigh fatal to Louisiana.

A. K. MILLER.

W. H. DIMOND, ESQ.:

THE effect of the Wilson tariff bill on the commerce of San Francisco must be considered from the standpoint of the greatest good to the greatest number. Features there doubtless are that, from a personal point of view alone, seem to invite the merchants of this city to forsake the doctrines of McKinley for those of Wilson. These points practically are "free coal" and "free iron." It will be well to show first the reasons for desiring the admission of these articles free of duty.

With the exception of coal mined in Washington, which is inferior to that produced in the adjacent British Provinces, and a small quantity of still less value as fuel mined in California, the immense amount of coal consumed here annually is of foreign production. Of the $1,000,000 duty on coal collected by the Government last year, San Francisco paid $800,000. Iron and steel ships for government and merchant service have been successfully built here in competition with the East. Machinery of all kinds, agricultural implements, the expensive and elaborate plants for mines, for the reduction of ores, machinery for lumber and sugar mills, etc., are turned out in San Francisco and adjacent cities, of a quality and in a quantity surprising, when the obstacles to be surmounted are considered.

To these industries the boon of free coal and free iron would be great. It is even possible it would stimulate the shipping business somewhat by enlarged importations, while any stimulant to the interests named would possibly slightly increase the number of wage-earners and incidentally enlarge the home market for the agriculturalist. This, to the San Franciscan, seems to be the extent of the benefits offered this section by the Wilson bill.

Now turn to the reverse side of the question.

California produced upward of 36,000,000 pounds of beet-sugar last year. In this business capitalists have not only invested immense sums in building refineries, but men of modest means have been attracted to this State by the prospects held out in this branch of agriculture, so that now hundreds of families are dependent upon the sugar-beet for a livelihood. Their all is invested in land exclusively used in raising this vegetable. Unprotected, this industry cannot live. Free sugar means ruin to this most promising enterprise.

SOUTH END.

The refineries of this city are furnishing the territory west of the Missouri River with their requirements of refined sugar, and in 1893 thus supplied over 339,000,000 pounds. Duty free, China would soon undermine the trade, and claim the western half of the United States for their market. Twice, before the McKinley Act went into effect, the Chamber of Commerce of this city, in most urgent terms, appealed to Congress to retain the tariff on sugar. This chamber, the representative mercantile body on the Pacific Coast, still adheres to its original opinion on this subject, and the belief is general here that the present deficiency in the national Treasury is largely due to the abolition of this duty, which heretofore produced no considerable part of the general revenue.

To sum up: The beet-sugar territory of the Central States and the Pacific Coast, combined with the cane-sugar regions of the South, properly protected, can in a few years—comparatively speaking—supply the wants of the entire country and make it independent of foreign resources. From a Californian standpoint the United States cannot afford to destroy this promising exotic by exposing it to the cold blast of free trade.

With four million sheep in this State, yielding an annual clip of about 30,000,000 pounds of wool, and San Francisco also handling much of the wool of adjacent States and Territories, it is natural that a large element in this community is opposed to the free admission of the foreign-grown article.

California and New York are the leading sources from which supplies of barley are drawn. Canada is a keen competitor for the trade in the East, and her proximity to the great consuming markets of the Atlantic and Western States gives her an advantage that, were the duty removed, would drive from those markets California barley in spite of its admitted superiority.

Twenty years ago no raisins or prunes were produced in California. In 1893 there were 63,000,000 pounds of raisins and 46,000,000 pounds of prunes to the credit of this State. On merit alone California can hold her own, as each of the products named is now recognized as the best obtainable. However, owing to cheap labor and low freights from primary points, the French, Spanish, and Turkish goods can be profitably laid down in New York at prices that would bankrupt the California grower. Protection to these goods, therefore, is vital.

Winemaking in California has reached a state of excellence

that requires protection; principally on account of the large capital, in round figures $100,000,000, invested in the various branches of the industry in this State. The excellence of the vintage is so well recognized that last year 11,726,165 gallons and 38,781 cases were shipped to the Atlantic States. Our wine, therefore, should be protected against foreign and adulterated products.

Only 30,144 flasks of quicksilver were produced in California last year, a sad shrinkage owing to the monopoly held by the Rothschilds, who control all sources of supply except California, and now regulate the price throughout the world. It is believed they have used their best endeavors to control the output here also, where now only those mines rich in ore, and owned by men of heavy capital, can operate at all. Remove the present duty and it is doubtful if they could compete with the foreign article. The belief is that they would subside into a state of coma, to revive when American capital was forced to release its holdings, when they would become part of the great quicksilver monopoly which rules in London.

With a belt of timber on this coast that apparently will last for centuries in spite of the supreme efforts of lumbermen to convert it into building material, but with a timber belt on the British Columbia side more accessible, and frequently of better average quality, the Pacific Coast lumberman cannot hold his own with fair wages to white men against the Chinese labor and favorable natural conditions at the North. There is between the American lumberman on this coast and ruin, simply the slight tariff now in force on imported lumber.

To multiply such illustrations is but tiresome repetition. Return to the opening proposition, "the greatest good for the greatest number"—we of California recognize we must sacrifice something for the general good, as each section must, in arranging a tariff that will be fair to the nation as a whole. While, therefore, selfishly approving of free coal and free iron, we realize that it may mean great injury to other sections, and we also know the withdrawal of protection from the vast interests referred to above means ruin to us, and the overwhelming sentiment of the mercantile community of San Francisco and California is that the changes proposed by the Wilson bill work injury to the leading interests of California, out of all proportion to promised benefits.

W. H. Dimond.

DRAMATIC CRITICISM.

BY BRAM STOKER, M. A.

THE ultimate importance of dramatic criticism is shown in the amount of space allotted to theatrical matters in the journals of the day. It is the duty of newsmongers to supply the want of the public, and it may be fairly taken for granted that if there were no demand the supply, even if continued, would not have a perpetual growth. In both England and America there is on every great newspaper some official to whom is entrusted the collection and editing of theatrical news. In America this individual has a definite position as "dramatic editor." His work is aided, if not simplified, by the existence of the "press agent," now generally attached to every prominent theatre, who supplies to him items of interest presumed to be of importance by the advance agent of what is known as an "attraction." Thus it will be seen that in this great mass of theatrical material, chiefly composed of exchange matter, rumor, and gossip, there is a special need that the judgment set forth as that of the newspaper itself, through its experts, should be accurate and adequate. It is the critical little leaven which is to leaven the whole lump. This is not only possible, but easy, of achievement, since the multiplying of the necessary number of writers leaves the critic proper to attend to his own work, whilst the dramatic editor and his staff do all that may be required in the way of making straight the path of the coming players. In fact the critical Dr. Jekyll need have no connection with the rumor-bearing Mr. Hyde.

What, then, should be the equipment of a dramatic critic and his intellectual attitude whilst addressing himself to his task, it being taken for granted that he must obey all those rules which the experience of ages has formulated for the guidance of critics generally, whilst at the same time he gives special heed to those

other rules, dependent on the *differentia* of dramatic as distinguished from other art ?

Ordinarily a critic should have primarily a sympathetic understanding of the matter on which he sits in judgment :

> A perfect judge will read each work of wit
> With the same spirit that its author writ.

How much more necessary is this spirit when that which the critic reads is writ in tone and action on a page of passing emotion—all as swift and evanescent as a wind-sweep across still water. And yet there are here and there to be found writers, who take so harsh, so illiberal, or so jaundiced a view of their high calling that, to use Fielding's phrase, they construe the Greek word for criticism in its legal sense only—condemnation, instead of judgment. The arts are liberal, and from their very essence require not only a tolerant understanding of their aim and method, but a generous appreciation of even their lesser efforts and their minor issues. The world would be but a poor place after all were it not for the arts ; and it is a poor art indeed which cannot tend toward the advancement of some ideal. That artist is indeed low down in the scale of human excellence whose labors do not brighten and beautify, or at least soften the harshness of things. Of all the arts, that of acting requires the most sympathetic understanding; for, though the means of its expression are of the subtlest, being through the exercise of the powers of God's last work—man, its happenings are so quick and so impalpable that before they can be well exposed to the influence of foreign judgment their very memory is temporarily obliterated by the exercise and purpose of succeeding emotions. It is here that some understanding of the actor's intention becomes of importance ; for unless the judge either has some previous knowledge of it, or allows his own sympathy to move as freely as its subject, it can hardly be possible for him to grasp the idea of a consistent character working always through one individuality, and yet subject to varied passions and emotions. But the dramatic critic has to study, follow, absorb not only one character under varying aspects and conditions, but each and every character in the play; so that if his brain be already loaded with theories, and if his sympathies be already choked with antagonistic purposes, he is little apt to arrive at that great truth,

whatever it may be, at which the actor and the audience are conjointly aiming. In this matter of quickening sympathy the best lesson in criticism comes from the audience whose swift and accurate judgment is shown every now and again by the spontaneous cheer, which shakes the playhouse and justifies in a way the action of that gifted scribe who, crystallizing public sentiment, first turned enthusiasm into an active verb. And yet there are instances of men who seem completely blind to the value of sympathy in criticism, and approach the matter in a seemingly hostile spirit. I know, for instance, of one dramatic critic—dramatic critic and translator of plays—either so perversely stupid or so lamentably ignorant of the very first principles of his calling as to write thus: "The actor, however little he may like to be told so, is a parasite upon the play." If his statement were metaphysically true, what a slur he, a critic, has cast by inference upon his craft; for if the actor be a parasite upon the play, what, in the name of logic, is the critic, who earns his bread or pursues his mission by writing of the actor?

> **Great fleas have little fleas upon their backs to bite 'em,**
> **Little fleas have lesser fleas and so *ad infinitum*.**

"It is a dirty bird," says the old English proverb, "which fouls its own nest."

Again, the critic of the drama should have at least some special knowledge of the subject of his work, unless, of course, he be one of those gifted individuals whose omniscience is intuitive, or he have that which must not be expected of any man, a sufficient modesty to hide his own ignorance. For the dramatic critic has to judge not only the player, but the play! and a play is a mightily complicated piece of work. As it has to appeal to all or most of the senses, it has everywhere a bearing on some branch of human knowledge, since the eye has to be pleased and satisfied, beauty as well as accuracy has to be observed, and the production of a play in an educated age is no light task. In external scenes the flora of place and season have to be correctly given—the scene painter who knows his work must even study the characteristics of cloud and atmosphere. The historical period, the nationality, and the social degrees of all concerned have to be accurately shown; even the habits and bearing of an age and country are of importance. These things all mean very special study somewhere,

and when painters and historians have carefully collaborated with management and actors, it requires a learned critic to be able either to fully appreciate or to justly condemn what is shown. The spread of archæology has been mainly aided by the stage, for it has been by the wholesale setting forth of the environment of a period or an event that the great public has come to have familiar knowledge of such matters. In such a mass of material as a stage setting requires it is comparatively easy to find a flaw; but this is a very different thing from the conception of even a crude idea upon the subject. It is, I think, hardly too much to say that it will take the most superior judgment to be found in England or America to fitly and fully appreciate the work of a great play properly produced, so as to enable the writer to translate and point out its excellences to the vast body of the—incompletely—educated public.

Let me here say that, speaking with a considerable knowledge of dramatic criticism and dramatic critics in both England and America, I can bear willing testimony to their general worth. I have found them to be, as a body, earnest, liberal-minded gentlemen, sympathetic in their attitude toward the work, patient and fearless in their discharge of it, having no private purpose or end of their own to serve, but helping to enlarge the public sympathy and to purify the public taste by their appreciation of excellences and their condemnation of evil things.

So far, however, as we are informed, neither is there any special supply of heavenly fire to enlighten dramatic critics, nor are they or their body specially exempt from the evils that assail mankind. All callings have their less worthy or unworthy members, and the ranks of dramatic criticism have no special immunity from such. Further than this, it is probable that this body has more than its fair share of undesirable individuals, since there is no preliminary test of capability. The calling is an open one, needing necessarily no qualifications except the will of a newspaper proprietory. Thus there are to be found, here and there, fortunately at rare intervals, in the body of dramatic critics, as in all bodies, members of the criminal class, of the asylum class, of the hospital class—in fact of that class generally of cranks and faddists, whose place in the world of criticism is somewhat analagous to that occupied in the scheme of law by what are known as "torts," a class of civil offences, with a possible criminal bias.

The distinctly criminal class is represented by a few individuals who are venal to the praise of unworthiness, and who have a blacker side of crime in that they extort, where and how they can, blackmail in money or in "meal or malt" by either disseminating or withholding libel. These men are but few; and as they are pretty well known to every one in the theatrical and journalistic world, I cannot but think that an organized effort for their suppression by the men whose craft they sully would have an immediate and wholesome effect.

The critics of the hospital and asylum classes are harmless unless when they have some personal interest to serve, some spite to indulge, or some wound to their vanity to avenge: in such case, the pity which the reader of average intelligence has for them changes to a purposeful contempt. These cases are, however, rare; for as a rule the dramatic critic whose existence is built on vanity or *cacoethes scribendi*, or both, is harmless and is fully sheltered by the magnitude of his own incapacity.

Finally, the class of cranks or faddists includes certain varieties whose differentiation is a matter of almost entomological interest. The most common specimen is that of the "provincial" writer. This individual is gifted with a sort of impregnable cocksureness, and to him nothing is hidden, for he reads the whole Arcana like an open book. His logic being of the purely feminine order—"I think; therefore I know"—has to him no possible flaw, for his vanity supplies the blanks that his ignorance has passed, and his self-sufficiency covers up with a blinding glory all doubts as to fact. In some of the most intellectual centres of the English-speaking world such specimens are to be found, and it is to them that the word "provincial" can be most suitably applied. "Provincial" as an adjective is not geographical, but comparative. It implies a narrowness of vision or an intolerance of spirit tacitly taken to arise from inadequate experience. To eyes accustomed to the eternal passing of the great pageant of life the various items have only the importance of their place in the great scheme; but to eyes not so trained by habit each item seen by itself becomes of undue importance; and, inasmuch as lesser towns but seldom see these greater movements of the world, the opportunity of comparison does not exist in a measure sufficiently large to become of permanent educational value. Thus the comparison of a "provincial" with a "capital" view of things

becomes instructive, and we are enabled to fairly test the intellectural value of those who, though enjoying the opportunities of larger culture, find themselves—or rather are found by their readers—eternally limited by their provincial littleness. The work of a "provincial" critic speaks for itself, and who runs may read the signs. For such a man loves to display his knowledge, and the sum of human knowledge is so great, and the amount of it which one person can acquire is so small, that the measure of his capacity can be gauged by the importance which he places on certain things which, though well known to others, are to him fraught with the weight of new acquirement. Thus, we may occasionally see an otherwise completely commonplace criticism speckled over with isolated chunks of the writer's previously disintegrated ignorance. More commonly still one may notice comparisons made by such writers between existing things and others of which they are manifestly ignorant, and always to the detriment of the former. *Omne ignotum pro magnifico.* The most usual examples of this form of provincialism in dramatic criticism are those of comparison with foreign countries, as when American or British dramatic art is unfavorably compared with the glories of "the French and German schools," or when players of the day are held up as wanting in the excellences of the actors of the past—Garrick and Kean being the most commonly chosen examples, since they are well known names, and none living has seen them play. The purveyors of the foreign comparison are usually to be found in inland towns or cities, where they have had life-long residence, and they are generally as ignorant of the French and German tongues as they are of Tamil or Telugu. Those gifted beings who are enabled to raise the veil from the past or to evolve from their own inner consciousness the minutiæ of the art of Garrick and Kean—and the methods of these two players probably embraced the whole cycle of histrionic art—are as a rule either very young men without either thought or experience, or else more hardened sinners in the ways of conjecture and in the vice of self-esteem. In either case they are manifestly in absolute ignorance of the principles, the aims, the limitations, the difficulties and the practice of the art upon which they sit in judgment. They simply draw upon their inchoate imagination for their nebulous facts. Any one with experience or knowledge of individual writers of dramatic criticism will recognize the justice of this description

and easily identify, if such be worth while, the writers of this class.

As to the best method of achieving proper dramatic criticism on the part of those who are in all ways equipped for their work and perfectly unprejudiced in their desires, I should venture to suggest that in the case of a new play or an important revival of an old one the critic should not take as the field of his judgment the efforts of the first performance, when through the nervousness which is a necessary part of the artistic temperament many phases of effort are of necessity seen at their worst. He should wait until by a few repetitions the work of the various artists and operatives has been properly consolidated and smoothed. The occasion of a first performance is the opportunity for a descriptive reporter who can be eyes and ears to the reading public, rather than for the expert critic whose province it is to analyze and sit in judgment upon the play and the playing as seen by the great public during the progress of a run.

There is in the world no more honorable, no more responsible position for any man than to sit in judgment, and such an one should always feel the gravity and the weight of such an earnest task.

BRAM STOKER.

PRISONS IN THE OLD WORLD AND THE NEW.

BY MAJOR ARTHUR GRIFFITHS, HER MAJESTY'S INSPECTOR OF PRISONS.

GREAT diversity of practice prevails among the nations with regard to the penal treatment of law-breakers. In the Old World three principal methods obtain, each used singly or more or less in conjunction with the others.

First, the system of penal exile following or associated with imprisonment; secondly, the separate or solitary system, in which a prisoner is subjected to varying, often lengthy, terms of isolated, cellular confinement; and, thirdly, the progressive system, in which the prisoner may pass through several stages, beginning with the treatment indicated in the second, but earning in longer sentences the privilege of labor in company and of achieving conditional liberty. The first of these methods is practised by France, Russia, and Portugal; the second by Belgium, Holland, and latterly to a limited extent by France; the third is the system prevailing in Great Britain, in most of the English colonies, in Austria-Hungary, and theoretically also in Italy or only in part. A fourth method has been devised in the New World, which has attracted considerable attention, in the first instance, on account of its originality and its ambitious programme, more recently because one of its chief agents has been charged with barbarous practices and arraigned at the bar of public opinion. But the system commonly known as that of Elmira should be taken as something independent of and apart from the conduct of its administrator. The new principles involved deserve attention even if in practice they may be wrongly, perhaps cruelly, applied.

Before contrasting the various methods just mentioned, it will be well to give some account of each, so that the reader, after a careful examination of their aims, processes, and results, whether

alleged or established, may realize what makes most effectively and conclusively towards the great end of all penological science. That end is obviously the proper protection of society and the approximate eradication of crime.

Some exact appreciation of the expression "crime" should precede discussion as to its treatment. Crime has, perhaps, been best defined as the failure in certain individuals to live up to the standard deemed binding by the rest of the community. The criminal, the law-breaker, is really a rebel, an insurgent; one who rises against established rules, who defies them, whose hand is against his fellows, respecting neither their persons nor their property, and attacking them according to the predatory instincts or the dictates of his own sweet will. It is not necessary to consider here the grounds of this antagonism; they may be traced to inheritance, to perverted moral sense inherent and unexplainable, they may be due to neglect in childhood, caused by pernicious example and training. In whatever way he has been produced, the criminal is an actual entity, a very inconvenient and embarrassing living fact, very puzzling to deal with rightly, both in the best interests of society and with due regard to the dictates of humanity, two very different but not incompatible aims. The question of dealing with its criminals has long vexed Christendom, and still remains in a measure unsolved. It is greatly complicated by differences of opinion as to what principal objects should be sought in penal treatment, whether it should rather seek to punish, deter, or reform, or all three, or each in what degree. That penal reprisals should be vindictive and painful, that an offender should be made to suffer in person, should actually feel the punishment inflicted upon him, is still largely held, although the average tone of modern thought does not greatly approve of the principle. But it is defended on the grounds that unless the penalty is irksome it misses all effect upon that far larger class, the potential criminal, who is likely to be deterred by the knowledge of what actual criminals have endured. This effect at deterrence beforehand is surely quite as important and really more humane than the attempt at after-reformation, which is often attempted without result. It cannot be less meritorious to keep the weak-kneed from falling than to set him on his legs again by some alterative and curative process.

For the first of the methods already indicated little can be said

in commendation. The plan of penal exile, of deportation or transportation beyond the seas, has never largely effected any one of the three great aims of penal treatment. In theory it may mean much. The removal of the criminal from the metropole to a new and more or less distant territory where the worst social elements might find space and encouragement to redeem their past, was a fascinating and seemingly logical idea. But it failed altogether when put into practice. Australia was not developed by penal colonization, but in spite of it. Many convict exiles no doubt prospered greatly, but their success was a reproach to the methods by which that success was secured. When England was forced by her colonies to abandon transportation it already stood self-condemned as ineffective, unequal in its incidence, inordinately costly, and injurious to the locality. France, which adopted the system rather lightly and with complete disregard of English experience, has had to face precisely the same failure. New Caledonia has not contributed much to that colonial expansion which was and still is the dream of so many French politicians. Exile is, after all, only a temporary riddance of a large percentage of criminals who return untamed to repeat their depredations at home. No effective discipline can be enforced at such a distance. The worst convicts are relegated to colonial prisons, in other words are sent some ten thousand miles to endure a punishment that could be better inflicted at home; the best are emancipated in the colony to form an element greatly complicating all the conditions of colonial life. The same evils greatly intensified are to be observed in Siberia, upon which the Russian government has long directed a stream of penal exiles, under circumstances as regards human suffering unparalleled in the history of the world. But Russia still clings to transportation and is now preparing a newer and perhaps more ghastly disappointment in attempting the penal colonization of semi-Arctic and inhospitable Saghalien.

The second method, of inflicting irksome and more or less prolonged imprisonment, is claimed by those who practice it to be the most consistent and the most largely effective of all penal systems. It is seen at its best in Belgium, a small, compact, and prosperous country, which has spared no pains or outlay in perfecting its prison arrangements, and which is held up by some as a model for universal imitation. There is nothing novel in the

disciplinary methods of Belgium. They may have improved upon the original invention, but that was first seen in the Quaker State of Pennsylvania at the commencement of the present century. Solitary confinement, as then devised, caused much controversy; but the system was as warmly defended as it was strongly condemned, and it was adopted wholly or in part by many of the countries in the Old World. As it exists to-day in Belgium, in Holland, and in France, where it has but recently been introduced, it has lost nothing of, but rather gained in, that peculiar form of severity which originally produced such an outcry against it. The isolation is complete and continuous. The inmates of a prison never see each other; their only human intercourse is with the officials, the governor, chaplain, schoolmaster, trade instructors, who visit them, no doubt, often, but cannot be called companions. Closely hooded when at large, exercising strictly alone in a small, triangular slice of yard, hearing divine service through the open cell door, cut off from all and everything but their ghostly advisers and taskmasters, the Belgian prisoner thus spends any period of incarceration up to ten years. After that he is permitted to pass into association if he pleases and if he has sufficient wit left in his poor addled brains to make the choice. The curious visitor will find constantly in the great prison of Ghent a ward full of imbeciles, the degenerate products of a strictly enforced, unduly prolonged solitary system.

The injurious, often fatal, effects of this kind of treatment, which was also tried in England, led there to the sharp curtailment of the period for which it may be inflicted. Practical experience proved that a maximum of nine months was as much as a prisoner could stand of solitary confinement. It has since been contended by competent authorities that this period might be slightly prolonged, but the isolation inflicted in English prisons has never been of the same absolute and unvarying kind as in Belgium. Chapel service and exercise have been in associated view of one another, although freedom of speech has never been permitted. This limitation of the most severe portion of the punishment became a sort of starting-point for the formation of the progressive, or third, of the systems in force in the Old World. It had been found in the latter days of Australian transportation that the convicts who had undergone a preliminary period of cellular confinement before exile were much more amenable, and

did generally better in their new land. The treatment was retained with some little modification when convicts were perforce retained in home prisons after transportation ceased, and nowadays the rule of separate, or cellular, imprisonment obtains in all English prisons for short periods * and for the earliest stage of longer sentences. In the second stage a convict, or "penal sentence prisoner," whose sentence may be from three years upwards to life, passes at the end of nine months to a "public works prison" where he is employed with others in out-of-door operations, the construction of some work of national utility. This second stage is the stepping-stone to the third, that of conditional liberation, the license to go at large, before the completion of the sentence, a privilege which can only be earned by steady and continuous industry. The freedom thus gained is not absolute; the licensed convict is still under the surveillance of the police, he is bound to report himself to them at regular intervals until his license expires, and he is subjected to sharp penalties, including prompt relegation to prison if it is found that he misuses the privilege accorded, even to the extent of contemplating fresh infractions of the law or of consorting with bad characters.

Although it never has been proved that crime is greatly affected by the penalties it entails, both the Belgian and British systems can take a certain credit from the fact that crime has undoubtedly diminished in those countries. During the last forty years in Belgium the number of convictions has decreased. While there were 7,000 in 1850 to a population of four millions and a half, in 1889, with a population of six millions, the total was 4,634, and in the previous decade it had been still lower. In England the decrease has been much more remarkable. It has been greater and more continuously downward. Between 1878 and 1893 the population of the local or "short time" prisons has fallen from 20,833 to 13,178, and yet during that period the general population of the country has increased by quite four millions. During almost exactly the same period the convicts or those undergoing long sentences of penal servitude have also decreased in numbers; where in 1878 the total population of the convict prisons, male and female, was 10,671, in 1892 it had fallen to 5,247, these numbers including convict lunatics, and a few

* This, according to the letter of the law, might extend to two years, but the later months of such a sentence are seldom if ever passed in a cell.

survivals of transportation in western Australia. The strangest decrease has been in the female convicts, who in 1878 numbered 1,402, and in 1892 only 375.

It is plain, therefore, from these few figures that in any comparisons between British and Belgian methods, the former can show the largest results. No doubt other causes have contributed to this decrease. In Great Britain it has been largely effected by the almost universal practice of judges and jurisdiction of shortening the terms for which imprisonment is inflicted. Again, recent legislation empowers justice to withhold sentence on first offenders, who go at large escaping all punishment unless they lapse a second time. Both of these agencies are largely in force in the two countries last named, although very generally adopted elsewhere. Another potent cause in the gradual diminution of criminals is the care bestowed upon neglected youth. Child-saving is felt to be a more effective treatment than adult correction. Lastly, the wide-reaching efforts of charitable societies are now very usefully directed to assist the discharged prisoner, tiding him over the first dangerous period when temptation is strong, relapse too easy, helping him to honest employment, and encouraging him to continued exertion by timely but not demoralizing support.

That such other agencies have been called in to assist proves that the curative action of imprisonment has not been relied upon alone. Yet prison discipline has an undoubted effect where it is applied, as in Belgium and England, with certainty and uniformity. These are comparatively small countries, where centralized administration can establish and enforce a particular system. The offender knows exactly what measure will be meted out to him ; he cannot hope by crossing a boundary line to exchange severity for comparative ease. In whatever prison he finds himself, his diet, labor, discipline are always precisely the same, and if the irksome penalties of prison life are thus uniformly inevitable, they are in a measure counterbalanced by the safeguards which protect the prisoner from excessive harshness or ill-usage. The prisons are governed in the strong light of public opinion, which, especially in England, is always on the alert and ready to take up any grievance, real or supposed. A further guarantee is afforded by the constant watchful supervision of both independent and official inspectors. In England

the local magistracy, although no longer concerned with administration, control discipline and hear complaints. A very systematic monthly inspection also takes place, made by experts who look closely into the treatment of all prisoners.

With such arrangements, with duties so carefully performed by competent and highly responsible supervisors, there can be little fear of scandal or malpractices. Anything like continuous misusage of his charges such as that of which Mr. Brockway has been accused is all but impossible in the best organized prisons of the Old World. The alleged case against the superintendent of Elmira is that he maintained authority and accomplished reformation by repeated use of the lash. The "paddle," or instrument he is said to have so freely, even so brutally, wielded, is said to have been seldom out of his hand. According to his accusers he was like an old-fashioned pedagogue who flogged anybody and everybody on the slightest excuse and with the smallest, possibly no, provocation. With us nothing is more closely checked than the infliction of corporal punishment. Evidence of the offence charged must be taken on oath before a committee, or some superior official other than and much above the governor or warden of the gaol, and this higher authority can alone order a prisoner to be chastised. How rarely this bodily penalty is imposed in English prisons is shown by the annual reports published by prison boards and presented to Parliament. In the convict prisons where the daily average population in 1892 was 3,969 males, the lash was used only 45 times, and always for assaults on officers and aggravated acts of insubordination. In the "local" or shorter term prisons in the same year the corporal punishments were 129 with a daily average of 11,504 males. In Belgium and France corporal punishment is not practised at all.

It is scarcely possible to contrast the prison system of the United States with any of those already described. There is no one acknowledged system in America, nor can any such be established except by some federal union for prison purposes such as is so strongly advocated by reformers. Till then an extraordinary variety of practice must prevail ranging between the two extremes of over much elaboration and possibly of mistaken aims and absolute neglect. The first extreme is found in that Elmira reformatory whose management has been recently so gravely impugned; the other in the South-

ern convict camps or in the county jails, many of which have been forcibly stigmatized as "with few exceptions, moral pest-houses—mere nurseries of infamy, where, without regard to age, sex, offence, or sanitary laws, unfortunates are indiscriminately impounded."

That a great country which once led the van of prison reform should to-day lag so far behind is more its misfortune than its fault. Grave social and economic difficulties have no doubt hampered the question of penal treatment in America. It has been complicated by the constant influx of comparatively poor immigrants, the admixture of so many alien races with the native born, the presence of the negro element which has supplied a large percentage of the worst crimes. The rapid growth of territory again, the pressure upon young communities to establish more useful institutions, the continual strife of political parties, and the continual change of officeholders have largely affected the question. It has been for the most part grappled with in only the oldest States, and not always comprehensively in them.

The State of New York may be credited with the invention of what is now known as the Elmira system. It was probably based upon a theory first put forward by some Italian *savants*, that the penalty inflicted upon an offender should be indefinitely prolonged, and should only end when the individual had given reasonable assurance that he was cured of his criminal ways. This is now the well known "indeterminate" sentence, the uncertain term of imprisonment which nominally leaves the prisoner's future entirely in his own hands. This system, which has now been in practice since 1876 at Elmira, claims to have achieved important and extremely satisfactory results. I leave altogether on one side the stigma cast on the Elmira Reformatory by the recent investigation. Mr. Brockway's methods may be impugned, but the system established must be judged by other tests than the conduct, good or bad, of its superintendent.

The question really at issue is not whether Mr. Brockway was a hard and cruel master, but whether the method, discipline, treatment, call it what we may, has had an appreciable effect in reclaiming criminals, and thereby diminishing crime. The answer of the Elmira managers is unhesitatingly in the affirmative, and the assertion is grounded on the fact that inmates "paroled" after proof given of amendment have not again, save in the small-

est percentage, relapsed. The result, vouched for in all seriousness, seems incredible, but before disputing it, and to gainsay the statement is difficult in the absence of accurate and extensive statistics, it is well to examine the process which has worked such wonders.

Most of my readers are probably familiar with the method in force at Elmira and cognate establishments, but I will recapitulate it briefly. The individuals to be subjected to its regenerative treatment are first offenders of between sixteen to thirty years of age, selected as likely to benefit by the treatment. This treatment is essentially educational: intellectual, physical, and technical. The mental training covers a wide range, extending from the elemental instruction of the kindergarten to the study of ethics, languages, and the higher mathematics. The "inmates," for the word "prisoner" is strictly eschewed, are trained also in social and scientific polemics. A taste for rhetoric is cultivated, and one especially gifted with eloquence was intrusted with the 4th of July oration at Elmira in 1892. The physical treatment is as thorough as the intellectual; beginning with drills and military exercise, it continues with gymnastics until the pupil becomes as "fit" as a prize fighter, as active as an acrobat. Last of all the industrial education, to which the others obviously subserve, proceeds with marvellous rapidity. The inmate with his perfected body and highly developed brain masters the intricacies of some trade or handicraft with extraordinary promptitude and facility The manipulation of strange tools, the application of special machinery, the niceties of technique, present no difficulties to him. Within a short year or so Elmira turns out first-class workmen in such slowly acquired trades as printing, gilding, decorating, brass moulding, boatbuilding, horseshoe making, photography, and many others. Elmira at first sight seems an admirable seminary; its curriculum is so extensive and knowledge is so readily imparted that parents and guardians might be forgiven if eager to secure its advantages for the honest youths under their charge.

Here a critic finds the first weak spot in the whole system. If these marvellous results are really obtained,—and there is no reason to question them, despite the stories told of the "paddle" and the red-hot hooks used to fish the recalcitrant out of their cells,—they are surely too valuable to be the peculiar appanage of

the criminal class. There are thousands of honest folk who would be delighted to undergo the Elmira course; who would face cheerfully a short imprisonment if they might in due time make up for a defective early education, acquire free of cost a remunerative handicraft, and issue thus largely endowed to take up employment found them by their philanthropic patrons. The effect produced by Elmira may yet prove to be the very reverse of that anticipated; instead of diminishing, it may prove a direct incentive to crime, so long as a criminal conviction is the indispensable qualification for admission to the reformatory school.

The champions of Elmira and places of its class seem, however, satisfied that they do useful work in reclaiming those who are still susceptible to reform, whose failure from virtue, however serious, indicates no determined criminal bias. The advice, experience, and personal knowledge of relations and friends is sought before deciding who shall be subjected to the wholesome and beneficial treatment, so that beforehand there should seem reasonable hope of its success. The precaution is a wise one, as is shown by the results claimed. But here, again, a sceptical mind may be disposed to cavil. The figures shown in the last report make large pretensions. They tell us that since 1876, the year of Elmira's birth, 5,899 inmates have been committed to it, of whom 3,289 were "paroled," the balance being men with finite sentences; 2,689 of the 3,289, or 81.8 per cent., are supposed to have done well. It is with the evidence on which this statement rests that we are disposed to find fault. Proof of this reform is the result of six months' supervision after parole, during which time the ex-Elmira patient has been found, in the percentage stated, to have refrained from further misdoing. But surely the test time has been exceedingly short, and criminals who keep straight when watched have been known to lapse when left uncontrolled.

In any case, whether or not the Elmira cure is radical or evanescent, the changes produced have not been very appreciable on the sum total of American criminality. It may be argued that there are not enough of these new reformatories; that when the system is more widely adopted there will be far less crime in the United States. The assumption may or may not be borne out by the experience of the future. At the present moment, reformatories notwithstanding, crime advances with ever-increasing

ratio decade after decade, as is plainly shown by the careful sta tistics prepared for the last census by Mr. Wines. This increase may in part be explained, perhaps, but the balance is sufficient to contest the present usefulness of Elmira methods.

The most remarkable feature in the Elmira methods is the prompt effect they take. Although the sentence imposed is called "indeterminate," it appears to be very definite and determinate indeed. The average period of detention runs from fifteen to twenty months, no great time for the inculcation of so much, the eradication of much more—of that moral perversion which unchecked or persistently indulged in has at last ended in crime. Can it be supposed that a couple of years' teaching, the chief agent relied upon according to the Elmira managers, has sufficed for complete cure? Or can it really be that the terrors of an uncontrolled despotism have "persuaded" the inmate to learn his lessons and amend his ways where milder measures would have failed?

Until further experience can establish larger results altogether independent of the harsh measures alleged to have been used at Elmira, it seems probable that the older prison systems will still hold their own, and that European nations will not generally adopt the indeterminate sentence and the latest invention in reformatories.

ARTHUR GRIFFITHS.

RIVER AND HARBOR IMPROVEMENT.

BY THE HON. NEWTON C. BLANCHARD, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON RIVERS AND HARBORS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THE government of the United States is pursuing, on a somewhat extended scale, a system of river and harbor improvement. Both the great political parties have recognized the soundness of this policy by substantially indorsing the same in their national platforms. No question is now more fully settled than the right and duty of the government, within proper limitations of economy and public necessity, to facilitate commerce by all appropriate public works.

The value of the great natural highways of our country to the people who now inhabit the United States, and to the generations who will follow in the occupancy of its territory and the control of its destinies, cannot be over-estimated. Nature has done much for North America as regards facilities for transportation. Great oceans on either side and a great gulf on the South offer their pathways to her people; on the North her inland seas, containing one-third of all the fresh water of the world, stand unrivalled among the lakes of all countries; and her numerous rivers lie ready to hand, "awaiting only the application of steam to vessels to render them magnificent highways." To be more specific, we have, approximately, 23,000 miles of dangerous coast line on the two oceans and gulf. We have the two greatest inland waterways on earth—the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River and its tributaries. The rivers of America are the largest on earth. After the Amazon and La Plata, comes the Mississippi, with a discharge per second of 250,000 cubic feet at low water, to over 1,000,000 cubic feet at high water. This mighty river is equal in bulk to all the rivers of Europe combined, exclusive of the Volga. It is larger than the Yang-tse-

Kiang and the Ganges, the greatest rivers of Asia, combined. It has forty-four navigable tributaries, and the aggregate navigable length of these rivers is 16,090 miles—more than four times the length of the ocean line from New York to Liverpool, and more than four times the distance by rail across the continent from New York to San Francisco.

The rivers emptying into the Pacific Ocean give us, in addition, 2,351 miles of navigable streams; those flowing into the Gulf of Mexico, other than the Mississippi, 2,870 miles; and those flowing into the Atlantic Ocean, 2,874, miles—making an enormous total of 24,185 miles of navigable rivers, lacking but little of being long enough to belt the world, and constituting an incomparable system of inland water transportation. These waterways were formed and presented by nature at no cost to the people, but they are just as valuable as if artificially constructed. They belong to the nation, and should, like its custom-houses, post-offices, military roads, and other property, be kept in good condition and repair.

To navigate these waters, we built, according to a competent authority, during the thirty years ending in 1890, 1,747 ships and barks, 575 barges, 12,423 schooners, and 17,359 sloops and other small craft—a total of 32,104 sailing and unrigged craft, representing 5,159,605 tons of tonnage; and during the same time we constructed 10,652 steamers, having a total tonnage of 2,864,066 tons—giving a grand aggregate of 42,756 craft of all kinds, having a tonnage of 8,023,671 tons, and representing an average annual addition of 1,379 vessels of 258,828 tons to our carrying fleet.

The records of the census give the fleet for the census year at 8,917 sailing vessels, 6,067 steam vessels, and 10,561 unrigged craft, making 25,545 vessels of all kinds, of the aggregate value of $215,020,336, to which must be added $25,000,000 for shore property, making a total of $240,020,336—a vast interest earning $145,000,000 for the year, employing wholly or partially during the year 240,288 persons, and paying out in the same time for expenses $115,000,000, of which $40,000,000 (in round numbers) was for wages.

The Census Bureau was able to gather reports on only about 90 per cent. of the traffic fleet, yet the report of operations by these is a remarkable one, the freight moved having been no less than

108,078,320 tons, the number of passengers carried having been 199,079,577, and the aggregate mileage the vessels reporting travelled to accomplish these results having equalled 106,456,164 miles.

The value of the exports and imports of the United States for the census year 1890, carried in American vessels, was $202,451,086, and the value of that carried in foreign vessels was $1,371,116,744, making a total of $1,573,567,830. This vast commerce is benefited directly by the improvement of our harbors, and indirectly by the improvement of our internal waterways. But this was only our foreign commerce across the oceans. Let us glance now at the freight movement on our inland and coastwise waters. This is grouped by a competent authority* as follows:

	Tons.
Freight movement of the Great Lakes, wholly domestic	53,424,432
Freight movement on the rivers of the Mississippi Valley, wholly domestic	29,405,046
Domestic commerce on the Atlantic coast and Gulf of Mexico	72,705,973
Domestic commerce on the Pacific coast	8,111,278
Making a total of	164,646,729
Add to these figures the of canal traffic,	20,747,932
And we have a total freight movement on our inland waters of	185,394,665

all of which is benefited directly by the expenditures made in the improvement of our waterways and ocean ports.

From this exhibit of foreign commerce on the ocean, and of domestic commerce on our inland and coastwise waters, it must be admitted that there is ample justification for the liberal policy of river and harbor improvement upon which the government has entered. But this is not all. If there were not a pound of freight carried upon the waterways, the benefits derived from their presence would be incalculable, standing as they do a menace by nature to all artificial competition and free to all who wish to use them for transportation purposes upon equal terms with minimum opportunities for pooling or discrimination—the great evils to-day in every other means of communication and transportation.

It is true, the railways now carry the largest portion of the freight formerly transported by river or lake, but they are compelled, by river and lake competition, to carry such freight during the season of navigation at very low rates. The waterways are the most powerful possible regulators of rates upon the railways. It is

* Mr. Thos. J. Vivian, Transportation Statistics, United States Census.

clearly shown by statistics that the lowest freight rates are found upon railroads most subject to water competition, and these rates ascend or decline according as navigation is free or interrupted.

The saving, therefore, to commerce arising from our waterways and their improvement comes from the resulting low rates of freight, and its money value must be calculated not only from freight moved by water, but also upon freight moved by rail in competition with the water routes. The effect of water transportation, it will thus be seen, is both direct and indirect. It furnishes the shipper with cheap rates, and, also, by its competitive influence, forces the railways to lessen charges. A diminution in freight charges of one mill per ton per mile on the railways of the country effects a saving of nearly a hundred millions annually to shippers in transportation charges.

It must be conceded, then, that upon our inland waterways depends most largely the realization of cheap transportation. Cheap transportation affects the welfare of both the producer and consumer. The competition among commercial cities is so great that a trifling overcharge in rates of transportation may cost the loss of an important market to the producer, and the trade of an important section to the particular market. Unobstructed navigation of the lakes and interior rivers, and deep water ports on the Atlantic, the Gulf and the Pacific coasts, means cheaper food, cheaper clothing, cheaper iron, coal, lumber, and cheaper supplies generally to every inhabitant of the United States.

No class of general legislation has, probably, been subjected to more severe and continued criticism than that enacted for the support and development of our internal and seaboard commerce by the improvement of our rivers and harbors. And yet it is probable that no distribution of public moneys has conferred more common and lasting benefits upon the people and upon the industries of the country at large. Nothing is more necessary to the development of a country and the advancement of its people than cheap, safe, unobstructed, and reliable transportation. Particularly is this true of a country like ours, with widely separated boundaries and diversified natural resources, where manufacturing industries and their sources of supply are often thousands of miles apart, and where centres of population are far removed from the agricultural regions, which supply the necessities of life.

The total amount appropriated for rivers and harbors from the

beginning of the government, in 1789, to the present time is, in round numbers, $240,000,000. What a small sum when compared with the amount of the present cash valuation of the railroads constructed in the United States since 1830 (say), $5,000,000,000! It is a remarkable fact that the total amount expended for river and harbor improvement hardly equals what is paid out in one year at the present time for repairs and rolling stock on the railways of the country.

For some years from the beginning of the government, improvement of our waterways was limited to sea-coast harbors and salt-water tidal streams. Later, John C. Calhoun, the leader of the strict constructionists of the Constitution, looked upon the Mississippi River and declared it "an arm of the sea," justifying the improvement of its navigation by the Federal Government on this ground. Inland and westward the advancing tide of population, of trade and commercial industry and activity, pushed its way, rendering the utilization of our other rivers and lakes necessary, and directing attention and care to their navigation. As more rivers and harbors were taken in hand, as more projects of improvement were entered on, a corresponding increase in appropriations for this purpose became necessary. In 1822, the first general appropriation for the improvement of rivers and harbors was made, amounting to $22,700. From time to time, appropriations of this character continued to be made, resulting in the expenditure of $14,700,000 prior to 1860. In the decade between 1860 and 1870, the aggregate appropriations were $12,789,182; between 1870 and 1880, $68,035,656; between 1880 and 1890, inclusive, $108,613,066; and since 1890, a little over $35,000,000: making a total of $240,000,000 in more than a century for purposes of great public improvement.

Contrast this sum with expenditures for like purposes by other maritime nations. Our neighbor, Canada, with about one-twelfth of our population, and with resources and wealth in no wise comparable to ours, has expended on her transportation routes (lakes, rivers, canals, and railways) more than $300,000,000, including nearly 1,300 miles of railway constructed and equipped by the government.

England has only 1,300 miles of coast line—not much more than one-twentieth of what we have. Yet she expends $20,000,000 annually upon the same; $30,000,000 has been expended on

the Clyde, which is but a rivulet compared with the Mississippi; and $82,000,000, all told, upon the Mersey, which is but a spring branch compared with the mighty "Father of Waters." Upon some of her harbors Great Britain has expended large sums—over $5,000,000 at Portland, over $6,500,000 at Holyhead, and over $7,000,000 at Plymouth. The figures may be much larger than these. I have not before me the expenditures for the more recent years. The great ship canal connecting Manchester with the sea at Liverpool, a distance of about 40 miles, was formally opened, amid great rejoicings, on the first of the present year, having been completed at a cost approximating $80,000,000.

France, with about three-fifths of our population and one-seventeenth of our territorial area, has expended since 1814 upon her harbors and waterways more than $650,000,000, in addition to $700,000,000 upon her railways. The aggregate length of her navigable rivers and canals is about 7,000 miles—not much exceeding the navigable length of the natural waterways in the single State of Louisiana.

Germany, in 1887, authorized the construction of more than 1,000 miles of new canal routes in addition to the 1,289 miles then in operation and her 4,925 miles of available navigable rivers.

Our method of making appropriations for river and harbor work has been faulty in the extreme. We have pursued a less wise course than have our European brothers; and a comparison of their methods with our own teaches a wholesome lesson and illustrates the only extravagant feature incident to the expenditure of our river and harbor appropriations. In Europe, when the improvement of a harbor or river is determined on, an estimate of the cost is made and a plan adopted. Then all the money necessary for the completion of the project is appropriated at once and made available for the regular, systematic, and continuous prosecution of the work.

With us, an order of survey of the stream or harbor proposed to be improved is made by Congress and this order is executed by the War Department, through the Engineer Corps. Inquiry is then made relative to the present and prospective commerce to be benefited by the contemplated improvement, with the view of determining what public necessity exists for the proposed expenditure and an opinion is required of the officer making the survey and of the

War Department, through the Chief of Engineers, as to whether the locality is worthy of improvement or not. If worthy, a plan of improvement is formulated and estimates of the cost figured. All this is submitted in a detailed report to Congress. So far, so good. Then, if it be the judgment of Congress that the project is worthy and the improvement be entered on, the plan is formally adopted, and a small appropriation, frequently not more than 10, 15, or 30 per cent. of the estimate, is made *to begin* the work.

There is always uncertainty when the next appropriation to continue the work will be made, and how much it will be. Thus, the officer charged with the work of construction is compelled to limit his contracts to the amount actually appropriated. This is soon exhausted, and work is stopped until the period comes around for the passage of another river and harbor bill. For the last ten or twelve years such bills have been biennial, coming only once in two years. At the first, or long, session of each Congress it is possible to pass such measures; at the short session they are "filibustered" to death. Stoppage of the work for the want of funds, as above indicated, not only postpones the period when results will be realized by the completion of the work, but is wasteful in the last degree by deterioration of the work already done by being left in an incomplete condition, and by the plant and working force engaged upon it becoming scattered and removed.

Sometimes the results of one year's work are destroyed or become valueless from one cause or another before the next appropriation can be had. Sometimes the engineer, as a matter of economy or from force of circumstances, withholds the expenditure until more money is appropriated and becomes available for the work.

This slow, sporadic, intermittent, uncertain method of providing the means to carry on public works has operated greatly to our disadvantage. In many instances the final cost of securing desired results has been greatly increased over what would have been required had the estimated cost been made available at once. The fault of our system lies in not appropriating the amount needed to complete a public work when it is ordered to be commenced, or in not authorizing the making of contracts to complete it.

The officers of the Engineer Corps protested from the beginning against the policy of partial appropriations, and the civil engineers of the country repeatedly called attention to the unwise action of Congress in this respect. Those of us in Congress who are intimately identified with this branch of public service saw and recognized this; but reforms are of slow growth, and it took years to educate popular sentiment in and out of Congress to the point of departure from the old, wasteful system, and the adoption of the new, or what is now called "the contract or continuous work," system.

This reform first made its appearance in 1890, on the river and harbor bill of that year. Its advent was retarded by the sharp criticism always encountered by river and harbor bills, and the fierce warfare waged on them in Congress.

It is true that prior to 1890—back in the seventies—a contract was awarded by law to James B. Eads to deepen the pass at the mouth of the Mississippi River. But that was an authorization to an individual to do specific work, and was not the outlining of a general policy, at that time, to be thereafter followed.

The contract provisions, however, in the bill of 1890 authorizing the Secretary of War to make contracts for the completion of certain public works was the first experimental step taken in the inauguration of a reform in legislation relating to river and harbor improvement, which may now be considered the settled policy of the government, to be prosecuted slowly, as the condition of the national Treasury admits, until all the works undertaken by the government, or at least the largest one, are included in it.

The bill of 1890 provided for contracts for completion in the case of five of the most important projects of river and harbor improvement. These were the St. Mary's Falls Canal, the Hay Lake Channel, and the harbors of Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Galveston. Without increasing the usual appropriations for these projects, which the bill carried, the following proviso was inserted in the case of each:

"*Provided*, that such contracts as may be desirable may be entered into by the Secretary of War for the completion of the existing project, or any part of the same, to be paid for as appropriations may from time to time be made by law."

This gave the Secretary of War the authority to contract ob-

ligations on the part of the government for the completion of the improvements at the localities mentioned, and gave to the works themselves the coveted status of being "expenditures authorized by existing law." Holding this status, the funds to meet the payments under the contracts became part of the current expenses of the government, and to be provided for as other expenses authorized by law are provided for, viz.: on one of the general appropriation bills, which come every year. The river and harbor bill is not one of the general appropriation bills, and, as already seen, comes only once in two years. Accordingly, the "contract" river and harbor projects passed out of the river and harbor bill and took their place on the sundry civil appropriation bill, which is one of the regular appropriation bills reported by the Committee on Appropriations.

The result of this departure from the old system was extremely gratifying. Not only was no difficulty found in securing bids for work, to be paid for as appropriations might be made, but in letting the contracts for completion at the five localities alluded to a saving of millions of dollars was effected over previous estimates.

This change proved such a decided success in the matter of economy, as well as in insuring speedy results, that when the river and harbor bill of 1892 was being made up it was resolved to extend the system. Thirteen more of the largest and most important projects under way of improvement were, in that bill, placed under the "contract" or "continuous work" system. These were the harbor of Refuge at Point Judith, R. I.; the harbors of Charleston, Savannah, and Mobile; Humboldt Bay, California; the Hudson River, upper Mississippi River, lower Mississippi River, Missouri River, the Columbia River at the Cascades; the mouth of the St. John's River, the Great Kanawha River, and the Ship Channel, Great Lakes.

Under the authority thus given, the Secretary of War has entered into contracts for these works, with the most gratifying results as to economy and expedition of construction.

For instance, it was estimated that the Ship Channel in the Great Lakes would cost $3,340,000. Under the authority to let out the whole work, contracts have been made for the completion of the project for the sum total of only $1,304,434.38, much less than one-half of the original estimate.

At Humboldt Bay, California, the estimate of the cost of the work was $1,715,115. A contract has been made to complete the project for less than half that sum, including contingencies.

At Hay Lake Channel, St. Mary's River, contracts have been made for the completion of the project at a saving of $900,000 under the estimate.

Great saving in money is also reported in the work on the Hudson River, on the Columbia River, on the lower Mississippi River, and at Mobile, at Charleston, at Baltimore, and other points; and as regards saving in time, the Chief of Engineers reports that "under the system of continuing contracts it is judged that the works will be completed in one-half the time which would be required were the works to depend on biennial appropriations and a consequent succession of contracts."

NEWTON C. BLANCHARD.

A NAVAL UNION WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

A REPLY TO MR. ANDREW CARNEGIE.

BY MAJOR SIR G. S. CLARKE, K. C. M. G.

It is an inevitable tendency of our age to seek solace in dreams. The stress of life, with its feverish competition and its merciless facts, the breaking up of old faiths, the oppressive sense of an existence ruled by inexorable law, the increasing subordination of men and matter to mere machinery political or technical—such conditions force us into mental reaction, which finds various modes of expression. Fancy, hedged around by practicality and weighed down by hard figures, cannot be wholly stifled, and whether we linger over an anticipatory retrospect with Mr. Bellamy, indulge in "a look ahead" with Mr. Carnegie, or—far less profitably—attempt to peer across the "Borderland" with Mr. Stead, the same human craving supplies the impulse and explains the fascination. All round us lie problems whose solution would gild the destinies of millions unborn, and that solution sometimes appears very easy and natural. To teach to the age the mere conditions of the problem seems almost sufficient to secure the great object. What better form can our day-dreams assume than the portrayal of the ultimate and certain triumph? In dreamland there are no facts to encounter, no difficulties to surmount, and fancy ranging free can re-create the world or bend the minds of nations to the fulfilment of a noble aspiration.

Although Mr. Carnegie has claimed this freedom for his "dream" of the reunion of the Anglo-Saxon peoples,* his practical mind has unconsciously asserted itself. He anticipates difficulties, but makes light of them; he tempers imagination by reasoning, whereby the power of each is impaired. I fear that the effect of his implied appeal to the two nations is thus weak-

* North American Review, June, 1893.

ened. The cold thinker may be alienated by the play of fancy; the enthusiast by the display of reason. While cordially agreeing with aims which I have long held to be fraught with infinite good to the future of the world, I am doubtful whether Mr. Carnegie's dazzling article will materially advance those aims. I write, therefore, in no spirit of mere criticism, but with an earnest desire to find some practicable first step, acceptable to both nations, capable of being carried into immediate effect.

Historically, the data of the problem appear somewhat different to those on which Mr. Carnegie dwells. The question to-day is not that of "reunion." In the hundred and more years which have passed since the North American colonies fought for and achieved their independence, a great nation has arisen under conditions physical, social, and political, which differ widely from those of the original mother-country. Kinship remains, new ties are being daily formed; but the powerful factor of a vigorous distinctive nationality must not be ignored. We, too, have moved fast and far since 1776, building up an empire scattered over many lands, diffusing throughout the world the blessings of commerce, and broadening the bases of national liberty. The Britain of 1894 is not that ruled by George III. Thus we have to bring together in lasting union two great nations never yet united.

I do not care, therefore, to analyze, with Mr. Carnegie, the motives of the founders of the United States, or to deplore the means by which independence was attained. The past may lie buried; the present and the future may receive a new impress if we so will. This, at least, is certain. No legacy of bitterness on either side has come down to the present generation from the eighteenth century, and the great name of Washington, patriot, soldier, and statesman, is revered alike by both nations.* The wound caused by the wholly unlooked for and undesired separation of the mother from her child has long ceased to "bleed." Nor do I believe that any slighted feeling of soreness survives from the mistaken hostilities of 1812–14, to which, though they occurred within the memory of living men, Mr. Carnegie does not allude. The story is a painful one. Only the intense preoccupation of British statesmen under the strain of a great Euro-

* A short time ago an American township erected a memorial to a British officer who had served in the Imperial forces prior to the rupture. His very name, treasured through all these years by Americans, was forgotten in England.

pean struggle can explain the heedless drifting into a war the imminence of which was to the last disbelieved by the people of England, and which an Atlantic cable might probably have averted.* The story is now remembered in America only in connection with some naval successes and possibly in the pension list. In England, it has long been forgotten.

Thus I doubt the force, even the relevance, of the quotations from American and British statesmen between 1774 and 1779, to which Mr. Carnegie devotes one-fifth of his article. As regards the question of sentiment, it is surely best to dwell on utterances subsequent to 1814.

With true insight President John Q. Adams, in his second annual message, wrote as follows :

> The commercial intercourse between the two countries is greater in magnitude and amount than that between any two other nations on the globe. It is, for all purposes of benefit or advantage to both, as precious and in all probability far more extensive than if the parties were still constituent parts of one and the same nation. Treaties between such states, regulating the intercourse of peace between them and adjusting interests of such transcendent importance to both, which have been found in a long experience of years mutually advantageous, should not be lightly cancelled or discontinued.

So far had mutual understanding advanced within less than twelve years of a painful contest in which American trade had severely suffered. Four years later, in his first annual message, President Jackson penned these significant words :

> Everything in the condition and history of the two nations is calculated to inspire sentiments of mutual respect and to carry conviction to the minds of both that it is their policy to preserve the most cordial relations.

And after four more years he was able to add :

> It is gratifying to the friends of both to perceive that the intercourse between the two peoples is daily becoming more extensive, and that sentiments of mutual goodwill have grown up, befitting their common origin.

More than half a century has amply proved the foresight of President Jackson. Englishmen do not forget the words of Admiral Josiah Tatnall asserting the indissoluble bond of race at a moment of emergency. And on many subsequent occasions the navies of the two nations have shown a brotherhood infinitely more significant than the hysterical embracings at Toulon and

* The obnoxious Orders in Council were repealed five days before the declaration of war by President Madison, and practically the only question remaining was that of impressment.

Paris. In July, 1882, it was from the U. S. Flagship *Lancaster* alone that ready aid was forthcoming to restore order in the streets of Alexandria. The generous cheers of American seamen, themselves in mortal peril, when H. M. S. *Calliope* forced her slow way to safety in the teeth of the hurricane at Samoa, found a full echo in British hearts, and in Admiral Kimberley's simple words—"We could not have been gladder if it had been one of our own ships"—there lies a power transcending all the ephemeral efforts of expert diplomacy.

Viewing the question of national sentiment, therefore, from a slightly different standpoint to that of Mr. Carnegie, I fully agree with all he has eloquently written. The ties of race, of a common language and of a heroic history undivided till 1776, of a literature powerfully acting as an assimilator of thought,* of commerce and intercommunication yearly increasing, are steadily drawing the two peoples together.

If, from out of the past, any root of bitterness yet springs, it is to be sought in the events of 1860–5, to which also Mr. Carnegie does not refer. With nations as with individuals, an injury is more readily forgotten than the apparent absence of sympathy at a crisis of their lives. Americans, misled by a portion of the English press, may still believe that the real heart of my country was not with the cause of the Union, and may never have read the noble words of John Bright, who in truth spoke for the people. To the impressions of a great American, who well knew England, I appeal. Writing to his wife on August 7, 1861, John L. Motley exactly defines the situation :

> The *Times* has played the very devil with our international relations, and if there is one thing I have set my heart upon it is the *entente cordiale* between England and America.

And in another letter at this critical period, he generously adds :

> I battle stoutly for England and the English, for no one knows better than I all the noble qualities of that great nation, and how necessary it is to our own moral greatness and true prosperity to cultivate the closest relations with our ancient mother.

When the real history of British sentiment during the storm

* Since writing these words I have met with the following striking confirmation of their truth in one of Mr. Edmund C. Stedman's charming essays : "As to distinctions in form and spirit between the Old World literature and our own, I have always looked for these to enlarge with time. But, with the recent increase of travel and communication, each side of the Atlantic now more than ever seems to affect the other."

which shook, but, happily for the world, failed to wreck, the Union comes to be known, this one sore—if it then exists—will be healed forever.

Into dreamland, however, no traveller can lead another; our visions are our own. To me, mountains loom where Mr. Carnegie sees only the light mists of morning. They are not impassable; but the paths are not yet cleared and the way is long. In Mr. Carnegie's vision, the British empire, parcelled off apparently into separate States, is bodily incorporated with the Union, thus changing a form of government which has been the growth of centuries, abandoning at one stroke the position of a sovereign state held for nearly a thousand years, and claiming henceforth only a minority representation in a new national parliament which might vote away the old flag. It is all conceivable; the mutual benefits would be enormous; but, for us at least, it is a revolution such as the world has never seen, and even the great republic, which swallows with ease an Arizona or an Idaho, would reel under the shock. Yet—in dreamland—the accomplishment becomes "so easy a task that its very simplicity amazes and renders us incredulous."

I may not question the confident assertions that the republic is "ready" for this stupendous change, and is holding the door "wide open for the parent land to enter"; but present tendencies do not appear to point clearly to the "free entry of all British products" as an idea which "would be hailed with enthusiasm." Mr. Carnegie admits difficulties. Ireland and Canada are "ready"; Scotland and Wales need but "a short campaign of explanation"; Australia and South Africa, if not now ready, might perhaps be thrown overboard, for "there is really no longer any decided advantage to the parent land in colonies." There remains England, hampered by the incumbrances of her ancient monarchy, House of Lords, established church, and grave responsibility for India, all of which Mr. Carnegie's prophetic soul sweeps easily aside. Yet the monarchy is now endeared to the people as never before in all its long history. Under it, freedom has steadily advanced; by it, no national aspiration is thwarted. No throne in Europe rests upon a base so broad as that of Queen Victoria; no personality could equally appeal to the hearts of the masses at home, in India, and in the forty-eight colonies and dependencies of the empire. "The divinity which doth hedge a

king" is capable of a modern interpretation, and there is no inherent incompatibility between a monarchy such as ours and democracy, which to the end of time will be more powerfully swayed by sentiment than abstract reason. Hereditary legislators and an established church may be doomed to speedy extinction, as Mr. Carnegie considers ; but can he be certain that the monarchy will not long survive both ?

As regards India, his views seem even less convincing and his fancy more rampant. The abandonment of the responsibilities of India is made almost a *sine qua non* to entry by the "wide open" door, for "no branch of the race now clear of any share of these would willingly consent to become a partner in them." Nevertheless, India "can soon be placed upon the road to independence and the British-American Union would guide it to this as well as the present union of the United Kingdom." In this guidance, however, lies the whole responsibility, which is thus repudiated in one sentence and accepted in another. The time may come when the heterogeneous races, which successive waves of conquest have spread over the vast peninsula, will be so far amalgamated as to be able to form a strong and stable government. But in the unchanging East the pace is slow, and hundreds of years may be needed for the transformation. Until that time arrives, peace, law, order, and defence against external aggression can be maintained only by Great Britain. No Eastern race, except the Japanese, has as yet approached within measurable distance of self-government, in the modern sense.

Our task in India is one which no other people has ever yet accomplished, and, heavy as is the responsibility, we shall not flinch from it. In Mr. Carnegie's view, the question of India and the colonies is merely one of commercial profit or loss. "Britain retains the trade of these regions because she can best supply their wants, and this she could do just as well if they were independent." The lives of nations, however, are not as yet ruled wholly by balance sheets, and the influence of Greater Britain has a value which cannot be expressed in pounds sterling. To India especially, as a training-ground, political, administrative, and military, we owe an important part of our national education. The very gravity of the responsibility is the measure of the moral gain.

While, therefore, the visionary portion of Mr. Carnegie's

article—accomplished union—is an entrancing prospect, the rational portion—the discussion of the means of attainment—sadly fails to satisfy. The admixture of cold reason has dulled his fairest fancy. Most wisely, Mr. Bellamy forebore to explain how his social revolution was brought about. The dream of an Anglo-American commonwealth, fascinating as it is, and promising unimaginable good to the world, fades away, under Mr. Carnegie's treatment, into the dim mists of the far future. It is all possible, but the realization seems hopelessly remote, and meanwhile the present has pressing needs. Can no immediate step be taken toward a practicable union? Must all wait till the British monarchy has passed away and India is self-governed? If the ideal is now unattainable, need an approximation be postponed?

The "federal idea," on which the marvellous prosperity of the United States is based, has never yet been applied to territories geographically distinct. Switzerland, alone among other countries, has a constitution so framed. Democracy, even though "triumphant," works out its salvation in various ways, and that the conception of federal government has made little progress in England, the copious Home Rule debates amply prove. The great principle—that the State is the unit, controlling its own affairs, and subject to the central authority only in regard to external relations or matters in which all States are concerned—may be capable of a far wider interpretation than it has yet received. A union of two nations, each retaining its accustomed form of government and its separate finance, would not directly violate the principle.

The history of Europe shows the futility of mere alliances. Groupings of nations have followed each other with the haphazard variety of kaleidoscopic combinations. All have failed absolutely to secure permanent results; few have survived the strain of war. The explanation is simple. These alliances never had an enduring basis. They were artificially devised to meet temporary requirements—often to subserve the veiled ambitions of only one of the contracting parties. They have been largely the work of individual sovereigns or of professional diplomatists seeking solely their own ends. They have frequently followed the dictates of dynastic relationship, and ignored national antipathies. There was thus no guarantee of a lasting community of

interests, and the revelation of divergency entailed swift disruption and a fresh grouping.

While past and present alliances have thus failed to fulfil the conditions necessary to permanence, the United States and Great Britain, alone of nations, satisfy every requirement of a true union. Their instincts and aptitudes, derived from a common ancestry, are essentially commercial, and it is not by mere accident that, as regards sea-borne commerce, they stand at the head of the world to-day. The approximate figures for 1891 are:

	Pounds sterling.
British empire	970,300,000
United States	357,700,000
France	300,200,000
Germany	212,000,000

Their mutual interests enormously exceed those of any other two nations, the total British trade with the United States in 1891 being over £168,000,000. Thus nearly one-half of the whole foreign trade of the latter is with the British empire.

The interesting figures given in President Cleveland's recent message illustrate this community of material interest in another aspect. During the year ending June 30th, 1893, of a total United States export of agricultural products amounting to $615,000,000, no less than 75 per cent. was taken by Great Britain. In the previous year the enormous total of $800,000,000 was reached, of which 78 per cent. found its way to the ports of the old country. Upon this vast trade the welfare of agriculture, which acts and reacts upon the whole fabric of national prosperity, must mainly depend. If it were interrupted or destroyed, the effects would be felt throughout the length and breadth of the North American continent. There is no possible alternative customer for $461,250,000 worth of farm produce.

The corresponding importance of the United States as a market for the products of British industry has been well pointed out by Mr. Carnegie; but the involved complexity of business relations, brought about by the free transference of capital from one country to the other defies all estimate. Only disaster to either, which must never come, would reveal the full extent of our mutual interdependence.

Can there be any doubt that the supreme interest of the two nations at this moment is that the ocean routes of the world should be inviolate and inviolable, or that this interest will in-

crease with the years? Is there not here a basis for a union which will endure? So intimate are the commercial ties that, *mutatis mutandis*, an American might almost adopt the striking words of Mr. Deakin spoken at the Colonial Conference of 1887:

> "We cannot imagine any description of circumstances by which Great Britain should be humiliated or weakened, or her power lessened, under which the United States would not be humiliated, weakened, and lessened. And we are unable to conceive any circumstances under which the wealth and status of Great Britain could be increased, which would not increase in the same degree the wealth and status of the United States."

For any material loss to either nation would inexorably react upon the other, and by any humiliation the pride of the whole race would be touched. Such conditions are unique. In the whole history of the world they find no parallel.

While, therefore, both nations require for their prosperity that the rich trade in which they have a joint interest should pass secure across the seas, neither has any real motive for attacking the commerce of another power. Aggressive rivalry such as existed between Great Britain and Spain, Holland and France, has ended—on our part. So wide reaching are now the operations of capital that few merchant vessels could be captured or destroyed without injury direct or indirect to some British or American interest. Although our newspapers periodically announce, with heedless ostentation, the launch of a new "commerce destroyer," neither nation has any real inducement to employ such vessels for this baneful purpose, even if the dictates of humanity and the claims of our boasted civilization are set aside. The rôle of the commerce destroyer is at best cowardly and ignoble to the last degree, and, except when practised by a strong naval power against a weak one, can rarely result even in pecuniary profit. What advantage to the cause or the coffers of the Confederate States accrued from the many helpless ships burned by the *Alabama* and her consorts? Only on the principle of doing the utmost injury to an enemy with a view to hasten the issue of war, can commerce destroying be justified; and neither the United States nor Great Britain can see in the commerce of other peoples an incentive to attack. This again singles out the kindred nations from the ranks of the great powers, leads them towards union, and places them on the side of the weaker peoples, who merely desire to trade in peace. As regards com-

merce, our common policy is strictly defensive. For us, it is surely best that the trade of the world should go free under whatever flag.

The security of commerce depends absolutely upon sea power, as Captain A. T. Mahan has brilliantly demonstrated ; and the lesson has been taken to heart by both nations, which had, perhaps, forgotten the plain teaching of their history. For each, naval strength is essential. "To secure respect to a neutral flag," wrote Washington,* "requires a naval force organized and ready to vindicate it from insult or aggression. *This may prevent even the necessity of going to war.* . . . These considerations invite the United States to look to the means, and to set about the gradual creation of a navy." "A naval power," wrote President John Adams, "next to the militia, is the natural defence of the United States." And nearly one hundred years later President Cleveland has re-echoed these sentiments—"I am distinctly in favor," he says, "of building up a thorough and efficient navy." Independently, therefore, of all questions of union, each nation must grasp and retain sea power, for the fostering and the active exercise of which both their geographical positions and their natural genius are supremely adapted.

Mr. Carnegie claims for his "reunion" that it "would dominate the world and banish from the earth its greatest stain," that no power need any longer "maintain either a great standing army or a navy," for "there would be no use in maintaining large forces when the Anglo-American had determined that no one should attack." I am not sure that militarism would thus receive its death blow, or that war on land would be averted. Only a dominant military power could have intervened with decisive effect between France and Germany in July, 1870, and such it is happily improbable that either the United States or Great Britain will ever become. On the other hand, the union of the two nations in a naval league could in truth dictate, at will, peace throughout the sea highways of the world. Such a league we alone of all peoples could create and maintain. Wanting nothing at the expense of other powers, honestly desirous that the trade of all alike should go free, we alone could unite our naval strength with the certainty that no nation which did not harbor sinister designs would resent the fusion.

* Eighth Annual Address, 7th December, 1796.

Past combinations of naval forces have never been able to exert power proportionate to their numerical strength. Want of full harmony and of mutual understanding, the decadence of one of the allied navies, or geographical disabilities, serve to explain the comparative weakness manifested. A naval league between the United States and Great Britain would be powerful far beyond the mere roll of their fighting-ships. Sentiment and the deep mutual confidenee which kinship inspires would confer on this unparalleled union an irresistible moral strength, to which the position and the territorial isolation of naval bases would lend supreme strategical advantage. Again, no two nations have ever yet been fully organized in peace, with a view to joint action. Their combinations have been fortuitous and unprepared, their operations enfeebled by jealousy or distrust. The Anglo-American league of peace would exclude any such source of weakness. Scattered all over the world are British harbors, ready to become resting, coaling, and refitting stations for United States ships. The Navy Department and the Admiralty would be brought into close communication; the two intelligence departments would exchange information. The distribution of ships in given contingencies would be the subject of joint consideration. A free interchange of ideas as to construction and armament would prevail. Finally, the basis of the league would be essentially democratic; since the welfare of the masses is intimately bound up with the security of sea-borne trade, even though neither democracy has yet fully grasped the fact.

The advocates of union, in any form, have to meet two objections—one on either side—arising out of the past and both equally unreal. "They," wrote Washington, "by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice." These words are deeply graven on the heart of the American nation, and might inspire reluctance to enter into closer relations even with the "ancient mother." Mr. Carnegie anticipates and disposes of this difficulty. "The doctrine of non-intervention is strong enough even to-day to give her (Britain) practical immunity from participation in European wars." The old order has indeed changed since the illustrious first President penned his farewell address. Non-intervention is unquestionably the strong sentiment of the British nation to-day; and if any backsliding were possible, it would be checked by the

growing influence of the great colonies. That no European alliance would now find favor is amply proved by present abstention. The blandishments of the central powers have been sufficiently employed. We have been in turn flattered, cajoled, and bidden to fear; but all in vain. So much do we owe to a democracy, which would nevertheless welcome a naval league with the United States with enthusiasm.

Meanwhile a policy of abstention from the responsibilities of a great nation has become impossible to the American people. It is even incompatible with the effective maintenance of the Monroe doctrine. Samoa must have taught its lesson. If ultra-continental possessions have so far been eschewed, the time of their necessity must soon arrive. Whatever may be the temporary settlement of Hawaii, that important outpost of the North Pacific must become American soil, and Captain Mahan has clearly indicated another part of the world where annexation will soon be needed. With the Nicaragua Canal, which American enterprise will certainly complete, must open a new era of responsibility, as President Cleveland evidently recognizes, while South America reveals a vista too extensive to portray. If, therefore, the assumption by the United States of its rightful position among the nations is inevitable, no first step could be so wise, so safe, or so natural as a naval league of armed neutrality with Great Britain. No guarantee of peace on the seas could be comparably effective. No other policy could open out to the American Navy such a noble prospect of world-wide beneficence.

The difficulty—if such it is—on our side arises merely from ignorance and traditions, rapidly disappearing. Diplomatic usages and habits of thought handed down for centuries easily become stereotyped. Our Foreign Office does not yet recognize in the United States the nation whose mere friendly neutrality would be of more value than the active alliance of any other power—the one people with whom alliance in any form is possible in the present temper of Britons at home and in the colonies. The swift uprising of the American nation and the prevailing European tendency to measure national strength solely by battalions account for the obscuration of the unimaginative official mind. Knowledge will soon triumph, as the recent creation of an embassy at Washington serves to prove; and once a true sense of scale is attained, this solitary British difficulty will disappear.

Although the complete political union on which Mr. Carnegie's fancy dwells seems too remote to appeal to the practical mind of either nation, one other important first step suggests itself. We have long grown accustomed to arbitration as the only intelligent method of laying to rest our small disputes; we have not as yet resorted to free discussion as its most natural form. There is a certain indignity involved in admitting the foreigner to intervention in our family affairs. We knew each other as he knows neither, and an Anglo-American council could effectively deal with most questions likely to arise. Four members on either side, including the respective highest legal authorities, a president appointed for five years from each nation alternately, continuous renewal of members on the principle of the United States Senate, and complete dissociation from party politics are the necessary conditions of the constitution of a high tribunal which would command universal confidence. To such a body, meeting once a year, would be referred, by joint consent, all questions not necessarily controversial, but of mutual arrangement; and the misunderstandings which the interchange of diplomatic notes inevitably promotes, together with the friction on the manufacture of which some newspapers thrive, would cease. In the last resort arbitration would still be available. The substitution of personal conference for smart despatch-writing would mark an era in the relations of the two nations.

If I have seemed to question the fervid faith which breathes in the pages of "A Look Ahead," it is only in the earnest desire to further its full ultimate accomplishment. My dream does not range beyond the needs of the present. In the forefront of civilization are two nations, but only one race. Splendid possibilities of progress and of benefit to mankind are lost or impaired by the want of a union of means to a common purpose. The race fails, by the separation of its members, to exert the paramount influence for good which lies within its easy grasp. Putting aside all interference with established institutions, I firmly believe that a real federation, in the higher sense, may be attained. Then, as the twin stars brought hope to the mariner of old, so will the glorious flags of America and Great Britain promise abiding peace throughout the oceans and seas of the world.

G. S. Clarke.

A CONFERENCE OF NEW ENGLAND GOVERNORS.

BY THE HON. F. T. GREENHALGE, GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

SOME time ago it was intimated by me that an informal, business-like conference of New England governors should be held to consider what steps were expedient or necessary for the preservation and advancement of the interests of all New England. The suggestion thus put forward had not been reduced to shape or proportion, nor were the limits, scope, and purpose of the scheme at all distinctly defined. As neither time nor opportunity has been given for the present realization of this project, it may not be out of place to answer the inquiry as to what purpose and advantage would be subserved by such a proceeding as that suggested.

I shall therefore, as plainly and concisely as possible, state what there was in the proposition as it presented itself in its somewhat crude and undefined form. At the outset I may say that it seems difficult to imagine what possible objection within any sort of reasonable limit could be offered to this suggestion, allowing always for the usual mild alarm which is excited by any novel idea in the minds of the "Forcible Feebles" of newspaper or political circles. To such minds the mere suggestion of such a conference brings up fantastic visions of evil portent. They imagine they see the mysterious John Henry, of Montreal, who during the long embargo attempted to create a feeling of disloyalty in New England towards the Union; the gloomy and sinister figure of Aaron Burr, with his schemes of personal empire, his dark conspiracies, his implacable revenges, rises in all the vast and terrible proportions of Milton's Satan; and inevitably and as a matter of course, the Hartford Convention, the stock *bête noir* of Democratic imagination, again assembles the members of its "infernal court" which, according to ancient Republican nursery tales, was plotting to erect the "Kingdom of New England"

with a monarch chosen after the most approved *opera-bouffe* principles.

It may be that comments like those referred to are in the nature of *persiflage* and are not meant to be taken seriously, and it is true that the jests emanating from the class of minds alluded to are so often clothed with solemnity and their serious thoughts so often attired in farcical garb that it becomes difficult to decide what the true intent of the authors is, or whether they have any intent at all. But in answer to all questions and comments which may appear to be worthy of serious consideration, I present the following suggestions relative to the propriety and expediency of a business-like, informal conference of New England governors.

This is the day of organization, of united, collective action, in every line and branch of human industry, effort, action, and thought. The world is learning every day the value and efficiency of union, of consolidation, of the marshalling and massing of forces, for the attainment of any given object, for the preservation of any right or advantage. We have organization, united action, in every direction. Everywhere we find organization in business of capital, manifested in trusts, syndicates, corporations, pools, combinations, many of them beneficial, and many oppressive and illegal; organizations of labor, forming all kinds of combinations under all sorts of names, trades-unions, knights, brotherhoods, orders, federations, leagues, lodges, guilds, fraternities. "The butcher, the baker, the candle-stick maker," the doctor, the lawyer, the plumber, the railroad man, the grocer, the soldier, the sailor—all of them, rich and poor, great and small, appear to have decided to "get together," and to move, not independently and individually, but in masses, by hundreds and thousands, and in very much larger numbers. We have also an infinite variety and number of social and political, as well as business, organizations. City solicitors, bar associations, county commissioners, mayors and ex-mayors, *alumni* and *alumnæ* of school, college, and academy, boards of trade of city, county, and State, agricultural societies of county, State, New England, and the United States.

The conference and convention are then the ordinary and natural implements employed by the civilization of to-day. It is far more ordinary and natural to employ them than not to employ them. If the mayors of Massachusetts' cities were to hold a

conference, in such a time as the present, to discuss methods of relief; of furnishing employment; of dealing with pauperism and crime; of the best system of lighting the streets, or of conveying away the sewerage; of meeting pestilence or diminishing taxes—it would probably be admitted that little harm and much good might result. As a conference of mayors might be productive of beneficial results, it would seem as if a conference of governors need not be fraught with peril or evil consequences. As the next larger circle beyond the town or city is the county, and the next beyond that the commonwealth, so by natural and regular gradation or expansion the town or city organization widens into the county organization, and this last becomes in its turn a constituent part of the State organization; and the widest and fullest development of any organization in any of the six New England States is found in New England itself, which has all the elements of oneness contributed by climate, history, and situation, by affinities, habits, pursuits, and interests. And so potent have these factors of unity been that from the beginning the States of New England, both as originally constituted and as existing now, have, in a great majority of cases, acted as a unit, political, industrial, or otherwise.

In the early days of the Republic, when interest and sentiment were in an inchoate, if not chaotic, state, the instinct of self-preservation prompted the most jealous watchfulness on the part of one section, or one locality, toward another and every other. The early struggle to maintain and preserve the Union from the time of the adoption of the Constitution to the year 1812 was as heroic as the struggle for Independence or the war for the preservation of the Union. The war of 1812, even though it brought out at times warm sectional feeling, finally cemented and secured the Union. But the men of New England, and particularly of Massachusetts, were constantly on the alert to detect and resist any hostile combination or any effort to diminish their influence or prestige in the Union. Their territory was small, and geographically or politically more segregrated from the bulk of the national territory than any other portion. For a long period, the people had lived, as Palfrey says, "in remarkable seclusion from other communities." They were wonderfully homogeneous, and of high and, what is more, of equal, social grade, and the whole community was marked by uniformity of charac-

ter and purpose, which made New England the great force in the establishment of the United States and in its subsequent career. The people were accustomed to act together from the first. In 1643 the four colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven formed a league called "The United Colonies of New England." These little States contained thirty-nine towns and 24,000 people; and the union, rude as it was, proved of great value in the Indian wars which were soon to follow.

In 1773 Massachusetts, representing New England, came into close political sympathy with Virginia; and New England and Virginia led the way to the triumph of liberty and independence in 1783. After the formation of the Union the "balance of power" was to be preserved. Everything in the situation had been carefully weighed and measured, before the Union was consummated: population, territorial area, geographical situation, wealth, and opportunities for future development. The purchase of Louisiana in 1804 occasioned much distrust and complaint on the part of New England. Already the united South had attained an influence in the national councils fraught with danger to New England. There were 840,000 slaves in the South, and fifteen votes were given to that section on account of this part of the population. Even then the so-called "negro vote" (which was *not* a negro vote) had been sufficient to secure legislation injurious to New England, and had practically determined the Presidential election of 1801. Massachusetts went so far as to propose an amendment to the Constitution to correct this system of representation, but it was not adopted. In 1808, while the "long embargo" was still in force, and the "Force Act" was exciting indignation and resistance throughout New England, a call for a convention of the New England States was formally issued. It was the firm stand of New England at this time which contributed largely to the passage of the act lifting the embargo, which act was signed by Jefferson March 1, 1809.

The Hartford Convention was held in December, 1814; but as the war soon terminated, and the rights of New England did not suffer in the settlement, the proceedings of that convention proved to be of no lasting importance, except in the minds of strong political partisans, who invest the doings and purposes of that body with a significance and complexion not borne out by evidence or history.

And so from time to time the action and influence of New England have been exerted for the preservation of her rights and interests, and without injury or menace to any other portion of the country. The conference at Altoona in 1862 was a notable instance. To-day New England is practically a unit—political, social, and industrial—but her interests are those of the country at large; she is at the head of the procession, not in the way of it. New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, and all the industrial States of the Union are in full sympathy with New England to-day upon all the great political and economic questions at issue, and they will welcome her leadership in these matters instead of disputing it.

It is apparent, then, that throughout her history New England has been a powerful factor in national affairs, and in the protection of her rights and interests by acting as a unit; that New England is the natural, convenient, and effective consolidation of the interests and purposes of the several states within her limits; that by reason of her enlightenment, her experience, her devotion to the best interests of the whole country, her success in business, in industry and in commerce, her educational and charitable institutions, in short by reason of everything which tends to develop, to strengthen, to adorn a state and to promote the happiness and prosperity of the citizen, New England is entitled to the respect and consideration of other states and sections of the country.

But there are dangerous influences and tendencies at work to-day which bode no good to the country. The conservative influences and tendencies of New England should be expressed in every reasonable and intelligent manner. When Caliban rises to threaten the country with crude and reckless theories of business and finance, it is time that the beneficent powers of Prospero should be brought into play. New England has two claims entitling her to be heard: she is most deeply interested in good money and good business; and she has had more experience and presumably has more knowledge in these things than the people of any other equal area in the United States. As regards all the prejudice which may seem to exist against her in some quarters of the country, the depth or sincerity of this prejudice may fairly be suspected because it is contradicted by many honest and genuine tributes of respect which are unmistakably offered to her by imitation of her institutions, her customs, and her methods. As

for Massachusetts, she enjoys the loyal respect and love of her sister-states of New England to a most remarkable and gratifying degree. There is a warm sisterly feeling among the states of New England and not the slightest symptom of envy, jealousy, or uncharitableness, from one to another, so far as my personal observation or information goes.

The questions of raising a revenue or of preserving a correct money standard are not the only questions before the people, though they may be of the first magnitude. There are other important problems which are to be considered and solved. Uniformity in many lines of legislation is important—uniformity in industrial conditions as affected by legislation, in railroad management, in sanitary regulations, in marriage and divorce, in the laws relating to wills, deeds, etc., in the laws relating to elections, to civil and criminal jurisdiction or administration, and in many other matters.

There happen to be six Republican governors in New England at present. This has not always been the case ; and as Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut have sometimes chosen governors of other political parties, the unanimity of sentiment manifested by the present state of things might serve to promote an important object of the proposed conference, which was to impress the members of the national legislature with the wide-spread opposition to radical legislation in financial or industrial affairs.

In 1890 the population of New England was 4,700,745. The value of its manufactures in 1880 was $1,106,158,303, and the total value of manufactures in the United States was $5,369,579,191, from which it will be seen that New England produced more than one-fifth of the entire value of the product of the whole country. The great State of New York, with a population of 5,981,934 (an excess of 1,281,389 over that of New England) has manufactures to the value of $1,080,696,596, or about $26,000 less than the total value of manufactures in New England. It will be seen, therefore, that New England is as deeply interested in industrial matters or in legislation bearing upon industrial interests as any equal area of territory in the country.

A conference of the chief magistrates of these New England States, a comparison of rules and methods, a discussion of popular and legislative tendencies, of popular and legislative

needs or desires, of executive and legislative business and the methods of performing it, might and ought to be as productive of beneficial results as similar conferences of business, political, or social organizations, and it is possible that in critical times the united efforts or influence of the governors of New England might suffice to turn the scale of political or industrial action.

F. T. GREENHALGE.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

FRANCE AND THE INCOME TAX.

THE question of an income tax is to the fore just now not in the United States only, for it is an exceedingly "live topic" in France also. It was an important plank in the Radical and Socialist platforms during the elections last summer for members of the Chamber of Deputies, and the conflicting views on this subject held by the different ministers of the Dupuy cabinet was the main cause of the parliamentary *coup-de-théâtre* which overturned that cabinet, and set up in December last the present Casimir-Périer ministry. And in his Declaration read before the Chamber and Senate, even the new President of the Council did not turn his back on the advocates of an income tax, since, in proposing changes in the French fiscal system, so much in need of reform, he expressed the hope that an impost might be levied by which "acquired wealth would be particularly reached."

An income tax of a certain kind, much resembling that which prevails in England, has not been unknown in France in the past, and is not unknown there to-day, though the spirit of the French *fisc* has, at least since the great Revolution, been always adverse to an income tax such as we have known in the United States.

As far back as 1296 the publican turned towards the income, and the taxpayer was required to take an oath on the Bible that his declaration was truthful. A similar impost was voted by the States General as early as 1355, and was reimposed at subsequent meetings of that body in succeeding years. After the wars of the Fronde, in the middle of the seventeenth century, the finances of the kingdom had fallen into such a lamentable condition that the king, in despair, looked for help in an income tax. One of the clauses of the proposed measure declared that all subjects who should make a false declaration would have their property confiscated. But the Duke of Orleans considered the project impracticable and it was abandoned. In 1710, however, a tax of this kind was imposed and collected, a quarter of the income being grasped by the state; and, as if foreseeing the advent, eighty years later, of the levelling spirit of the Revolution, nobles, clergy, and people were placed, by the royal decree which established this tax, on the same footing. But this action caused violent protests in the two first-named classes, which were carried to such excesses that St. Simon refers to the dispute as "a bloody affair." This tax was continued for several years. Under the old *regime*, however, the higher orders generally succeeded in pushing off the burdens of taxation on to the burgers and people, which is, doubtless, one of the hidden causes why modern France has never taken kindly to an income tax of the orthodox stamp.

M. Leroy-Beaulieu, one of the leading French political economists, says in his "*Traité de la Science des Finances*," when he speaks of the income tax:

"The difficulties in the way of its establishment are very great. They spring in part from our democratic conditions, political divisions, and administrative instability. Such a tax is more dangerous in a republic, where there is a tendency for government to fall into the hands of the working classes and their representatives, than in a monarchy, whether it be absolute or limited."

The reflection made in the last sentence is as applicable to the United States as to France, and explains why the French Conservatives of the past and the moderate Republicans of to-day hesitate to enter upon a line of legislation advocated by the "representatives" of "the working classes," as M. Leroy-Beaulieu well describes, without intending it, the Radical and Socialist Deputies of the present hour.

There is a strong strain of sentimentality running through French politics even to-day, and it was rampant in 1789. It shows itself especially in fiscal legislation. Thus, in the celebrated *Address to the French on the Payment of Taxes*,* issued by the revolutionary fathers in 1791, the word "*contribution*," instead of the word "*impôt*" of the ancient *régime*, is used throughout the document, for, we are told, while subjects support imposts, only a free people offer contributions to the public treasury. And several paragraphs of the address are devoted to an enumeration and condemnation of the various ways in which the tax-gatherers of the king used to violate "that holy law of domiciliary liberty." This feeling has repeatedly shown itself whenever the establishment of an income tax has been proposed in France. At such times the average Frenchman is disposed to make much the same reply as this of the Englishman who was testifying before a committee of inquiry on the income tax: "To go and ask somebody, 'What is your income?' is not the rôle of a gentleman." So every time a deputy has suggested empowering the tax-gatherer to put an important question of this kind, the proposal has always been received with great disapprobation. In 1871 Casimir-Périer, father of the present Prime Minister, said, in his report in the name of the Budget Committee, that the minority was opposed to the measure because "it saw therein the germ of a system of inquisition into private affairs, war between capital and labor, and progressive taxation"—the very ends sought for by the French Radicals and Socialists who are now demanding the establishment of an income tax.

The history of France shows that propositions of this kind are generally brought forward at moments of crisis and political instability. During the Republic of 1848 two Ministers of Finance proposed such a tax, but the propositions did not become laws. That arch-socialist, Proudhon, who was a member of the Constituent Assembly at this period, urged that all incomes from real and personal property be taxed one-third. Its collection was to be left to the diligence of tenants and debtors. Of course such a bill stirred up a tumult, and when the excited legislators came to a vote, only Proudhon and a single other member held up their hands in favor of the project.

Two or three times during the Second Empire an income tax of some description was talked of, but never put into effect, and when the National Assembly met at Bordeaux, after the Franco-German war, this same tax was expected to pay off the enormous sums needed at that time. A score of

* This address will be found in the appendix to a volume published by Guillaumin & Co., Paris, entitled *L'Impôt sur la Revenu*, by M. Yves Guyot, formerly Minister of Public Works. The author is one of the ablest of living French public men in all matters of political and social economy, and this volume is a very clear and concise account of income-tax legislation in France and other countries.

propositions of this nature were laid before the body during the next fifteen or twenty years, Gambetta even offering a panacea of this kind. The main purpose of them all was to exempt landed property, which, however, is well able to pay more, at the expense of personal property, and all were voted down. Every proposal to increase the land tax was also negatived. The upshot of all these debates was a slight augmentation of the tax on licenses, while an additional seven hundred millions of francs was secured by indirect taxation.

Another reason why a thoroughgoing income tax does not meet with much favor in France is due, perhaps, to the fact that an impost of this kind, resembling, at least, the one which prevails in England, does not differ materially from the four main French "direct contributions," which are a tax, not on any particular class of incomes, but on incomes in general. These consist of the land, house, and furniture tax, and the door and window tax. But the ratepayer is not subjected to an inquisitional declaration of any kind. All leases have to be registered, and as the rent one pays is a pretty safe guide as to the amount of one's income, this figure is taken as the basis for the tax list of a large portion of the inhabitants of France. It may be called an indirect income tax.

The fiscal battle in France has always been and is still waged between the advocates of direct and indirect taxation. Under the ancient *régime* the States General favored direct taxation. Sully and Colbert, however, preferred the indirect system, because the privileged classes could thus be reached. With the exception of Norway, France is of all modern European states the one where the proportion of indirect taxes is the largest. In the time of Francis I. (1515–1547) fifty per cent. of the taxes were of an indirect nature. At the end of the reign of Louis XI., in 1483, the figure had been twenty-two per cent. But under Louis XIV. (1643–1715) there were years when 175 to 100 was the proportion between indirect and direct taxes. In Necker's budget, presented on the eve of the French Revolution, the figures stood at about 115 to 100. The National Assembly had an antipathy for a system which it considered undemocratic, and the order of the figures was soon reversed, direct taxation furnishing the larger sum to the nation's treasury. In the budget of 1791 the indirect taxes formed sixty-six per cent. of the whole amount, and it soon fell to fifty-one per cent. Under the Consulate it rose to ninety per cent. During the Restoration the proportion of indirect to direct taxes was as 143 to 100, about the same as in the time of Colbert. During the reign of Louis Philippe the figure was 173; during the Second Republic 168, and the average during the Second Empire was as high as 225. To-day, for every franc of direct, a Frenchman pays six in indirect taxes. It was indirect taxation which furnished nearly all the money necessary to pay Germany the war indemnity of $1,600,000,000 in 1871.

Thiers was always an ardent supporter of indirect taxation. But, then, it was he who said that "political economy is a tiresome literature," and that "statistics is the art of being precise about what one knows nothing of." The late President Grévy, on the other hand, was opposed to this system, and as far back as 1849 voted against the re-establishment of the liquor tax, because he held that it was contrary to the principle of proportionality in matters of taxation. Thus have French statesmen long been divided on the merits and demerits of the two systems. But now that the republican form of government is firmly established in France and parties have the leisure to study economic questions more completely; now that

the country is becoming more and more democratic, and the Socialists are securing such a strong foothold in the chamber, indirect taxation, which falls so heavily on the poor, must sooner or later give way to increased direct taxation. In fact M. Casimir-Périer speaks out plainly in this sense in the Declaration already mentioned, and M. Yves Guyot, in the work which has been cited shows clearly that such a reform can be introduced with perfect justice to all concerned, since landed property is not paying its share. In this way the Moderate Republicans hope to checkmate the Radicals and Socialists, and postpone to a still more distant future the threatened enactment of an income tax, which has become a party cry, not so much for the purpose of putting money in the national treasury, as for extracting money from the purses of the rich *bourgeoisie*.

THEODORE STANTON.

RECENT IMPROVEMENTS IN PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

THERE are many portions of this country where the free public library is still unknown, and where its value as an educational factor is not as yet appreciated. During the past few years, however, a new impetus has been given to the movement, so that to-day it may with truth be said that in its new life the free public library is passing through very much the same phases of its existence as did the free public school, which for many years received its sole support from a very small section of the country. The benefit to be derived from a collection of books open to the free use of the public is being more widely appreciated, and its introduction to localities to which it has heretofore been a stranger must necessarily follow. The intelligent teachers of the present day are among the strongest supporters of the free public library, having the opportunities to see the great advantages which the pupils under their charge enjoy in the free use of a library of well-selected books. The very best results in education will be found in that town where the librarian is enthusiastic in his efforts to supply the needs of the school superintendent in carrying out his desires of instilling in the minds of his pupils that habit of reading which tends to make their studies tenfold more beneficial. This coöperation between these two men charged with the education of the young results not only in forming a habit of reading, but in teaching a pupil to think and investigate for himself.

I am led to write these lines on the free public libraries by reason of the fact that after reading a paper on the subject last summer before an audience composed largely of teachers, I was surrounded by many who, coming from those sections where free public libraries are still institutions of the future, were greatly surprised to learn of the very important part which libraries are playing in educational life elsewhere. Their crude ideas of the use of a public library, as well as the duties of a librarian, find their best expression perhaps in the following extract from an address delivered by the late James Russell Lowell. He pictured to his hearers the inefficient, if not almost useless, librarian when he said: "Formerly the duty of a librarian was considered too much that of a watch dog to keep people as much as possible away from the books, and to hand these over to his successor as little worn by use as he could." Then follows a picture of the enthusiastic and progressive librarian of the present day, in these significant words: "Librarians now, it is pleasant to see, have a different notion of

their trust, and are in the habit of preparing for the direction of the inexperienced lists of such books as they think best worth reading." Herein lies the secret of very much of the excellent work now being done in our free public libraries. The librarian feels that he is negligent of his trust if he does not do something more than hand out to the inquiring reader such book as he may ask for. He deems it to be part of his duty not only to take the book to the reader, but also to draw the reader to the book. In short, his ambition is to see the books which are in his keeping put to good use, resting confident that such reading must of very necessity improve the mind of the reader, and to just that extent prove to be of lasting benefit to him.

But it may be asked, What can a librarian do? What steps can he take to be of service to the reader other than to furnish him with that literature for which he seeks? The answer to these questions must be "very little," if it is always left to the reader to take the initiative. If, on the other hand, the librarian studies the tastes of the frequenters of his library, experience in some of our cities at least teaches that the answer must perforce be "much."

As an illustration of one method from the use of which good results are sure to follow, it may be well to mention that work above referred to, namely, a coöperation between the school superintendent and the librarian. As fact is better than fancy, so, too, will the practice of a librarian in one of our large cities prove of greater interest than would any theory which might be described, The librarian of the city keeps himself continually informed as to the course of study being pursued by the students of the university situated near by. In the reading-room he sets aside a table for their especial use, on which will always be found those books which they may, from time to time, find it profitable to refer to in the course of preparing their themes and essays. A student having, for instance, a thesis to write on some historical subject, knows that he has only to go to the library to find on this special table such books as the librarian has selected as bearing particularly on the subject of his paper.

Another work which this same librarian is doing, whose good results are self evident, is to keep informed of those many topics of current news which are daily appearing in the newspapers. Of these he makes a list, which he places on a bulletin board, adding to each subject the names of those books or magazine articles with their catalogue number, which one may well read if he desires to pursue the subject. Let us assume that the librarian, on taking up the morning paper, reads that the United States Government has established a protectorate over the Hawaiian Islands. This item of news he cuts from the paper, places it on the bulletin board, and to it affixes the name of such books as he can recommend to the reader who desires to know more of the Hawaiian Islands, or who wishes to clear up his perhaps too crude ideas of what a protectorate is. How many of us when looking over our daily paper find ourselves but slightly informed on many topics we read about? To how many of us would not such a librarian as above described prove of great assistance? It is such work as this which induces the reader to investigate for himself, and it is such a library as this which, being something more than a mere storehouse for books, proves to be a pleasant retreat for the reader, and a delightful experience to the visitor.

The writer does not remember ever having seen in any library any sight

which has given him more pleasure than when, one winter's morning, talking with the librarian of the above-mentioned library, he watched the visitors come in, both young and old, male as well as female, and, after consulting the bulletin of that day's news, go at once to the desk and ask for such books as referred to those subjects in which each was particularly interested. This surely is work worth doing, for it trains the reader in that very desirable habit of investigating for himself, and incidentally inculcates a love of reading which is sure to prove a lasting source of happiness and contentment.

Such, also, is the kind of coöperation which this same librarian has established between himself and the school teachers in his city. He urges these latter to bring the scholars to the library that they may there consult books and pictures having reference to their courses of study. The enthusiasm which such a man brings to his daily work makes not only the library a pleasant place to go to, but tends, in a very marked degree, to make the schoolroom happier and its daily task more beneficial. Of this city it cannot justly be said, as was charged by the Hon. Charles Francis Adams in speaking of a certain New England town, "that though the school and the library stand in our main street, side by side, there is, so to speak, no bridge leading from the one to the other."

In the city above referred to there is a steady stream constantly passing between the school and the library, and the good results of such investigation are best shown by the class of books which the pupils in its public schools are using. It is this energy of the modern librarian which has developed the newer life in library management of which mention has been made, and his continued enthusiasm must be depended upon to still further increase the usefulness of which free public libraries are capable. The good service which such a librarian can render to a community may, however, be very much hampered, if his library is under the charge of a board of trustees who have no true conception of the possibilities for usefulness of the institution under their charge. Too often does it happen that, unmindful of what is being done in other cities, they permit matters to drift along, regarding the ideas advanced by a librarian, such as above described, as foolish and impracticable. The problems of library science are as important as those which present themselves to school committees, and a trustee who, either from unwillingness, or from want of time, does not to some extent at least make a study of them, is a detriment to the community, because he is occupying a place which might be filled by some one who would meet the librarian's zeal with his own enthusiastic interest in the subject. Given a city or town with both a progressive librarian and an enthusiastic and investigating school superintendent, their respective boards being in hearty sympathy with them, and there is practically no limit to the good educational work which their combined efforts will accomplish. The school, teaching how to read, and the library, teaching what to read, will together raise the standard of the literature read in that city, which result must show fruit in the increased happiness and intelligence of its inhabitants.

E. C. Hovey.

LABOR POLITICS IN A NEW PLACE.

Since the Reform Act of 1884, Labor candidates at parliamentary elections in England have been numerous. There were three Labor members in

the House of Commons in the period which intervened between the reform acts of 1867 and 1884. The first of these acts enfranchised the working classes in the boroughs; the second enfranchised those in the rural communities; but it was not until after the last of the measures of parliamentary reform that Labor candidates came forward in any large numbers at the general elections. They appeared in considerable numbers at the election of 1885; a larger number came forward in 1886, at the election which followed the rejection of the last Home Rule bill; and in 1892 the number was again greatly increased, with the result that in the present House of Commons there are sixteen or seventeen Labor members, representatives of both the old and the new trade-unionism.

Until about two years ago, Labor candidates had sought election only to the House of Commons. Within the last two years, however, they have sought seats on the town councils, on the school boards, and on the boards of guardians for the relief of the poor. These are separate and distinct local bodies, elected at different times, but practically on the same franchise, and on a franchise under which all householders, whether men or women, have votes. As is the case with membership of the House of Commons, no pay attaches to membership of any of these local administrative bodies, although service on them entails large calls on the time of members.

All the city and town councils in England are fashioned on the same model, that set up by the Municipal Reform Act of 1835, and in the month of November each year in every municipality in the country, at least one-third of the members of the town council are elected. The municipal elections in 1892 followed too closely upon the general election to admit of the success of the Labor candidates in the Parliamentary contests having its full effect upon the new movement in municipal politics; but the quickening effect of that success was apparent at the elections in the municipalities in November, 1893.

The Labor movement in national politics in 1892 was strongest in the north of England, in the mining constituencies of Lancashire and Yorkshire and of Durham and Northumberland, and it was in these counties that the introduction of Labor politics into municipal affairs was everywhere apparent in the November elections. Nine Labor candidates were put forward in Manchester, five or six in Salford, several in each of the boroughs of Leeds, Bradford, and Halifax, and, in fact, there was scarcely a large municipality in the industrial districts of the north of England in which one or more Labor candidates did not seek election to the town council. In some places these candidates came out as Socialists, in others as the representatives of the Independent Labor movement, and wherever a Labor candidate was nominated little heed was paid to the old party lines, the representatives of Labor being put forward in opposition to both Liberal and Conservative candidates.

Imperial politics have absolutely nothing to do with the duties which Parliament has imposed on town councils. All these bodies are merely administrative, and each is held in check by the Local Government Board in London. Notwithstanding this fact, in many of the English municipalities the members of the councils are elected on party lines; and these lines are as well drawn at the annual town elections in November as at the Parliamentary elections. At the municipal elections the Liberals have always claimed the support of the working classes. Hitherto they have generally received it, but it now seems to be the policy of the local leaders of the

more aggressive section of the new democracy to nominate candidates of their own class and to put forward demands in behalf of labor in municipal as well as in national politics.

As yet these demands have not been embodied in a programme which is accepted by the Labor party in all the municipalities. The municipal Labor programme is not so well defined as is the Newcastle programme of the Radicals, the Fabian programme, or the programme of the Independent Labor party in national politics. It is, however, gradually defining itself, and the shape the Labor programme will ultimately take may be ascertained with some exactness from a perusal of the speeches which were made in the municipalities at the November elections. From these it is easy to note the points on which the Labor party is disposed to make new departures in municipal government.

To begin with, the prevailing idea with the Labor party in municipal politics appears to be that the employers and the moneyed classes have hitherto enjoyed more than their fair share of the management of town affairs. In a measure this is true, for the municipal candidates of both the old political parties have always been drawn exclusively from the middle classes. In order to bring about some equalization, the Labor party is demanding the abolition of the aldermanic bench in the city councils. Aldermen owe their presence in the existing municipal system to the action of the House of Lords when the Municipal Reform bill was before it in 1835. The aldermanic principle was introduced with the intention of safeguarding property, and by its working one-fourth of the members of every city council are elected by the council itself, and not by the direct vote of the townspeople. The Radicals long ago objected to the aldermanic principle, but of late they have ceased to agitate for its abolition, and the campaign which the Radicals began and continued for nearly half a century, has been taken up by the Labor party, which is now seeking so to amend the constitution of all governing bodies that every member shall owe his place to the direct votes of the constituents.

The Socialistic Labor party in the municipalities affirms that "it sees in the municipal machinery an important means by which it can work out the industrial emancipation which is at the bottom of its policy." But the Socialists and the Independent Labor party are in agreement in many of the demands they are making. Both ask for an eight-hours day for all servants of the municipalities, and for trade-union wages to all workmen engaged on public works. They are also in agreement in the demand that there shall be an end to the contractor and the middleman in work undertaken for or by the municipality. When a new drainage scheme is to be carried out or a bridge rebuilt, the Labor party insist that the work shall be done under the supervision of officers of the municipality and by workmen directly in its pay. They also insist that the same principle shall be adopted in all work paid for out of public money. A large municipality like Manchester or Liverpool, for instance, pays out thousands of pounds every year for the uniforms of its police force, its fire brigade, and its army of inspectors. Under the existing arrangement the city council invites bids from tailors for the furnishing of these uniforms, and usually accepts the lowest of the offers. The Labor party is anxious to put an end to this system of competition for municipal orders, and in its place calls for the establishment of municipal workshops and clothing factories in which trade-union rates of pay and conditions of work shall prevail, and requires that

in these workshops and factories, as in connection with all other public works, the municipality shall set an example to all other employers of labor.

The municipalization of the street-car lines is also demanded by the Socialists. In Manchester there was a protest against the extension of the large tenement-block system, and a demand for more self-contained cottages on the outskirts of the city, with the provision of better railroad and street-car facilities for reaching them. A kindred demand was that in every new dwelling-house the town council shall insist that there shall be a bathroom, no matter how small the house or the rental at which it is to be let. Other demands in Manchester and Salford were that gas should be sold at net cost, and that the coke produced at the municipal gasworks should, irrespective of the price of coal, be sold at prices placing it within the means of the poorer classes.

In almost every city where the Labor party took an active part in the November elections, there were protests against the salaries paid to the higher municipal officials, and demands for the levelling down of the salaries of the lawyers who hold the office of town clerk, and of the borough engineers and their assistants, and the levelling up of the wages of the unskilled day laborers employed by the municipality. These men receive wages which range from eighteen shillings to one pound a week. These wages are regarded as inadequate by the Labor politicians, who, on the other hand, maintain that the salaries paid the more responsible members of the permanent municipal staff are altogether too high. There are not a score of men, all told, in the service of the English municipalities who receive salaries of a thousand pounds a year; but the Labor politicians insist that no such salary should be paid, but that £250 a year should be the maximum salary for municipal officials, no matter what their qualifications or the responsibilities of the offices.

On one or two points there is a remarkable lack of agreement between the Labor politicians in the different municipalities: In Salford, for instance, the Labor leaders, especially those representing the older trade-unionism, objected to the maintenance of the Labor Bureau which the Town Council established in the winter of 1892, when the unemployed problem became pressing. Their complaint against the bureau was that it showed the needs of labor and enabled the employers to obtain men for less wages than would otherwise be paid. The same complaint, it may be noted, has been brought against the *Labor Gazette*, which has been published by the Board of Trade since Mr. Mundella extended the Labor Department at Whitehall. Almost at the same time that the Salford Labor leaders were putting forward their plea against the local labor bureau, the Labor leaders in Liverpool were urging the city council to follow the lead of Salford and establish a labor bureau, with a view to reducing the number of the unemployed.

Only a few of the demands put forward by the Labor party at the municipal elections can possibly be accepted by the town councils to which they were addressed, and to which the Labor party elected a fair number of their representatives. Largely increased Parliamentary powers will be necessary if many of these demands are to be conceded, and these new powers can only be obtained by a much further development of the Labor and Socialistic movement in national politics. This development, however, will be greatly aided by the organization and activity of the Labor party which were shown in the municipal elections in November.

EDWARD PORRITT.

THE FINANCIAL DEPENDENCE OF WOMAN.

SOCIAL reformers are not slow to point out to women that the key of their position is financial independence; without it, the most intimate relationships rest on an insecure foundation. It is a matter of common observation that the married woman with means of her own has more chance of consideration than the dowerless woman; other things being equal, her opinion, her entity are more valuable when enhanced by a settled income of her own, even if it be small. The Women's Progressive Society has for its fifth object: "To educate public opinion on the necessity of financial independence of all women."

The fulfilment of such an aim is strictly in accord with the socialistic tendencies of our day, and much, indeed almost everything, can be said in its favor. Women are grasping the conditions which surround them; they perceive that, though certain men, imbued more or less with the chivalrous spirit, may grant a substantial equality to the women dependent on them, it is for them a much safer position to stand by their own exertions on the basis of equality. In the former case, women depend on what lies outside self; in the latter, on self alone. In certain circumstances the difference is practically non-existent; in others, it may be infinite.

At a recent meeting of progressive women, one of the speakers gave forth no uncertain sound on this subject. She stated that the financial independence of her sex is strictly necessary to happiness in marriage; that without it the married woman is little better than a slave; in one word, it is the *degradation of woman*. And this speech was much applauded by her hearers, of whom a large proportion were self-supporting women.

Now it may be granted that the ideal position for every able-bodied man or woman is a self-supporting one; the undoubtedly socialistic tendency of our age will develop this ideal. Every individual will more and more render service to society in return for benefits received; the elimination of parasites, of the vast army of do-nothings, is a foregone conclusion. It may be predicted with absolute certainty that the English legislature, when its constitution has become more democratic, and hereditary legislators have disappeared, will deal with the probate duty on vast fortunes, and with the land question, in a manner in which it has never dealt with them before. As yet, we have hardly touched the fringe of these difficulties.

But whilst admitting that individual independence is an ideal worth working towards, it will not be attained any sooner by progressive women representing the financial dependence of a wife as degradation. It is conceivable that if any considerable number of independent women acted on such an assumption, they might positively retard that independence they wish to achieve. It may be conceded that the financial independence of woman would in the main be a solid guarantee of her happiness in the marriage relation. It has been repeatedly pointed out by the intelligent foreigner, especially, perhaps, the Frenchman, that an Englishwoman begins marriage badly who is made over to her husband without a *dot*—a factor of such importance in France that, with exceptions, a woman is hardly considered marriageable unless she is provided for to some extent. The thriftlessness of English parents, their birdlike irresponsibility to their children—possibly an outcome of the rapid growth of England's empire—is bound to yield in this particular; changed conditions, the insight and

writings of men and women like Mr. Walter Besant,* Mrs. Annie Besant, and Charles Bradlaugh, will surely help to raise a standard for parents who have no moral right, either for the sake of a daughter or her husband, to send her dowerless to that husband. The recognition that respectable provision for his daughters is a father's duty will equally certainly tend to limit the family; the cases of men with twelve, ten, or even half a dozen unprovided daughters will, ere many years have passed, be reprobated as instances of gross injustice and unpardonable self-indulgence. But in the mean time little is to be gained by representing the financial dependence of a married woman on her husband as a species of degradation. If any considerable number of capable women, honorably supporting themselves, were to decline marriage because it entailed their withdrawal from self supporting employment, and consequent financial dependence on their husbands, the cause of advanced womanhood could not but receive a check, if there be any truth underlying the doctrine of heredity. From the point of view of "forward light brigade," their ranks must be recruited again and again in the coming generation by women who object to this financial dependence. To leave marriage to the twining-ivy woman, to her who will accept marriage at any price and without any terms, is a policy inimical to the social enfranchisement of women. The children of the capable woman who even for a time has maintained her personal independence, will, other things being equal, be more likely to forward the cause of woman than the children of the dependent woman. Like many another movement, this one demands self-sacrifice from its adherents. It may suit its enemies to advise men to marry women who have had no practical knowledge of the struggle of life, and no share in it; it can never suit enlightened women to advocate such a policy.

It will probably be long before the average Englishman recognizes what the higher morality requires of him in assuring, so far as his conduct and effort can assure it, the position of his children. Indeed, up to the present one may almost say that he wilfully declines to see that there is any moral compulsion laid upon him to limit their numbers. The late Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant, when they frankly advocated this policy, were treated as disseminators of a shameful immorality, and sentenced by an English law court to fine and imprisonment. Dr. Pearson points out, in his remarkable work, *National Life and Character*, how impressed Holberg was in the eighteenth century with English readiness to examine new opinions, and to accept and teach them. Ours is another age; and though we have astonishing proof that the latter part of our century is casting off sluggish indifference to the wellbeing of the community, yet it would only be wise in progressive women to remember that in nothing do men yield more slowly than to the need of modifying their relations to women. If any proof be needed, the shameful divorce laws, which found their origin in a barbaric age, are still the law of the land; quite recently the House of Commons declined to remodel them in accordance with the growing spirit of justice, a reform demanded by a considerable number of its members.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the financial dependence of a married woman on her husband does not necessarily imply degradation. On the contrary, if women are capable administrators, if they can spend money wisely and save it reasonably, their value is as rubies. The writer is acquainted with women who married penniless, but who, knowing where

* See "The Endowment of the Daughter," in *Longman's Magazine*, April, 1888.

their talent lay, stipulated for the command of the purse. And it is just here where some experience of the value of money, its purchasing power, its painful inelasticity, is of the first importance. It is, on the whole, a much better thing for a woman to spend wisely her husband's income of say £400 than for her to give a divided mind to the administration of their home and continue work of her own by which that income is supplemented by, let us say, £130. It is true that men themselves do not always see this; at least not to the extent of giving a wife the command of the purse, or of settling a fair annual sum upon her as the price of entirely devoting her services to the wise management of the home. The sensible woman, she who is not just fresh from the schoolroom and entirely absorbed by the sweetness of love's young dream, will make this necessary arrangement for her comfort and reasonable independence in her husband's home before she crosses the threshold as his wife.

Wives who have failed to make such an arrangement, who have not foreseen that a husband's disposition displays far more human nature than a lover's, need not necessarily be "degraded" by financial dependence. Even in this case they may, and as a matter of fact often do, assume the direction of the household and obtain due respect and consideration. It is absurd to expect that character and capacity will not carry weight in the marriage relation as in every other. Nor is it going too far to say that, where a married woman has to ask her husband, after a few years of marriage, for every sovereign she has to spend on her clothes, she is deficient in these respects. Few men fighting the battle of life would choose of their own free will to both earn and spend their income; where they do so, it is usually a result of incapacity on the side of the wife, the proof of her failure to administer. Man is not so fond of double work as some would have us believe. The writer was intimately acquainted with a penniless lady who, at the age of exactly nineteen, married a man ten years older than herself. When they began life she received a weekly sum for household expenses, had to ask for every penny for her own clothing, and to ask it as a favor. But midway in a long married life she assumed the expenditure of her husband's income, because experience cannot justify the exclusion of a capable person from the direction of affairs, even when the age and inclination of the husband favor his assuming it.

The recognition of the fact that character and capacity are necessary in matrimony, that their absence is fatal to anything like a substantial equality of the sexes in every relation of life, will save us from much idle vaporing. Sex is a disqualification for much that is desirable in life; character and capacity never are. That many women possess them in an eminent degree explains the position they enjoy despite their sex; their absence explains far more in "the tyrant man" theory than perhaps progressive women are willing to allow. If the vanguard of the woman movement could contrive some system by which women of character and capacity should take precedence in their sex as candidates for matrimony, they might render a real service to "the cause," one of far more practical value than the mere statement that financial dependence is degrading.

C. S. BREMNER.

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PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF THE VATICAN COUNCIL.

BY HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL GIBBONS.

I HAPPENED to be the youngest Bishop that attended the Council of the Vatican, and, while my youth and inexperience imposed on me a discreet silence among my elders, I do not remember to have missed a single session, and I was an attentive listener at all the debates.

The Council was held in the left transept of St. Peter's Basilica, which was partitioned off and suitably furnished with all the requirements for a deliberative body. Pope Pius IX. presided in person at the opening, as well as at all the solemn sessions, and a bench of five Cardinals presided at the business sessions, or general congregations. At the close of the first solemn session the Prelates passed out from the council-chamber into St. Peter's Church, and mingled with the crowd of some 50,000 spectators. In advancing toward the front door of St. Peter's, I became separated from Archbishop Spalding, who always favored me with a seat in his carriage. I was as much bewildered as a stranger would be in a London fog, and did not attempt to find my way to the carriage, which was awaiting us in one of the many court-yards around the Vatican. The rain was pouring down in torrents, a carriage could not be secured at any price, and, encumbered as I was with the *impedimenta* of

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cope and mitre, a journey on foot to the American College, a mile or more away, was out of the question. I applied in vain to the occupants of several carriages, but all the seats were engaged. At last, when it was growing dark, a solitary carriage remained on the piazza, occupied by a Bishop. It was my last chance. I requested him to give me a seat, and explained my helpless condition, speaking to him in French, as that was the most popular language among the Prelates. The Bishop looked at me with a good-humored smile, which seemed to say: "I think you understand English quite as well as French." And then he replied to me in English: "The carriage, my lord, is engaged for five of us, but we cannot leave you stranded. We must make room for you." Rarely did our English tongue sound so sweet in my ears, and seldom was an act of kindness more gratefully accepted. My good Samaritan proved to be a Bishop from the wilds of Australia.

When the Council was convened in Rome, December 8, 1869, the Catholic Bishops of Christendom, resident and titular, numbered about 1,200. At an early stage of the Council, the number of Prelates in attendance was 737. Europe was represented by 514 Prelates, North and South America by 113, Asia by 83, Africa by 14, and Oceania by 13 Bishops.

Every continent, every island of importance, every nation on the face of the globe, except Russia, was represented by its hierarchy. The Bishops kneeling together around the altar in the council-chamber, could exclaim with truth in the language of the Apocalypse: "Thou hast redeemed us, O Lord, to God in Thy blood out of every tribe and tongue and people and nation."

No Prelates attracted more general attention than the venerable Patriarchs and Bishops of the East. I may here observe that the Oriental Christians comprise two classes, the schismatics, who separated from the Catholic Church chiefly in the fourth, fifth, and ninth centuries, and are not now in communion with the See of Rome, and the orthodox Christians who acknowledge the judicial supremacy of the Pope. Only the latter had representatives at the Council, though the former had also been invited by Pius IX., but they chose to decline. These venerable Prelates had nothing in common with their western colleagues except their faith. Their peculiar rites and ceremonies, their liturgical and popular language, their dress and long-flowing beards,

stamped them with a personality all their own. Some of them recalled to mind the Patriarchs of old, of whom we read in the Sacred Scriptures; and they might sit for a Moses or an Aaron. The Eastern Christians in communion with the Holy See are divided into the following rites: 1. The Greek Rite, itself subdivided into Pure Greek, Italo-Greek, Roumanian, Bulgarian, Ruthenian, and Melchite Greek; 2. The Chaldean Rite; 3. The Syrian Rite; 4. The Syro-Maronite; 5. The Syro-Malabar; 6. The Coptic, subdivided into Coptic proper and Coptic-Ethiopian.

These Orientals came from the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, the cradle of the human family; from the banks of the Jordan, the cradle of Christianity; from the banks of the Nile, the home of the oldest historic civilization. They came from Chaldea, from the lands of the Medes, the Persians and the Abyssinians; from Mossul, built near the site of ancient Nineveh, and from Bagdad, founded not far from the ruins of Babylon. They assembled from Damascus and Mount Libanus, and from the Holy Land, sanctified by the footprints of our Blessed Redeemer. What a spectacle they presented, what reverence they excited! Unchangeable as the hills and valleys of their native soil, they wore the same turban, and the same pale and thoughtful countenance that their fathers wore in the time of John the Baptist; they exhibited the same simplicity of manners that Abraham did nearly four thousand years ago, when he fed his flocks in the valley of Mambre and gave hospitality to angels.

The Vatican Council incidentally affords us a most striking and gratifying evidence of the growth of our language among the nations of the earth during the last three centuries, and of the corresponding expansion of the Catholic religion throughout the English-speaking world. We can form a just estimate of this increase by comparing the number of English-speaking Bishops who attended the Vatican Council with the number of the same tongue at the Council of Trent, which assembled three hundred and fifty years ago. At the Council of Trent the whole continent of America was without a single representative, having been discovered only fifty years before. Oceania was then a *terra incognita*. There was no Bishop from Scotland. England sent one Prelate and Ireland three to that council. There were, consequently, only four English-speaking representatives at the Tridentine Synod.

At the Vatican Council there was an English Episcopate numbering upwards of one hundred and twenty members. Prelates speaking our tongue assembled in Rome from England, Ireland, and Scotland, from the United States and Canada, from Oceania, the East Indies, and Africa.

Daniel Webster, in one of his speeches in the United States Senate, speaks of England as

"a power which has dotted the surface of the whole globe with her possessions and military posts, whose morning drum-beat, following the sun and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England."

We may not less confidently affirm that wherever floats the British or the American flag, aye, wherever the English language is spoken, there also is raised aloft the banner of salvation ; and there, too, is announced in our own noble and familiar tongue the Gospel of peace and reconciliation. And I venture to hazard the prediction that, at the next Ecumenical Council, if held within fifty years, the representatives of the English language will equal, if they do not surpass, in numbers those of any other tongue.

The question naturally occurs to the reader : What language was the medium of communication among so large and heterogeneous an assemblage speaking different tongues ? I answer that the Latin was the official language of the Council. A few words may not be out of place here explaining why the Latin is employed in the Liturgy of the Western Church, and why it was exclusively used in the debates of the Vatican Council. When Christianity was established, Rome was mistress of the civilized world. Wherever the Roman standard was planted, there also spread the Roman tongue, just as the English language is now diffused wherever the authority of Great Britain or of the United States holds sway. The Church adopted in her public worship the language that she found prevailing among the people. And she has very wisely preserved it in her Liturgy, even after it had ceased to be a vulgar tongue, as a dead language is not subject to the gradual changes of meaning which occur in a living tongue. The jewel of faith is best preserved in the casket of an unalterable language.

In like manner, we can easily perceive the utility, I might say the absolute necessity, of the Latin tongue in the delibera-

tions of the Council. Had the Bishops no uniform medium to express their sentiments, the Council would have degenerated into a Babel of tongues. Public debate would have been impracticable, even familiar conversation during the intervals of recess between the speeches would have been impossible to a great many, for the Bishops' seats were arranged, not by nationality, but by seniority of rank. But, thanks to the Latin language, which all but a few Orientals understood, each Bishop comprehended the discourses almost as clearly as if they had been spoken in his native tongue.

While the speeches of all the Bishops were intelligible to the hearers, an attentive listener could usually detect to what family of nations the orator belonged. He could tell whether the speaker was a Spaniard, a Frenchman, an Italian, a German, or a Prelate of the English-speaking world, almost as readily as an Englishman can distinguish a Scotchman from a Cockney or a Yorkshireman. The pronunciation or accentuation of certain words, the guttural sound or the soft cadence, was the shibboleth that revealed the nationality of the speaker. Sometimes a pleasant smile would play on the habitually grave countenance of an Italian Cardinal while listening to the language of Cicero uttered with inflection and pronunciation unfamiliar to his ears. The accomplished Bishop of Geneva began a speech with a graceful apology for his French accent: "My voice, Most Reverend Fathers, is French, but my heart is Roman." *

So much for the language. Let us now look more closely at the men. I think I am not exaggerating when I say that the Council of the Vatican has been excelled by few, if any, deliberative assemblies, civil or ecclesiastical, that have ever met, whether we consider the *maturity* of years of its members, their *learning*, their *experience* and *piety*, or the widespread influence of the *Decrees* that they framed for the spiritual and moral welfare of the Christian Republic.

The youngest Bishop in the Council was thirty-six years old. Fully three-fourths of the Prelates ranged between fifty-six and ninety years. The great majority, therefore, had grown gray in the service of their Divine Master. Several Fathers of the Church, bent with age, might be seen passing through St. Peter's Basilica to the council-chamber every morning, leaning with one

* Alloquor vos, Reverendissimi Patres, Gallico sermone, sed Romano corde.

hand on their staff, the other resting on the shoulder of their secretary. One or two blind Bishops could be observed, guided by their servants, as they advanced to their posts with tottering steps, determined to aid the Church in their declining years by the wisdom of their counsel, as they had consecrated to her their vigorous manhood by their Apostolic labors. Several prelates were so much enfeebled by years and infirmities, and so exhausted by travel, that they died martyrs to obedience and duty on their way to their Council; several others expired in the city or while returning to their dioceses.

But to the gravity of years, the members of the Council generally united profound and varied learning. From their youth they had drunk at the fountain of knowledge, and particularly at that of sacred science. There was not a single civilized language, scarcely even a tribal dialect in vogue among any people or race, that was not understood and spoken by some Prelate in that assembly. Every Bishop was familiar with at least two or three languages, and some of them were capable of speaking from eight to twelve. The Primate of Hungary informed me that he employed four different tongues in the administration of his vast diocese of a million of souls, corresponding in Latin with his clergy, and addressing his mixed congregations in the Hungarian, German, and Sclavonian languages. A Vicar Apostolic from China, who sat next to me, said that he was obliged to use six different Chinese dialects in his Vicariate.

Where else could be found a single assembly capable of discoursing in all languages under the sun? Was not this spectacle suggestive of the Pentecostal miracle? And well might the spectators exclaim: "Behold, are not all these who speak Galileans (or, at least, disciples of the Divine Galilean), and how have we every one heard our own tongue wherein we were born? Parthians, Medes, and Elamites, and inhabitants of Mesopotamia, Judea, and Cappadocia, Pontus, and Asia, Phrygia, Pamphylia, and Egypt, and strangers of Rome, Proselytes, Cretes, and Arabians—we have heard them all speak in our tongues the wonderful works of God."

They were men, too, of world-wide experience and close observation. Each Bishop brought with him an intimate knowledge of the history of his country and of the religious, moral, social, and political condition of the people among whom he lived. One

could learn more from an hour's interview with this living encyclopædia of divines, who were a world in miniature, than from a week's study of books. An earnest and attentive conversation with these keen-sighted churchmen on the social and religious progress of their respective countries was as much more instructive and delightful than the reading of books as a personal inspection of the Chicago Exposition would be in comparison with a description of it in the pages of an illustrated review. The living words left an indelible impress on the heart and memory.

And while I admired their learning and experience, I could not but venerate their apostolic virtues. The great majority of the Prelates had grown old in the service of their Divine Master, and had endured trials and hardships for the faith of Christ. Some were exiles from their Sees for conscience' sake; others were the successors of martyrs, and were destined themselves to wear a martyr's crown. By the enforcement of the Falk laws, or Culturkampf, in Prussia after the Council, Archbishop Melchers, of Cologne, now a Cardinal, was expelled from his See, to which, though still living, he has never been permitted to return. By the same laws, Archbishop Ledochowski, of Gnesen-Posen, in Prussian Poland, who is now the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda, was imprisoned for two years. St. Chrysostom says that Paul raised to the third heavens was an object delightful to contemplate, but that Paul buried in a Roman dungeon was still more worthy of our admiration. May we not add that Ledochowski was a conspicuous figure in the Council, but he was still more admired in a Prussian prison?

But of all the Bishops assembled under St. Peter's dome none excited more sympathy and admiration than the Prelates from China and Corea, where persecution periodically breaks out. To them might be literally applied the words of the Apostle: "In journeyings often, perils of rivers, perils of robbers, perils from the Gentiles, perils in the city, perils in the wilderness, perils in the sea. In labor and distress, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness." When travelling from Marseilles to Civita Vecchia by the Mediterranean, on my way to the Council, I happened to get acquainted with a Chinese Bishop. The expression of his pale and thoughtful countenance, with a blending of melancholy and sweetness, shall never be effaced from my memory. His was a face that

told you at once of sufferings, privations, and fortitude. He remarked to me on the steamer: "I am glad that my journey is near its end, for when I reach Rome I shall have travelled 23,000 miles." He had worked his way for weeks in a zigzag direction through the interior of China till he arrived at the Yang-tse-Kiang, down which he sailed to the mouth, thence made a circuitous voyage to a French port, and finally proceeded from Marseilles to Rome.

Another Bishop, Monsigneur Ridel, was also an object of sympathetic interest. Three of his predecessors in the Episcopate besides several missionary priests had died martyrs to Christianity in Corea, two other Bishops of that country perished from hunger and exposure, and the Bishop himself, after returning to Corea, was confined in an infected prison for five months, and was saved from a cruel death only by the intervention of the French minister. Whatever may be a man's religious faith, his heart will swell with emotion when he contemplates a young levite leaving his native land, his family and kindred, and voluntarily exiling himself in a distant country to preach the Gospel to an unfriendly and a hostile people, adapting himself to their habits and diet, daily carrying his life in his hands, and finally succumbing to disease, or to the stroke of the executioner. With very few exceptions, these priests, after touching Chinese or Corean soil, never return to their native country. The words of Dante may well be applied to them—"All hope abandon ye who enter here."

What heroism is more sublime than this? It is a heroism not culled from the musty pages of ancient hagiology, but occurring in our own days, a heroism not aroused by the sound of martial music, or the clash of arms in the battle-field, or by the emulation of comrades, or the lust for fame or territory; but a heroism inspired by their love for God and their fellow-beings.

Let us now enter the council-chamber for a few moments and observe the bearing of the Fathers toward each other, as well as the leading features of the debates, and then let us note a few of the prominent speakers who took part in the discussions. The conduct of the Bishops toward each other was marked by mutual esteem and by good temper that was rarely ruffled even when the most burning questions were deliberated. The most ample liberty of discussion prevailed in the Council. This freedom

the Holy Father pledged at the opening of the synod, and the pledge was religiously kept. I can safely say that neither in the British House of Commons, nor in the French Chambers, nor in the German Reichstag, nor in our American Congress would a wider liberty of debate be tolerated than was granted in the Vatican Council. The presiding Cardinal exhibited a courtesy of manner and a forbearance even in the heat of debate that was worthy of all praise. I do not think that he called a speaker to order more than a dozen times during the eighty-nine sessions, and then only in deference to the dissenting murmurs or demands of some Bishops. A Prelate representing the smallest diocese had the same rights that were accorded to the highest dignitary in the Chamber. There was no limit prescribed as to the length of the speeches. We may judge of the wide scope of discussion from the single fact that the debate on the Infallibility of the Pope lasted two months, occupying twenty-five sessions, and was participated in by one hundred and twenty-five Prelates, not counting one hundred others who handed in written observations. No stone was left unturned, no text of Sacred Scripture, no passage in the writings of the Fathers, no page of Ecclesiastical History bearing on the subject, escaped the vigilant investigations of the Bishops, so that the whole truth of God might be brought to light.

It is true that, toward the end of the Council, with the view of saving much precious time without prejudice to the freedom of discussion, the original rules were so modified that, on a petition of ten Fathers, the President could propose and the majority could decide to close the debate.

I well remember how, during and after the Council, a good many writers in the public press affected to be shocked and filled with virtuous indignation that there should be any outburst of feeling or even any display of parliamentary contention in a Council of Catholic Bishops. With the Mantuan poet, they exclaimed :

"Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ?"

Had the deliberations been carried on in a humdrum style, without criticism or opposition on the part of the minority, the outcry against the Council would have been all the louder. Then it would be charged, with a fair show of reason, that there was no spirit or manhood among the Fathers ; that they were so many

figureheads ready to bow at the nod of the Pope. The Bishops were men with human feelings. They were freemen fettered by no compact, bound by no caucus, filled with a profound sense of responsibility to God and their conscience. They were discussing questions, not of a political or transitory nature, but questions of faith and morals, which would not only influence the external conduct, but control the internal assent of themselves and of the faithful committed to their charge. As judges of faith, it was their right, as well as their duty, to examine the sacred records before registering their vote, just as the judges of the Supreme Court examine the statute and common law before rendering a decision. If they had unanimously agreed on all the great questions under consideration without any diversity of sentiment or conflict of words, they would have exhibited a spectacle unparalleled in the annals of civil or ecclesiastical legislation. The history of every great Council of the Church has been marked by intense earnestness of debate. There was not only discussion, but "much disputing" in the Apostolic Council of Jerusalem. There were scenes of controversy, not to say of commotion, in the Ecumenical Councils of Nice, Ephesus, Chalcedon, Constantinople, and Trent. Yet such incidents of verbal strife did not impair the dignity nor lessen the authority of these memorable conventions.

The most important debate in the Council was that on the Infallibility of the Pope. It may be proper to observe here that the discussion was rather on the expediency or opportuneness of defining the dogma than on the intrinsic truth of the doctrine itself. The number of Prelates who questioned the claim of Papal Infallibility could be counted on the fingers of a single hand. Many of the speakers, indeed, impugned the dogma, not because they did not personally accept it, but with the view of pointing out the difficulties with which the teaching body of the Church would have to contend in vindicating it before the world. I have listened in the council-chamber to far more subtle, more plausible, and more searching objections against this prerogative of the Pope than I have ever read or heard from the pen or tongue of the most learned and formidable Protestant assailant. But all the objections were triumphantly answered. When the audience in Rhodes listened to Æschines repeating the speeches he had previously delivered against Demosthenes, they applauded

him; but when they heard the harangue of Demosthenes their plaudits and admiration were redoubled. It was with sentiments like these that the assembled Prelates listened to the advocates of Infallibility after hearing its opponents.

Besides the theological difficulties, there were thinly veiled threats of future hostility to the Church forwarded to Rome by some of the leading governments of Europe if the Decree were enacted; and some of the Bishops expressed their fears that the definition would be followed by schism in certain countries. Every dispassionate reader, whatever may be his religious convictions, must be profoundly impressed, as I was at the time, with the fearless and serene conduct of the great majority, who, spurning a temporizing policy, the dictate of human prudence, were deterred neither by specious arguments, nor imperial threats, nor by the fear of schism from promulgating what they conceived to be a truth contained in the deposit of divine revelation. Since the last vote was taken in the solemn session of July 18, 1870, all the Bishops of Christendom, without a murmur of dissent, have accepted the decision as final and irrevocable.

In every deliberative body, both civil and religious, there is always found a select number who come to the front and are conspicuous among their compeers by their acquired reputation, their ability, or their eloquence. The Vatican Council was no exception to this rule.

Among the prelates who took a prominent part in the debates, I shall single out a few who impressed me as recognized leaders in the assembly; though I may say in passing that there were present many silent Solons, like the venerable Archbishop M'Closkey, of New York, and the present Bishop of Buffalo, whose voice was not heard in the council-hall, but whose influence was felt in the committees.

Cardinal Manning was, unquestionably, the most attractive figure among the Episcopate of England. His emaciated form and ceaseless activity suggested a playful remark made to him in my hearing by Archbishop Spalding: "I know not how Your Grace can work so much, for you neither eat nor drink nor sleep." He delivered the longest oration in the Council, and yet it hardly exceeded an hour, which is evidence of the usual brevity of the speeches. The question is commonly put in America: "How long did he speak?" In Europe they ask: "What did

he say?" Cardinal Manning's discourse was a most logical and persuasive argument, and, like all his utterances, was entirely free from rhetorical ornament and from any effort to arouse the feelings or emotions. It was a Scriptural and historical treatise appealing solely to the intellect and honest convictions of his hearers.

Ireland had a distinguished representative in the person of Archbishop Leahy, of Cashel, who was, perhaps, the most graceful orator among the English-speaking Prelates. His reply to Cardinal Prince Schwarzenberg, in the Infallibility debate, was a masterpiece of sound reasoning and of charming declamation tinctured with a delicate flavor of Irish wit.

Archbishop Spalding, of Baltimore, and Archbishop Kenrick, of St. Louis, were among the most noteworthy Prelates from the United States. Archbishop Spalding was a member of the two most important committees, in which he was busily employed. He delivered but one discourse during the Council. Archbishop Kenrick spoke Latin with admirable ease and elegance. I observed him day after day reclining in his seat with half-closed eyes, listening attentively to the debates, without taking any notes. And yet so tenacious was his memory that, when his turn came to ascend the rostrum, he reviewed the speeches of his colleagues with remarkable fidelity and precision without the aid of manuscript or memoranda.

Among the many illustrious French Prelates of the Council, Monseigneur Darboy, of Paris, and Monseigneur Dupanloup, of Orleans, held a conspicuous place. Archbishop Darboy was known to enjoy the confidence and to share the sentiments of the Emperor Napoleon on the leading questions discussed in the Council. His heroic and untimely death is still remembered by many. At the close of the Franco-Prussian war, he was arrested and imprisoned as a hostage by the Commune. Mr. Washburne, our Minister to France, made strenuous, though fruitless, efforts to save his life. He was cruelly shot in the prison of La Roquette, May, 1871, and died, his hand uplifted in benediction, and a prayer on his lips for his murderers. That the post of Archbishop of Paris is as hazardous as it is exalted may be inferred from the fact that Monsigneur Darboy witnessed the assassination of two of his predecessors, Archbishops Affre and Sibour.

Bishop Dupanloup was not only an eminent churchman and a

fearless defender of the faith, but also a scholar whose literary attainments had won for him a place among the forty Immortals in the French Academy. Possessed of indefatigable energy himself, he gave, it is said, but little rest to the clerical members of his household. Among the many searchers after light and peace who sought his counsel may be mentioned the famous Prince Talleyrand, whom he had the consolation of reconciling to the church from which he had long been estranged.

The following anecdote I have never seen printed in this country, and I may be pardoned a digression to introduce it here. The intimate acquaintance that Talleyrand enjoyed with the literary celebrities of the day does not seem to have been shared by the mistress of his household. On one occasion the French statesman invited the Scotch historian Robertson to dine with him, and he advised Madame Talleyrand to glance at the works of their expected guest before the day for the dinner arrived. On being introduced to the historian she naïvely inquired of him what had become of his good man Friday. She had evidently confounded Robertson the historian with Robinson Crusoe.

Another notable personage was Cardinal Dechamps, Archbishop of Malines. His brother Adolphus and himself filled analogous positions in Church and State, the one being Prime Minister, and the other Primate of Belgium. The Cardinal brought with him to Rome the well-merited reputation of a great pulpit preacher. His clear and well-modulated voice, his distinct enunciation, his engaging and conciliatory manners, and his habit of judiciously emphasizing leading words and phrases revealed the practised orator and commanded the unflagging attention of his hearers.

Baron von Ketteler, Bishop of Mentz, was as distinguished a champion in the German Empire as Dupanloup was in France. He was a graduate of the University of Goettingen. His face was disfigured by a scar, the result of a duel fought in his university days. A statement has been made which I could not verify, that the duel was fought with Prince Bismarck. He had practised law for some years before he took orders in the Church. In the Council, Von Ketteler was a decided *Inopportunist*, while in Germany he was an earnest advocate of the independence of the Church from the encroachments of the State. Not less conspicuous in defence of infallibility was Bishop Martin, of Paderborn.

Cardinal Prince Schwartzenberg, Primate of Bohemia, and Cardinal Simor, Primate of Hungary, were the two most influential churchmen of the Austrian Empire. The double title of Prince of the Realm and Prince of the Church, which Cardinal Schwartzenberg possessed, was still further ennobled by a commanding presence, handsome features, and the gift of eloquence. He strongly contended against the opportuneness of the Decree of Papal Infallibility, and expressed his apprehension that it might result in a schism in Bohemia, a fear, however, which happily was not realized.

There is this striking analogy between the Republic of the Church and the Republic of the United States, that the son of a peasant is eligible to the highest ecclesiastical preferment, including the Papacy itself, just as the humblest citizen of our country may aspire to the Presidency. This truth is forcibly illustrated in the career of Cardinal Simor. Unlike his Bohemian colleague, he sprang from the people, and was proud of recording the fact. He was a member of the Upper House in the Hungarian Parliament, and his experience in that Chamber rendered him one of the most ready and effective speakers of the Council. A touching incident of filial reverence and greatness of soul is recounted of Cardinal Simor, which reminds one of the respect that Solomon paid to his mother when he descended from his throne to greet her. On the occasion of the visit of his mother to him in his palace at Gran, he introduced her to several distinguished personages of the Empire, with every mark of dutiful affection.

In the gravest assembly, an occasional diversion is not unwelcome;

> "A little humor now and then
> Is relished by the best of men."

And the mirth is all the more refreshing when "it is not in the bills," and when its unconscious author is in the most serious mood. One of the Oriental Bishops who did not understand Latin, undertook to deliver a speech. He wrote out his address in his native Arabic, and had it translated into the language of the Council by his Latin secretary. He then read it in a loud monotone, without any regard to accentuation, pronunciation, or punctuation, from beginning to end, without comprehending one word of what he said. And I think that the audience were as much in the dark as the speaker. I am sure, however, that the Bishop

was not actuated by the ambition of some Congressmen who, despairing of making an impression on their colleagues, are content to have their speeches printed in the *Congressional Record*, and spread among their constituents where they will do the most good.

I shall close these short sketches by a brief reference to Mgr. Strossmayer, Bishop of Bosnia, who was reputed the most eloquent Prelate of the Council. His name figured conspicuously during and after its proceedings, and he felt obliged to repudiate certain hostile sentiments toward the Holy See that had been falsely imputed to him. His discourses were always sure to captivate, if they did not convince, his hearers. His periods flowed with the grace and majesty and musical rhythm of a Cicero. By a masterly arrangement of words, which the genius of the Latin tongue allows so much better than our own, he would bring out the strong points of his discourse at the close of each sentence in some well-rounded phrase. Occasionally in the heat of his oration he would wander from his subject into a forbidden field. An expression of disapproval would come from some Bishops, and then the patient President, yielding to the remonstrance, would stretch his hand toward the bell, the ringing of which was the signal that the speaker was out of order. When the Bishop would see the hand in close proximity to the bell, he would dexterously return to his subject, and thus avert the humiliation of an admonition.

If I have made no special mention of the Bishops of Italy and Spain, it is not from any lack of materials, but from lack of space, for I am transcending the limits I have prescribed to myself. Not a few of the Italian and Spanish speaking Bishops from South America, as well as from the mother-countries, signalized themselves by their ability and eloquence.

Of the College of Cardinals that attended the Council only four survive to-day, one of whom is the reigning Pontiff, Leo XIII. Although Cardinal Pecci did not take part in the public debates of the synod, he was one of its most influential members, and the weight of his learning and administrative experience was felt in the committee to which he was appointed.

May it not be by a particular design of Providence that he who was to be elected the head and judge of his brethren in 1878 should not have been involved in their disputations in 1870, but

that he should enter into his high office, joyfully hailed as the harbinger of peace and concord by prelates of every shade of theological opinion?

The year 1870 will be ever memorable for two great events, the Vatican Council and the Franco-Prussian war. Let us contrast the pacific gathering of Christian Prelates with the warlike massing of troops which immediately followed on the continent of Europe. Hosts of armed men were trampling the fair fields of France. The land was reddened with the best blood of two powerful nations. The sound of their cannon spread terror throughout the country. Thousands of human victims were sacrificed, and thousands of homes left desolate; and after a lapse of nearly a quarter of a century, the fires that were then kindled are still smouldering, and the animosity engendered by the struggle is not yet allayed.

A Council of Bishops assembled in the name and under the invocation of Heaven. They met together, not amid the booming of hostile cannon, but amid *Hosannas* and *Te Deums* to God. The pursuits of agriculture and commerce were not suspended during their sessions. The Decrees they enacted for the welfare of the Christian commonwealth are in full force to-day among 230,000,000 people; and long after the framers of them shall have passed away, they will continue to exercise a salutary influence on generations yet unborn.

What does this prove? It proves that the pen and the voice are mightier than the sword and the cannon; that "peace hath her victories no less renowned than war," yea, victories more substantial and enduring. It proves that all schemes fomented by national enmity and a lust for dominion are destined, like the mountain torrent, to spread ruin and desolation along their pathway; while the deliberations of men assembled in the cause of religion, like the Council of Bishops, or in the interests of international peace, like Boards of Arbitration, silently shed their blessings as the gentle dew of heaven, and bring forth fruit in due season.

JAMES CARD. GIBBONS.

NEW PARTIES IN PARLIAMENT.

BY JUSTIN M'CARTHY, M. P.

WHEN I first became acquainted with the House of Commons —more than twenty years before I became a member of that assembly—the conditions of its political life were much more simple than they are at present. There were the two great opposing parties—the Liberals and the Tories. But the Liberals were beginning to be more and more subdivided into Radicals and Whigs. The Whigs were the men who followed Lord Palmerston; the Radicals were those who acted habitually with Cobden and Bright. In every great debate we heard Lord Palmerston, and Lord John Russell and Mr. Gladstone on the one side; Mr. Disraeli and the first Lord Lytton or the late Lord Derby on the other; and then Cobden and Bright as representing the more advanced Radicals. There was also an Irish party, but it was not a party which made any great mark on the actual life of the House of Commons. The time of O'Connell had passed away: the time of Parnell had not come. There were then, roughly speaking, only two great parties in the House—or at all events in the division lobbies of the House; for although Bright and Cobden both disliked and distrusted Lord Palmerston, they were generally compelled to support him in preference to supporting his Tory opponents. They supported him often, too, because of their growing belief in Mr. Gladstone.

Now how many parties are there in the House of Commons? The Liberals and the Tories are still facing each other as before. But there is an Irish party, a Scotch party, a Welsh party and a Labor party. There is a Woman's Suffrage party; there is a Temperance party; there is a Colonial party; there are other parties more or less conspicuous. These are all solid and self-centred bands, whose partisan allegiance is not always to be counted on with certainty by either of the two great parties in the state. About the Irish party I need not say much. It has made itself too well known to

need an elaborate description of its purpose and its organization. The readers of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW know very well that it is devoted to its own principles, and that it would accept Home Rule from either Liberal or Tory. The Scottish party is not as yet so compact and so resolute in its organization; but its time will come. Its ultimate object is Home Rule for Scotland. The immediate object of the Welsh party is the disestablishment of the State Church in Wales—later on, no doubt, it will ask for Home Rule for Wales. Nothing could be more remarkable and more interesting than the growth of these two national parties in the House of Commons. They have both been inspired directly by the success of the Irish National movement. When I was first observing the House of Commons no one ever heard of a Scottish party or a Welsh party. More than that, when, fifteen years ago, I first entered the House, no Scottish or Welsh party had yet been heard of. One of the younger and more energetic leaders of the Welsh party used to be called the Parnell of Wales. The term was significant. The Scottish band and the Welsh party do not as yet try to exert much force as cross-currents in the politics of England.

The Temperance party—the party in favor of prohibitory legislation as regards the sale of intoxicating liquors—has grown to an immense power in the state. Thus far its members have habitually acted with the Liberals, because they believe there is better hope for their cause from the Liberals than from the Tories. But they would at any moment forsake the Liberals and stand by the Tories if the Tories were to promise them a full measure of local option and the Liberals were to refuse it. They would be justified in such action by the very conditions of their existence. They are, like the Irish Nationalists, a party formed for one distinct purpose, to the promotion of which all other considerations are secondary. A few years ago they were, like the old-fashioned Home Rulers, a party that merely got up an annual debate and took an annual division. This, at least, they seemed to be to most members of the House of Commons. Once in each session they brought in a bill for the prevention or restriction of the sale of intoxicating liquors, and the question was discussed and a division was taken and the Prohibitionists were left in a small minority, and the House heard no more about the matter until the next session. I know men who

used to vote with the Prohibitionists because they said it looked well to be on the side of temperance and the prohibition bill could not possibly do any harm because it never could pass. In the meanwhile the temperance men were exerting themselves all over the country, in every city and in every village and at every election. The press was for the most part against them, but the pulpits were for the most part with them. They got hold of a new and a taking principle, a new and a taking name. They made their agitation one in favor of "local option." It was to be left to a certain majority in each community to say whether the sale of intoxicating drinks should or should not be permitted there. Many a man who has no particular faith in the suppression of drunkenness by legislation finds it hard to say why the majority in any community should not be allowed to determine whether they will or will not allow drinking shops to be established among them. At one time it was thought that the power of the publicans was irresistible at the elections, but of late many people have begun to doubt whether the temperance men are not the stronger influence of the two. It is certain that of recent years the official leaders of the Liberal party have determined to defy the publicans and to translate as soon as they can the principle of local option into legislation. The present government are pledged to some adaptation of the principle. At one time even a man like Mr. John Bright, an austere worshipper of temperance, a man who never had a decanter or a wineglass in his house, was unable to see his way to going all the length with the followers of Sir Wilfrid Lawson.

Sir Wilfrid Lawson is the leader and the inspiration of the Local Option party. The party is very happy in having such a man to lead it. If a writer of farce or comic novel were to set about describing the leader of such a party he would be certain to paint a picture of a man curiously unsympathetic with any form of human weakness ; a man absolutely devoid of any sense of humor—a sour, or what the Scotch would call a "dour," man. Such a man would simply have wearied and disgusted the House of Commons, which dearly loves to be amused and especially detests to be sermonized or bored. Sir Wilfrid Lawson is one of the most humorous men, one of the most inveterate makers of jokes in the House of Commons. He is bubbling over with fun. He can scratch off in a moment a rattling poetic epigram or par-

ody. He puts his gravest truths in the delightful form of a jest or a story. The House cannot but hear him. Nobody wants not to hear him. All the time he is absolutely in earnest—only it is part of his nature and perhaps also part of his purpose never to be dull, never to weary the House. So he has always his audience ready to hand—his strongest opponents are only too glad to hear him. Let any one who understands what English parliamentary life is, think what it is for a party to have a leader whom everybody wants to listen to. Sir Wilfrid Lawson comes of a fine old North of England family; of what its people love to call the North Country. He is, I believe, a rich man, and I have heard that he spends every year large sums of money in the promotion of his cause. He has wrought so far a wonderful success. The Liberal government have had to set aside his measure for this session, because they had too many things to do which could not be put off. But a man has almost carried his point when he has prevailed upon a Liberal government to adopt his principle and pledge themselves to carry it into legislation. I am not myself greatly enamoured of the principle. I am not very confident of its ultimate effect. I have made careful studies, at different times, in the United States and in Canada—studies extending over nearly five and twenty years—which have not gone far to encourage my faith in any form of prohibitory legislation. But I am not blind to actual facts in social movements and in Parliament. I see that the experiment of local option has to be tried in England. I see that it has become a question which is capable of making and unmaking ministries; and I see, too, that it is a principle which has grown to an immense popularity in the country. I must say that the success of the movement thus far is due in great measure to the leadership of Sir Wilfrid Lawson.

I have no occasion to say much about the Woman Suffrage movement. It has been going on for some years. It has not lately made any conspicuous advance in the House of Commons. This is partly due to the fact that the organizers of the movement have been very patient and have not been willing to thrust themselves into the forefront of parliamentary agitation. I have, for the sake of one political cause at least, good reason to feel grateful to them for not having tried to obstruct and interfere with the action of the Liberal government. Their self-restraint

ought to be taken into consideration, and with grateful recognition of their forbearance, at some early period. If it is not, they will have every justification for assuming an independent and a resolute ground of their own. The House of Commons is, unfortunately, too often like the crowd at the gallery door of a theatre when a popular piece is on. If you do not crush forward you are certain to be left behind.

The representation of Labor in Parliament is, of course, not a new thing. It dates from the year 1874. At the general elections of that year the Liberals, headed by Mr. Gladstone, went out of office, and the Tories, led by Mr. Disraeli, came into power. The Tories were full of gladness and even of exultation. If only they could have foreseen! That election brought in the first Labor candidates—avowedly Labor candidates—who ever sat in the House of Commons and were enabled by their class to maintain such a position. That election, too, brought back Mr. Isaac Butt to the House of Commons after a long absence, and brought with him, too, the first utterance of the name of Home Rule. The two Labor candidates returned to that Parliament were Mr. MacDonald, a man long since dead, and my friend Mr. Burt, who is still in the House and who is now and was once before a member of a Liberal administration. No man in the House of Commons, I will answer for it, is more respected there than Mr. Burt. Mr. Burt was a workingman in the mines. He managed to educate himself somehow, and is now much better educated, taking him all round, than many a man who has gone through a full course of University training. In 1874 Mr. Disraeli offered his congratulations to the House of Commons on the fact that they had at last two representatives of labor in their midst. I do not think the congratulation was insincere. Disraeli had a sort of sentimental sympathy with the workingman. He tried at one time to call into existence a multitudinized Conservative workingman. Mr. Bright, Radical as he was, did not seem to be inclined to the introduction of the Labor candidate—as a Labor candidate. He was opposed on principle, he said, to the idea of representation by class interests. He was opposed to the representation in Parliament of the railway interests, the landlord interests, the brewers' interests—and so he was doubtful about the labor interests. The answer of the Labor candidates would have been only too obvious.

The House of Commons had got the representation of the railway interests, the landlord interests, the brewers' interests, the army interests, the navy interests, and many other interests besides, and could not possibly get rid of them—and what conceivable reason could there be for refusing to organized labor some representation of its interests? The case was clear, and the Labor candidates became more and more successful—and even the rural laborer soon found his representation. Men like Mr. Cremer, Mr. Howell, Mr. James Rowlands, and many others came in to swell the representative influence of the artisan in cities, in mines, and in dockyards, and Mr. Joseph Arch was sent into the House to speak up for the cause of the rural laborer. The Irish National party, the Scotch National party, the Welsh National party have now each and all their own Labor representatives in the House of Commons. Clearly the principle of Labor representation has "caught on"—has indeed prevailed against all adversaries, all odds, and all objections.

The most conspicuous man among the newer members of the Labor party is undoubtedly Mr. John Burns. I have great admiration and respect for Mr. John Burns, and a firm belief in him. He has about him the charm of a strong, self-reliant manhood — he is above all things a man. You can see this in his dark, soft, gleaming eyes. They are eyes which invite confidence. John Burns is a working engineer who has led a toiler's life, afloat and ashore and under various conditions. He has worked along those mysterious African rivers which are associated in the minds of most of us with the explorings of Stanley and of Emin Pasha. He has worked in London sheds and yards. He is a fine and a powerful speaker, and can control a vast meeting of workingmen with irresistible force. He is a great democratic influence, and political parties and social organizations can hardly reckon without him. He seldom speaks in the House of Commons, but when he does speak he speaks well and goes straight to the point. He never speaks but on some subject which he thoroughly understands, and about which he has something important and direct to say. He has a fine and even thrilling voice, and one always feels that some day when his time comes and his own question is uppermost he will make a great speech. For the present that time has not come, and John Burns has given loyal and devoted support to the

SOUTH END.

Home Rule Bill. The natural defect of many such men in the House of Commons would be to think of nothing but their own cause. One who has been long engaged out of doors in a particular cause is apt, if he gets into the House of Commons, to lose all sense of perspective and proportion. He does not see that something else has to come first. He will not see that anything else ought to come first. So he persists in merely trying to beat his own drum and to prevent others from rattling their drums at all. He becomes like a player of cards who insists on playing out of his turn. Thus he puts people against him and even perhaps against his cause. He sinks very often into a mere "crank." I have known honest and gifted and devoted men become utter failures in the House of Commons—failures for themselves and for their cause—through this fatal misconception. John Burns has none of this weakness. I do not believe he would surrender a single principle of his cause for all the governments and all the political parties in the world. But neither would he injure another great cause or show himself impatient with it or unconcerned about it because it happened to be in before him. When John Burns came into Parliament at the last general elections, he found Home Rule in possession of the field. Nothing on earth could have displaced it. Even that great disorganizer of English domestic reforms—a foreign war—a war between England and some foreign State—could not have pushed Home Rule from its place. Therefore, John Burns, being a sturdy Home Ruler already, threw his energies and his heart into the task of advancing Home Rule. He worked for it with unceasing courage and good sense, both in public and in private. He never missed a chance of speaking for his own cause; but he recognized the fact that the Home Rule cause "had the floor," and he made no effort to impede it, but, on the contrary, helped it cheerfully in every way that came within his power.

John Burns, of course, represents the artisan order. Joseph Arch represents the rural laborer. Joseph Arch was a mere farm laborer himself. He does not pretend to be anything but a farm laborer now. He is a sensible, solid man who has the historical merit of having first taught the English rural laborer to form organizations—trade organizations—as their fellows in the cities and towns had already done, and to fight the cause for themselves. Arch has told me that he had practically no education, and indeed

there was very little school education of any kind going for the rural laborer in his younger days. But he managed to learn a good deal all the same—one can learn a good deal if he has a will that way without the help of a village schoolmaster. Arch devoured books and studied mathematics of nights when his work in the fields was done. He is a man of deep-rooted, natural, serious piety, and for a long time acted in the capacity of a volunteer Methodist preacher among his people. He thus acquired a forcible and sustained style of speaking which impressed his audience when he began to deal with politics, and, which was of more importance, he had also acquired the full confidence of all who knew him. Under his impulse and his care the agricultural movement became an influence and a power, and in due course of time he was sent into Parliament to advocate its objects and its claims. He had an early sympathy with the condition of the Irish peasantry. Only the other day he was telling me how he met some of the arguments against the annual immigration of the Irish reapers and other agricultural laborers into the English counties during harvest time. Many English laborers complained bitterly of this invasion of competing labor from Ireland and its effect upon the wages of Englishmen. "Don't blame the Irish laborers," Arch was wont to argue; "blame the Irish landlords and agitate against them. Blame the man in the big house yonder and others like him. He is an Irish landlord and draws all his fine income from Ireland, and he hardly ever goes to Ireland, and his agent screws up the rents in Ireland so high that the farmers could not pay them and live, and the laborers could not exist at all if they did not cross over every harvest to England and Scotland and try by hard work to get a few pounds to keep their wives and their children alive during the long winter." Arch has always been a sturdy Home Ruler and he is of course an ardent radical. He is a simple, straightforward man. He wears even now a costume very much like that of an ordinary English peasant, and has not the slightest idea of claiming to be anything above his class. If there were in England that institution which a romantic young aristocrat in one of Disraeli's novels yearned for—an "Order of Peasants"—then assuredly such an order would be proud of my friend Joseph Arch. There is nothing sour or grim about him; not any fanaticism, except, perhaps, in his dislike for the Tories. "Nothing

good for the people ever came of *them*" he stoutly maintains. Nothing of their own inception, perhaps. That is probably what he means.

Newest of all the parties in the House of Commons is the Colonial Party. The Colonial Party is composed of members of Parliament who were born or brought up in some of the colonies, or have lived much of their lives there, or have great pecuniary or other interests in the colonies, or have travelled there and made colonial questions a study on the spot, as Sir Charles Dilke, for instance, has done. The chairman of the party is Sir John Gorst, who lived a long time in New Zealand and has the peculiar distinction of being the only member of Parliament who can speak the Maori tongue. The object of the party is naturally to look after the interests of the colonists in Parliament, where of course I need hardly say they have no direct representation; and to consider how to deal with the growth of the principle of federation, a principle which is becoming a burning question throughout England's great colonial possessions. There are some born Australians in the House of Commons. There is, for example, Mr. McArthur, one of the whips of the present government; and there is the younger Mr. Curran. There are several men who spent the best part of their lives in Australia, like Mr. Henniker Heaton, the elder Mr. Curran, and Mr. J. F. Hogan. I cannot remember at the moment whether we have any prominent Canadian, except my friend the Hon. Edward Blake, who held for many years a commanding position in the Dominion Parliament. Then we have men deeply interested in South Africa, like Sir Donald Currie and Mr. Rochfort Maguire—in short, we are very well provided with unofficial representatives of our colonial system. Nothing could be more natural than that these should desire to band together and form an organization to watch over the interests of the multifarious and far-divided colonies. So far as I can see, the official representatives of the colonies in London—the Agents-General and others—do not seem to take very kindly to this new organization. Officials of any kind or class are not, I suppose, always ready to welcome any non-official intervention or even participation in what they regard as exclusively their own concern. But the men who have formed the Colonial party are not at all likely to be put out by a little chilliness at the beginning on the part of the regular

officials. The truth is that nothing is to be done in the House of Commons now without a special party to look after its interests and to press them, and to push them, and to drive them, until at last they get a place in the front. Nothing can be done without such organizations—I should not like to say what may not be done by their aid and by their energy.

A strong organization in Parliament and outside it will now make any government do almost anything. It sometimes takes one's breath away to observe the rapidity with which conversions are made now on either side of the House. We had a remarkable instance of this lately. While the Conservatives were last in office they were pressed to pass a certain measure in favor of the interests of the Irish tenantry. The leaders of the Conservative government in both Houses delivered the most positive declarations that on no account would they consent to pass any such measure. The supporters of the measure were not daunted. They kept up their agitation—and with what result? The strong Conservative government brought in the measure and passed the measure in that same session! And what happened afterwards—the other day in fact? Lord Salisbury, the late Prime Minister, denounced the self-same measure in terms the strongest and the bitterest that even he could use. But why was this? Because the rapidity of his conversion to the principle of the measure had been so sudden that in a few months he had totally forgotten all about it. He had forgotten that he was converted, and had even forgotten that the measure he was denouncing was his own measure, and the measure of his own government! How long is it since nearly all men in authority on both sides of the House were declaring the demand for an Eight-Hour bill to be a demand not worthy of serious consideration? And now—do not most of them think it quite worthy of serious consideration? There would seem to be a regular process gone through now by the leaders of Parliament on both sides with regard to all great popular demands. The first process may be described in the words—"Your demand is absurd; we cannot even listen to it—and besides you have no backing in the country." The second is. "Come along, my fine fellows, and let us talk this over—there is very likely a good deal of sound practical sense in what you are saying—and there are such a number of you anyhow." The final utterance is: "Why, of course, we will help you to get your bill.

We were always in thorough sympathy with you—we fail to understand how any one could have thought otherwise; and, besides, the general elections are coming on, and who can tell what the other people"—the Liberals, or the Tories, as the case may be—"might take it into their heads to do?" For I feel bound to say that the rapidity of these occasional conversions is just as remarkable on the one side of the House of Commons as on the other. Nor does all this happen by any means because either Conservative or Liberal leaders are consciously or naturally inclined to be indifferent to popular demands or to fail to render justice. But with the constant growth of new claims and new troubles in our complicated social and political existence, leaders on either side are not able to keep up with all the new questions that press upon them for attention. The House of Commons has far too much to do and its leaders cannot attend to half the work for which they are expected to arrange. Therefore the earliest chance is for the stoutest and boldest claimant. One may see at an English railway station a poor porter of whom a dozen people are making frantic inquiries all at once. He is bewildered and can answer none. Suddenly some strenuous person breaks through the crowd, seizes the porter's arm, keeps fast hold of him, will not let him go—and gets his answer. Thus it is with English agitation and the leaders of an English Government.

JUSTIN MCCARTHY.

REFORM IN THE CONSULAR SERVICE.

BY THE HON. WILLIAM F. WHARTON, EX-ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE.

THE consular service of the United States has received much attention of late, at least in certain sections of the country, not so much from the development of any sudden public interest in the service itself as from the rapid and violent manner in which an almost complete change in its personnel had been wrought. This change was the immediate result of a transfer of the control of the national government from the Republican to the Democratic party, and had itself been for the most part accomplished in the unprecedentedly short period of time of four months at the beginning of the new government. It was therefore but natural that the unusual upheaval and overturning of the service within so short a space of time should be embraced as furnishing an admirable opportunity to compare the incoming and the outgoing governments in the light of previous acts and declarations bearing on the extension and enforcement of the spirit of civil-service reform.

Ordinarily the constitution and condition of the consular service of the United States are subjects of entire indifference to the citizens of the United States. In times marked by less energy of executive action in regard to it no particular notice is taken of the peculiar characteristics of the service, and nobody turns his attention to it unless he is desirous of occupying some post within its circle himself, of procuring such a position for some one of his friends, or of obtaining some assistance from a member of it when in need or alone in a foreign country. The consular reports are little known and little read except by those who are interested in certain business enterprises in the countries whence they proceed, or by those at whose instigation the con-

suls have been instructed by the Department of State to render them. The consular despatches to the Department of State are mostly of a confidential and private nature, and the public has ordinarily little knowledge of their existence, much less any idea of the value of their contents. It seems to be the common opinion that anybody can fill a consular office, and it is curious to note how the character of the applicants for these offices has reflected the popular sentiment. With some exceptions, of course, they have been largely made up of politicians in the narrowest meaning of the term, of broken-down and unsuccessful professional or business men, of invalids, of men of moderate means who desired to stay abroad to educate their children and at the same time wanted some occupation for themselves as a pastime, and sometimes of men whose sole claim to an appointment was that they had worn out the patience and endurance of their friends in this country by their worthlessness, and were to be sent away to free their friends from the burden of caring for them. It very rarely happens that a man offers himself for appointment to the service because he is attracted by its character or hopes to make it his profession. As a rule the service is entered into as a makeshift to tide over a difficult season, or as furnishing an opportunity to study for a time in a foreign country, or to recuperate from the hard work and cares of a professional or business career. The reason for this is of course very apparent. No right-minded young man, with his life before him, and with all the hopes and ambitions that that implies, will voluntarily take up with a service which offers no stability of tenure in office, and in a large majority of its posts presents no reasonable expectation of furnishing more than a bare subsistence at the best for his old age, nor will a man of riper age, if he has any prospects whatever in the world, sacrifice what he has and enter, as a profession, a service which presents to him so poor an outlook.

It is not intended by the foregoing to convey the impression that the consular service of the United States is wholly bad. There are good men in the service, and their work is valuable, and their influence and example are admirable. But this is not enough to those who have the welfare and the improvement of the service at heart. They desire to place the consular service on a securer and broader foundation, either because they have had experience in it and desire to see remedied the evils which that experience has taught

them to recognize as existing, or because they are interested in it as a branch of that government to which they are wholly devoted. They realize that with the growth in power and wealth of this country its position in the great family of nations is growing daily of greater importance, and that its commercial interests are of more and more vital interest. They know that its influence commercially depends in a marked degree upon the character and bearing of its commercial representatives abroad, which its consuls are ; and as the commerce of the country increases so the necessity arises of insuring a more perfect representation of its commercial interests in foreign countries, and a fuller and more competent assistance in the development of its commercial relations. They are always looking earnestly for an improvement of the service. Now there are at least three directions by which the consular service can be approached with a view to improvement ; namely, the manner of appointment, the tenure of office, and the compensation. The limits of this paper will allow only a cursory glance at a few suggestions which are believed to be pertinent to these subjects.

The Constitution provides, in Article II, Section 2, that the President shall appoint consuls by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and one of the first duties of the incoming President, under the present practice, is to see to the filling of these offices. The persons to be appointed are generally agreed upon by the President and his Secretary of State, the latter being the officer under whose instructions the future consul is to do his work. The President naturally has little time in the first months of his administration to attend, himself, to these appointments, and the Secretary of State has largely within his sole control the selection of the persons to be recommended for favorable action by the President. The Secretary of State is, in the ordinary course of events, entirely new to the duties of his office. It very seldom occurs in present times that he has had any diplomatic or consular experience whatever, and he can know but little, if anything, about the duties of a consular officer, and he is ignorant of the kind of men who should be sent respectively to the different posts. In the exercise of the best judgment he can form, he cannot know, except from a vague confidence in a man's ability, that he is in any way suited to the position for which he is named ; and yet he is expected, under the present

practice, to select the persons to be appointed to the greater number of consular offices within the first six months of his incumbency. The applicants, moreover, themselves, for the most part, are strangers to the service. They have no knowledge of its requirements, nor can they judge of their own fitness for the positions to which they lay claim. Naturalized citizens seek to be accredited to the country whence they originally came, and persons living in the United States on the borders of Canada petition to be appointed to a post just over the boundary line from their home; the former because they desire to revisit their native land, and the latter in order that they may live and carry on their business at home, slipping across the border when it is convenient to attend to consular matters, thus evading the spirit, at least, of the rule which forbids consular officers receiving salaries in excess of $1,000 from transacting business within their districts. No examination is made into their qualifications. Some few may have been in the consular service before, but usually it is their political or social influence, and not their experience, which eventually secures a new place for them. Political backing brings better results than the claims of previous experience and of good service. The most the appointing power can do is to make the sponsors vouch for the character and the ability of the applicant, and hold them responsible if their representations eventually are proved to have been false.

There can be no question that the present method of selection as applied to the existing consular system is bad. If there is to be no change in that system, some different method from that which now exists should be devised whereby the wheat could be separated from the chaff, and only men who have been proved to be fit in character and ability and attainments presented to the President for his selection, free as far as possible from political pressure. But how to determine the fitness is the stumbling, block. This might be done by examination conducted under the direction of the Civil-Service Commission, only persons who are certified by them to be eligible for appointment; but among other objections to this method it is not at all clear that it would be a satisfactory manner of selecting the fittest person, because, as can be easily understood, there are elements which go to make up a good consular officer which could hardly be ascertained or determined by such an examination. There is no advantage in making

a change for change's sake only, and it seems that the method of selection might with safety be left as it is at present, if only the system of the service were so changed that the tenure of office in the service itself were securely fixed to last during good behavior. By this is meant that the service should be so organized that if a man were once appointed to any consular office he should thereby become a member of the consular service during good behavior and be removable only for cause, not necessarily to remain always at the port to which he was originally appointed, but subject from to time to time to be transferred by the President from one port to another, as it might be deemed best for the interests of the service. If the elements of permanency of tenure and of adequate compensation were assured, there would, in the nature of things, be few vacancies at any one time, and at the time of a change of administration there would be no more than at any other. The pressure upon an incoming administration would be avoided, there would be time in which to make a proper selection, and the knowledge that the appointment was to be made for good behavior would place a greater responsibility upon the appointing power and upon the persons recommending the applicant, while correspondingly greater care would be exercised both in the selection and in the recommendation. Moreover, it seems inevitable that with fixity of tenure joined to proper compensation would come a better class of persons seeking appointment.

The tenure of office of consular officers now is dependent solely upon the will of the appointing power and has long been governed by the exigencies of political expediency. It would not be worth the while for Congress to change this and fix a period of time by statute unless at the same time they increased the pay for the different offices. The fixity or certainty of tenure must go *pari passu* with an increase in pay. What is wanting is to tempt able and stirring men to enter the service for what it can offer them as a life career, and it cannot be expected that such men would find any inducement in the assurance of a permanency of service at an inadequate compensation. With the exception of a comparatively few posts the compensation at present allowed is totally inadequate to the proper or, in many instances, decent maintenance of the dignity of the officer or of the office. A man of humble means must be satisfied with a humble position in the community in which he lives, and many persons are perfectly

content to occupy such a position so far as they individually are concerned, and their being so is a subject of reproach to them. But if the representative of a great nation, in a foreign country, is unable for lack of means to maintain himself in a manner similar to the like representatives of other nations, it is a reproach to all men of the nation which he is sent to represent. Of course it is always possible to send somebody of private means to the places where the compensation is too small for a man to live properly without such means, but assuredly nothing could be more undemocratic and contrary to the true spirit of all of the institutions of this country than to have a branch of the public service in which the compensation of most of the offices is so small that for the sake of the dignity of the country abroad they can only be filled by persons of independent fortune.

There are in all about seven hundred and seventy-seven consular offices, of which about three hundred and thirty are principal offices, so called, the remaining four hundred and forty-seven being designated as consular agencies. A consular agency is subordinate to the principal office within whose jurisdiction it comes. It is created ordinarily at the suggestion of the principal consular officer, or of the people of the place itself, with the consent of the Department of State, and in almost every instance the agent is nominated by the principal officer and approved by the Department of State. The agent is paid solely from the fees received and is almost invariably a citizen of a foreign country engaged in business in the place where he is agent, often hardly able to speak a word of English, who accepts the place simply for the honor and position which come to him from being the representative of the United States in the locality to which he belongs. As has been intimated, he is paid no salary, but obtains what emoluments he can from that amount of the fees or receipts coming to his office which he is allowed to retain by his superior officer, which amount is usually fixed by agreement between himself and such officer. It should be remembered in this connection that the superior officer has named him for the agency, and is entitled under the regulations to pocket his share of the fees coming from his agencies as unofficial fees up to $1,000 in amount. Ordinarily the purpose of creating these agencies is to accommodate merchants who desire near them a consular office for the authentication of invoices of goods exported to the United States, and

seek very naturally to avoid the delay and expense which may be caused to them if they are obliged to apply to the principal office which may be at some distance from them. The business of the shipper of goods to the United States has been the governing reason for the creation of the consular office, and the impossibility of finding a citizen of the United States to take the office for the compensation has obliged the government to resort to the device of a consular agency.

Besides the manifest impropriety of having a foreigner to represent in his native place the commercial interests of the citizens of this country, it can readily be seen that inasmuch as the principal officer shares in the fees collected by his agent the temptation to the former to lend his influence in favor of the creation of agencies within his district, and thus help out his meagre and inadequate salary, is often great. Fees which naturally in the absence of an agency would be collected for services rendered at the principal office, and which would be turned in that case into the Treasury of the United States, are in this manner diverted, and being collected for services rendered at the agency are divided between the principal officer and his agent. It would be most advantageous that all consular agencies should be abolished, and that the official fees which now go to their support should go to the principal office, which ought in every case to be a salaried one, and be turned into the Treasury with the other official fees which come to that office. If these agencies were abolished there would then remain three hundred and thirty principal offices, of which two hundred and thirty-seven are now salaried, and ninety-three receive no salaries. These last are compensated entirely by the official and unofficial fees which they may from time to time collect.

The highest salary paid is $7,500, and that amount is paid only at Seoul, Korea, where the Consul-General is also Minister Resident, and consequently occupies a diplomatic position with all the expenses incident thereto. The Consul-General at Athens, Bucharest, and Belgrade is paid $6,500. He is also Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Greece, Roumania, and Servia, and serves in all the above offices for one and the same salary. The Consul-General at Havana receives $6,000, and the Consul-General at Melbourne $4,500. There are twelve offices where $5,000 are paid, viz.: Rio de Janeiro, Shanghai,

Paris, Calcutta, Hong Kong, Liverpool, London, Port au Prince, Boma, Teheran, Cairo, and Bangkok (where the Consul is also Minister Resident) ; seven offices where $4,000 are paid, viz.: Panama, Berlin, Montreal, Honolulu, Kanagawa, Monrovia, and Mexico ; seven where $3,500 are paid, viz.: Vienna, Amoy, Canton, Tien Tsin, Havre, Halifax, and Callao ; thirty-one where $3,000 are paid ; thirty where $2,500 are paid ; and fifty-one where $2,000 are paid. The remaining ninety-five of the salaried officers receive salaries of only $1,500 or $1,000 per annum.

Consular officers are not allowed their travelling expenses to and from their posts, no matter how distant the latter may be. They are simply entitled to their salaries during the transit, provided they do not consume more than a certain number of days *in transitu*, which number is fixed by the Secretary of State, nor are they allowed to transact any business in the place to which they are accredited where their salary exceeds $1,000. They are allowed a certain sum of money for rent of consular offices, which has been fixed at twenty per cent. of the salary, but this sum is spent under the direction of the Department of State, and can be used only for the renting of offices, strictly so speaking, and cannot be applied to the rental of their own house or lodgings. A clerk is allowed in some cases, and sometimes also a messenger where there seems to be an absolute need of such ; but the appropriations made by Congress for clerk hire and for contingent expenses of consuls for many years past have been so grossly inadequate to the needs of the service that in most posts the offices are miserably equipped both as to clerks and messengers.

There are certain emoluments coming to consuls at certain posts of an unofficial nature, such as fees for taking depositions, oaths, etc., which are not considered official in their nature, and which a consular officer is therefore allowed to retain as his private property. All official fees—and these are prescribed by the President—every consular officer receiving a salary is bound to account for and to turn over to the Treasury of the United States. The unofficial fees in some places amount to large sums, and in London, Liverpool, Paris, and a few others of the important business centres, render the office of unusual value. In London, for instance, the unofficial fees amount to five or six times the prescribed salary. But the places where such large

fees are to be secured are very few indeed, and might almost be said to be covered by the three places above named. By an odd perversion of justice, the receipts from unofficial fees are largest in the places where the largest salaries are paid.

It is not difficult to picture the plight of the man who finds himself, for example, in Ceylon, Auckland, or Cape Town, or, not quite so bad, but bad enough, in Malta, or Santos, or Para, all of which are places where the salaries are fixed at $1,500, with no financial resources except his salary. What must be the desperate financial embarrassment of the consul to either of these places who starts off for his post with the month's pay allowed him for what is called his instruction period and with no opportunity even to draw in advance that portion of his pay allowed him for his transit period, which can only be paid after he has rendered his accounts upon his arrival at the post, and with the remainder of his $1,500 to keep him for the rest of the year? It is not to be wondered at that some of our consular officers get into financial difficulties and leave their offices at the expiration of their terms, with debts unpaid. It is rather a matter of surprise that they manage as well as they appear to do. It may not, to be sure, cost a great deal for a man to live at Ceylon or Cape Town, when once he manages to reach those places; but even if that be a fact, he must live away from his family and in a most meager manner to eke out existence upon the present allowance. So too in Europe, in such places as Liege, and Copenhagen, and Nice, and many others where the salary is $1,500 and the unofficial work yields hardly any return.

These are only a few of the most glaring cases, but the position of a man without property of his own sufficient to make him practically independent of his salary so far as subsistence is concerned who goes for instance to Trieste, Cologne, Dublin, or Leeds, or to Sydney, New South Wales, or to Guatemala, or Managua, or to Tamatave, Madagascar, or to Odessa, or Manila, or Beirut, or Jerusalem, on a salary of $2,000 is relatively little better off. Nor is the position of a consul at Buenos Ayres, or at Brussels, or at Marseilles, Hamburg, Sheffield, Nuevo Laredo, Athens, Ningpo, or Victoria, B. C., with a salary of $2,500 to be envied, with the necessary demands which he is obliged to meet.

It is of course notorious that there are many more applicants for even the worst of these offices than there are offices, and that

numberless men will be readily found to sacrifice themselves for the good of their country and go to Tamatave or Sydney on $2,000, or to Tahiti or Sierra Leone on $1,000. But the interest of the citizens of the United States is presumably centred more upon the welfare of the public service than on furnishing places for self-sacrificing individuals. They take no satisfaction in the creation of a consular office unless its existence is for the efficiency of the service as organized for their benefit. If such conditions are annexed to its creation as to militate against its effectiveness to accomplish the purpose for which it is created, the reason for its creation ceases to exist. That reason is primarily that the consular officer may encourage the increase of trade between his country and the country to which he is accredited by giving assistance in the way of information and protection to his fellow-citizens. In order to do this effectively he must be a man whose character inspires respect among the people with whom he associates and who has influence through his character, abilities, and position, not only as an officer, but also as a man among the people with whom he is to transact the business of his office. If the pecuniary allowance given him by his government is such as to render it impossible for him to live on an equality with his colleagues, or to maintain a social position in the community such as they are able to maintain, his government is the loser. It is far better to have no consular office in any given place than to cripple its efficiency by the conditions of its creation.

Unless Congress can see its way to make more generous appropriations for the consular service with a view principally to creating larger salaries, it would be far wiser to reduce the number of salaried offices and to distribute the sum of money now appropriated for the pay of two hundred and thirty-seven officers among one-half that number with salaries proportionately greater. In any case there should be no unsalaried officers whatever and no salary below twenty-five hundred dollars. There are now, as we have seen, besides the subordinate agencies which we have suggested should be abolished, about ninety-three unsalaried principal officers who receive their compensation in fees. These offices should either be abolished or should be made salaried offices and the fees received by them turned into the treasury.

In several countries the United States maintains a far greater number of consular offices than is required by the demands of

commerce and one which seems, moreover, disproportionate to the number maintained by these countries respectively in this country. For instance, in Germany we have fifty-one consular officers, while Germany has twenty-two in this country. In France the United States has thirty-seven, and France has twenty-five in this country. In the islands of Great Britain alone the United States has fifty-seven, in British North America about one-hundred and thirty, besides others scattered over the world in other possessions of the British Empire. Great Britain has, in all, forty-two consular offices in this country. A great reduction in the number of United States consular officers could most advantageously be made in Canada, especially in the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario. It is not going too far to state that two-thirds of the offices in these provinces could be discontinued with the best results for the interests of the service.

If the prizes are larger, the competitors will be of superior quality. The best men will not compete for an inferior prize, and in order to induce such men as should be in the consular service te enter it as a life career, there should be assured to them as long as they remain in it at least a livelihood approximate to that which they would have secured if they had remained in the ordinary walks of life. It is in no way in conflict with the spirit of our institutions that a man who has once been proved competent for a branch of the government service should remain in it as long as he behaves himself, or, if the duties which he performs therein are worthy of performance, that the pay should be sufficient to support him. Tenure of office during good behavior, in the sense above indicated, and adequate compensation, would free the service from some of its existing evils and threatened dangers, and, whether effected in the manner here suggested or however otherwise accomplished, are necessary elements in its reformation. And they should go together, for the reason that each one is dependent upon the other for the good that it can work.

WILLIAM F. WHARTON.

THE REPUBLICAN OUTLOOK.

BY THE HON. THOMAS H. CARTER, CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

SINCE its organization, the best interests and the purest aspirations of the people have found representation and expression through the Republican party. As a rule the prospects of the party have not been brighter than the prospects of the country, and the present exception proves that the prosperity the nation has enjoyed found its fostering force in the pre-eminent adaptability of Republican principles and policies to the moral, social, physical, and economic conditions of our national life.

For well nigh a generation prior to March 4, 1893, the people of the United States had enjoyed an almost unvarying experience of prosperity, unparalleled in the world's history. Preliminary to an intelligent forecast of the prospects of the party, an estimate of the extent, and a brief analysis of the causes, of its defeat in 1892, seem essential. After successfully conducting the government through the war for the preservation of the Union, the party addressed itself to the task of vitalizing and developing the industrial energies of the country. The protective tariff policy which had sustained the government through the perils of the rebellion was adopted as a cardinal principle of Republican faith, and was advocated as a governmental policy calculated to secure the permanent commercial and industrial independence of the nation, and the highest attainable prosperity for the body of the people.

With a view to facilitating the settlement of the western country, and to more closely binding together remote parts of the Union, railway construction across the plains and through the mountains was encouraged. Inspired by enlightened progressive public policy, the men who had conquered the rebellion set about

the task of converting the material resources of the continent to the purposes of civilization. The wonderful achievements of this conquest of peace outstripped the most marvellous tales of Oriental fiction and challenged the admiration of all mankind. Contrasted with the gloomy periods of Democratic rule before the war, the new era brought into bold relief the merits of progressive as opposed to reactionary policy.

In the mean time the great tide of immigration following the war carried with it certain vicious elements which naturally lodged in the large cities of the country, and quite as naturally gravitated to and remained steadily with the Democratic party. In the wards of all our large cities where crime, ignorance, and alien sentiments prevail, Democratic majorities are unfailing and overwhelming.

For the party, the extraordinary success of the country brought forth elements of weakness. The minority persistently contended that the experience of the past could not be justly applied to present conditions; that the achievements of science and art had so far modified industrial affairs that ancient rules relating to supply and demand, social development, educational advancement, and the general conditions incident to and surrounding this republic no longer controlled, as formerly, our internal and external relations.

Gradually sentiment became eliminated from national politics the farther we receded from the great war period, and the issue that gave rise to it. In a constantly increasing degree, political convictions evolved from mathematical calculations, and on this cold basis party enthusiasm was chilled.

Individual prosperity began to be regarded only in a relative sense. The laborer whose daily wage was greater, both nominally and in purchasing power, than the sum earned in like employment in any other country, became dissatisfied because his employer seemed more prosperous than himself. The rapid transposition of various forms of real estate into personal property, through the formation of incorporated companies created to facilitate large railway and other operations, naturally resulted in building up large fortunes, which experience has shown more apparent than real in thousands of instances. Nevertheless these large apparent accumulations of wealth sufficed to breed envy and discontent among prosperous people whose situations, while felici-

tous in themselves, became unsatisfactory because suffering by comparison.

Thus enterprises fostered by the Republican party, actuated by a desire to guarantee the perpetuity of the Union, or to meet the quickened and progressive spirit of the age, developed elements of discontent to the party's disadvantage. From these and other causes the percentage of Republican votes gradually decreased in the Republican States after the war.

The platform in 1872 declared emphatically in favor of a protective tariff. The Democratic platform avoided the issue by referring the question to the people of the Congressional districts. It is a significant fact that in the election of that year the Republican party polled the largest percentage of the popular vote ever cast for its presidential candidate, viz., 55.63 per cent., whereas in 1864, eleven Democratic States not voting, Lincoln only received 55.06 per cent. of the popular vote.

While temporary causes have induced the percentage to rise and fall since 1872, the fact is apparent that the percentage of the total vote cast for Republican candidates in presidental elections has decreased as the following table will show :

Year.	Rep. Per Cent. of Pop. Vote.	Year.	Rep. Per Cent. of Pop. Vote.
1872	55.63	1884	48.22
1876	47.95	1888	47.83
1880	48.31	1892	42.84

It is important to bear in mind that a very large proportion of the Republican vote cast in the Southern States in 1872 was thereafter so suppressed that to-day it is voiceless and unheard. To assume that Republican loss has resulted in corresponding Democratic gains would be erroneous, as the following table of Democratic percentages of the total vote will show :

Year.	Dem. Per Cent. of Pop. Vote.	Year.	Dem. Per Cent. of Pop. Vote.
1872	43.83	1884	48.48
1876	50.94	1888	48.63
1880	48.20	1892	45.98

The balance of the popular vote has been cast for the presidential candidates of independent parties that have changed names and professions at each election.

It will be observed that Mr. Cleveland received a smaller percentage of the popular vote in 1892 than had been cast for any candidate of his party since 1872. Democratic success in 1892

did not therefore result, as has been popularly supposed, from a general uprising in favor of that party or its theories of government, but on the contrary the popular verdict was adverse to Mr. Cleveland, free trade, and reaction.

The third, or People's, party, supplemented by the sectarian-school-law agitation in Illinois, Wisconsin, and Indiana, is responsible for Mr. Cleveland's election and is entitled to whatever credit or blame there may be attached to his administration. Through the causes indicated, the Republican States of Wisconsin, Illinois, California, North Dakota, Indiana, and Ohio cast 61 electoral votes for Mr. Cleveland, and the States of Kansas, Colorado, Nevada, North Dakota, Oregon, and Idaho cast 22 votes for Weaver. These votes, placed in the Republican column, where they legitimately belong, would have resulted in 228 electoral votes for Harrison, as against 194 for Cleveland, with New York in the Democratic column.

Again, it will be observed by reference to the returns that a change of 27,426 votes, properly distributed in California, Delaware, Idaho, North Dakota, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Missouri, and West Virginia, would have given those States to Harrison and secured his election.

Elections in the Southern States have confessedly become such a mere matter of form that little significance can justly be attached to the returns as indicative of public sentiment, and therefore the increase or decrease of majorities in only those States wherein elections are substantially fair and free can be referred to as conveying instructive lessons. In the country north of Mason and Dixon's line and west of the old slave territory, notwithstanding the People's party movement, Harrison in 1892 fell only 148,276 behind his vote of 1888; whereas Cleveland, the legatee of all disaffections and disorders in the same territory, received in 1892 72,431 votes less than in 1888.

It is obvious from a glance at these facts and figures that through all party vicissitudes for thirty years the Republican party has maintained its hold on a large percentage of the popular vote with a tenacity unprecedented in party history in this country. It is also obvious that in 1892 the party principles were not repudiated directly by the people, nor did the popular verdict direct, although it permitted, a substitution of the Democratic theory of free trade for the Republican policy of protection.

Independently of the existing financial, commercial, and industrial depression, the future of the Republican party is unquestionably bright and promising.

The experience being endured by the country now will inevitably and indelibly impress upon this generation a clear understanding of the potential influence of a governmental policy, not only upon the nation at large, but likewise upon the vital interests of the individual citizen. Practical experience is clearing up erroneous impressions.

In 1888 the people directed a revision of the tariff by the friends of the protective policy, at the same time repudiating the revision presented on free-trade lines by the so-called Mills bill. As a matter of fact, the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives prepared, and Congress passed, in what is known as the McKinley Act, a revenue bill substantially in conformity with the demands of the electors. But it so happened in the framing of its schedules in committee, and in running the gauntlet through the House with its slender majority, together with certain amendments made in the Senate, duties were increased here and there upon a sufficient number of articles in general use to enable the minority to successfully prosecute, in the brief time between the passage of the bill and the elections of 1890, a campaign distinguished by the most colossal misrepresentation ever invented with intent to bewilder and mislead the people. Few had read the bill, and the country had not become familiar with its operations. The astute commercial instinct of many of our merchants, intent on stimulating trade, multiplied the apostles of error. Every one was advised to buy quickly and heavily, because of the alleged inevitable increase of prices under the McKinley law, and as a matter of fact prices were temporarily advanced in many instances on goods not affected by the tariff, and in other cases on articles that had actually been placed on the free list.

While in truth the McKinley Act made greater reductions than the Mills bill proposed, the impression became general, and existed until after the election of 1892, that the McKinley Act had greatly and unnecessarily increased the tariff. Laboring under this impression, people felt that the Republican party had abused its authority, and, so believing, they defeated us overwhelmingly at the polls in 1890. Before the election of 1892

many of these popular errors had been exploded by actual demonstration. More men had been employed, at better wages, than under any previous revenue law. Mills and factories were working on full time, and in some instances on double time. Prosperity reigned supreme. Confidence was universal throughout the land. Even the opponents of the Harrison administration felt constrained to admit that the Federal Government had never been administered with greater purity, intelligence, and dignity.

The extraordinary prosperity of the country generated widespread unrest amongst the great body of our laboring people. Extravagant though the statement may seem, I think it is nevertheless true, that great prosperity is quite as prolific a source of discontent and unrest as corresponding adversity. Old experience had ceased to be instructive. A certain percentage of the labor element accepted the statement that the manufacturers alone profited by the tariff, and that labor organizations did and would continue to maintain the price of wages irrespective of tariff schedules. But even in the presence of these conditions Mr. Cleveland wisely discerned that he could not hope to succeed on the Chicago platform and therefore in his letter of acceptance virtually repudiated the tariff plank of his party platform in the following words :

"The protection of the people in the exclusive use and enjoyment of their property and earnings concededly constitutes the special purpose and mission of our free government. This design is so interwoven with the structure of our plan of rule that failure to protect the citizen in such use and enjoyment, or their unjustifiable diminution by the government itself, is a betrayal of the people's trust. . . . We wage no exterminating war against any American interests."

On the vital issue of the campaign the great mass of the voters who supported Cleveland and Stevenson undoubtedly did so, as the recent Ohio election bears witness, accepting the tariff views expressed by Mr. Cleveland, and not the sentiments of the Chicago platform.

It is worthy of note that the language employed by Mr. Cleveland above quoted is almost identical in tone with the expressions in the letter of Mr. Polk in 1844, as follows:

"In adjusting the details of a revenue tariff I have heretofore sanctioned such moderate discriminating duties as would produce the amount of revenue needed and at the same time afford reasonable incidental protection to our home industry."

Mr. Polk was elected, as was Mr. Cleveland. The free-trade

tariff bill of 1846 was in no sense less the consummation of a deception than will the Wilson bill prove an imposition if approved as passed by the House. Southern Democrats, led by Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, President Polk's Secretary of the Treasury, prepared the free-trade bill of 1846; and the same element, headed by Mr. Carlisle, of Kentucky, now Secretary of the Treasury, and Mr. Wilson, of West Virginia, has dominated the present Congress, which has presented to the country the Wilson bill.

The tariff of 1846 quickly destroyed the prosperity attained under the protective tariff of 1842, precisely as the shadow and threat of the Wilson bill have quickly withered and blighted the magnificent prosperity attained under the tariff of 1890. History is but repeating itself. The good old ante-bellum days are with us again. These days are being endured, not enjoyed.

Taking into account the exhausted surplus supplies in the homes and retail stores of the country, it is not improbable that the fixing of definite figures by the passage of the Wilson bill will induce temporary business activity, but it is not necessary that existing stagnation continue, to insure Republican success. The American people must do some business on any basis. The party can and will succeed in 1896.

The question is frequently asked, Will the Western Republican States that supported the Weaver-Cleveland tickets at the last presidential election return to their allegiance? It would seem to suffice in answer to the question to refer to the scandalous administration of public affairs by representatives of the People's party in Western States and the consequent disintegration of the party as evidenced by the elections of 1893 in the States affected. The Populists have been a greater injury and affliction to Kansas than the grasshoppers and dry winds; while the good people of the neighboring State of Colorado have suffered in credit and self-respect through their connection with the same organization.

The People's party is a free-trade party, whereas the sentiment of the Western States is decidedly in favor of protection. While for vote-catching purposes the People's party pronounced in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver, current events are driving the people to understand that as far as it has any financial theories, it favors cheap money, whereas the loyal advocates of silver coinage are opposed to cheap paper money, and

are in favor of bimetallism or a currency based on both gold and silver. All thoughtful men throughout the silver-producing States are beginning to fully realize that those States cannot achieve desired results by allowing the silver question to be handled by a party destined to be eternally in a minority.

The People's party is a Southern exotic, and on its financial theories responds to the Southern demand for fiat money and plenty of it; our Western people are as firmly devoted to sound money as the people of any part of the country. They are ardent bimetallists, and their interest in the restoration of silver is, of course, intensified by the fact that they produce it. Place-hunting demagogues have played upon this intense feeling by making extravagant statements which have constantly tended to create an erroneous impression throughout the Eastern States. A better understanding is destined to be reached between Eastern and Western Republicans. The people of the West are beginning to realize that through prudent, rather than extravagant, counsel their interests may be best subserved.

The fact is being considered that at least 90 per cent. of the people of the whole country are in favor of bimetallism and of the use of both gold and silver as the metals, and that the difference of opinion between the East and West arises, not on the principle involved, but upon the methods that can be safely employed to bring about the desired result. It is clear that nothing can be expected from the Democratic party, which is in power and will not do anything, nor from the People's party, which is neither in power nor justified in hoping for success. To the Republican party, the people will turn with renewed confidence and the Western Republican States will prove in future as loyal as of old.

All other considerations aside, should history remain true to itself, the present financial, commercial, and industrial depression precludes the possibility of Democratic success in 1896, and insures Republican triumph.

The panic of 1837 resulted in the overthrow of the Democratic party in 1840. The panic of 1857, while commonly lost sight of as a political force because of the stirring events which preceded the rebellion, rendered Republican success possible in 1860. The financial disturbances of 1873 reduced Republican strength from 55.63 per cent. to 47.95 per cent. of the total popular vote in 1876,

and the depression of 1883 prepared the way for Republican defeat in 1884. With a difference of only 3.14 per cent. of the popular vote in favor of the Democratic party, it will be perceived that a change of less than two votes in every hundred will insure success in the Republican States that have wandered from their party allegiance.

Existing conditions seem to guarantee a more radical change in the popular vote than Republican necessities require.

The trend of public sentiment is very clearly disclosed by the returns of recent elections in the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Iowa, Kansas, and elsewhere, all showing phenomenally large Republican gains.

In conclusion, then, Republican loss in the past has resulted from the abatement of party enthusiasm through the elimination of sentiment, personal disappointments resulting from the friction incident to a long-continued administration, discontent and unrest born of extraordinary prosperity, a misunderstanding between Eastern and Western Republicans as to the safe and effective method to be employed for the restoration of bimetallism, the suppression by force of the Republican vote in the South, the cohesiveness and ever-increasing strength of the vicious elements in the large cities, and a misunderstanding as to the real character of the McKinley law.

The great work to be done in the future for the advancement of civilization and good government in this country insures the perpetuation of Republican supremacy. It is the only national party in the United States worthy of the name and entirely equal to the intelligent administration of the general government. In the arena of peaceful conquest its great mission has scarcely begun. It remains for the party in the future to place our tariff system on a permanent basis along protection lines, and to develop the American merchant marine until our flag shall float over our messengers of commerce in every harbor and over all the seas.

The Monroe Doctrine must be rescued from the domain of sentiment and be recognized as a living, vital, and inviolable principle, supported by the strong arm of the government.

The two oceans must be united by the Nicaragua Canal.

The perpetuity of our republican form of government must be guaranteed by insuring honest national elections.

The men who saved the Republic must enjoy respectful consideration in their old age.

The claim of men to superiority over the material things created by their labor must be maintained.

The principle that the nation is greater than any of its component parts must not be surrendered.

Our foreign policy must become a strong American foreign policy—so firmly established and vigorously maintained that all the nations of the earth will extend to us the respect and consideration due to the strength we have attained and the high order of civilization we have reached.

Bimetallism must be restored on a safe and permanent basis.

The great work of internal improvements must be continued.

To these and kindred questions the Republican party will be commissioned anew to address itself at the next general election. The present unfortunate experience cannot fail to impress the country with the gravity of the mistake made in 1892, whereby the progressive work of the party was suddenly interrupted.

With a manifest misinterpretation of public sentiment presented through the Wilson bill; with current history verifying to an unfortunate degree all predictions made by the most ardent protectionist with reference to the destructive evils to follow the abandonment of the protective policy; with closed factories and open soup-houses, with disorganized business and organized charity; with breadless homes in the midst of the world's greatest granary; with the increase of the flocks of Australia and of South America simultaneously with the disappearance of the flocks from our own pastures; with New England idle and Old England active; with assignees and receivers as prominent business factors throughout the land; with organized labor seeking, not *higher* wages, but *any* wages; with decreased exports and increased imports; with cheap things and no chance to earn a dollar to buy them; with idle miners and flooded mines; with increasing farm products thrown into decreasing markets; with our foreign policy reversed, to the humiliation of the nation; and with confidence and hope supplanted by doubt and uncertainty—who can question that the contrast of *worse* with *better* days will result in the overwhelming triumph in 1896 of the party of progress, patriotism, and prosperity?

THOMAS H. CARTER.

OUR NAVIGATION LAWS.

BY CHARLES H. CRAMP.

WHEN one traces the history of the navigation laws of the United States, beginning with the act of December 31, 1792, which closed American registry to foreign-built vessels except as to prizes taken in war, down to the present time, there appears cumulative evidence that the policy had its origin in the spirit of national independence, commercial as well as political. Superficial students and shallow reasoners associate our navigation laws with the doctrine of protection, as embodied in our tariff system. But in point of fact, there is no association between them.

The object of the Revolutionary fathers in enacting the prohibitive navigation law of 1792 was to provide for the development and perpetuity of shipbuilding in the United States as an indispensable condition of commercial independence and as an unfailing nursery of naval strength. At that time there was no need of protection to American shipbuilding, in the tariff sense of the term.

The *Pennsylvania Packet*, in its issue of May 7, 1790, contained the following review of the then comparative state of shipbuilding in America and Europe, from the financial point of view:

"Shipbuilding is an art for which the United States are peculiarly qualified by their skill in the construction and by the materials with which their country abounds. . . .

"They build oak vessels on lower terms than the cheapest European vessels of fir, pine, and larch. The cost of a white-oak ship in New England is about 24 Mexican dollars per ton, fitted for sea; a fir vessel costs in the ports of the Baltic 35 Mexican dollars per ton; though the American oak ship is much safer and more durable. The maximum cost of a vessel of the highest class of American live oak and cedar, which with salted timbers will last 30 years without repair, is only 36 to 38 dollars per ton in our different ports; while an oak ship, fitted in a similar manner, in the cheapest ports of England, Holland, or France, will cost 55 to 60 dollars per ton."

This relative state of the first cost of ships existed at the date of the passage of the prohibitory law in 1792. Hence, it could not have been a merely protective measure, in the tariff sense, because under the conditions stated by the *Pennsylvania Packet* there could have been no competition.

The policy of the fathers had a broader basis, a deeper foundation, and a wider scope of patriotism and foresight. They realized that American-built ships were not only less costly, but better and more efficient vehicles of commerce than contemporary foreign ships. They knew that, at the then prevailing rates of cost, it would be impossible for any American merchant to import a newly built foreign ship. Therefore, the immediate object of their law of 1792 could not have been else than to prohibit the purchase and registry of old and partly worn-out foreign ships, and thereby to maintain in our merchant marine the high standard of superiority due to the greater skill of American builders, and the better grade of American materials. But this was not their only purpose. With foresight amounting to prophecy they seemed to divine the vicissitudes of the future. So, at the very beginning of the federal government they laid this navigation law of 1792 as one of the foundation-stones of our domestic polity for all time, and wholly indifferent to mere economic conditions of the day in which they lived.

During the one hundred and one years that have elapsed since George Washington approved the navigation law, the conditions of shipbuilding in America, relatively to those prevailing abroad, have undergone many vicissitudes. At any time between 1790 and 1840 the conditions set forth in the review quoted from the *Pennsylvania Packet* prevailed, and the United States continued to enjoy the advantage of her natural resources and the superior skill of her naval architects and shipwrights. But, as England's supply of timber vanished, her production of metals increased, which fact naturally caused the evolution of the iron ship.

The practicability of the use of iron in ship construction had been seen long before it became a commercial fact, but while the system was early known, the development of proper structural devices was of slower progress. As early as 1823 Captain De Montgery, of the French Navy, published a valuable work entitled *Memoire sur les Navires en Fer*, in the form of papers in the *An-*

nales de l'Industrie Nationale et Étrangère, which were subsequently reprinted in a small book in 1824. Captain Montgery introduced his work with the remark that "one might, perhaps, trace the origin of iron vessels to an invention of Demetrius Poliorcetes when he was besieging Rhodes, 304 years before the present era."

After some other interesting historical researches, Captain Montgery pointed out that the chief obstacle to successful shipbuilding in iron at that time (1823–24) was due to the lack of suitable machinery for working and shaping the material. This, he said, could not be done by hand as in the case of wooden ships, and he left the matter of inventing or adapting the necessary mechanical appliances for metal construction to the skill of practical shipbuilders.

These achievements came along quite slowly during the twenty years immediately following Captain Montgery's suggestion. The capacity of plate and shape mills was limited to small sizes and light weights. Punching, bending, and other ship-shed appliances were crude and costly. The old woodworking shipwrights did not at first take kindly to the new material. In fact the first iron hulls were built by boilermakers, on plans prepared by the wood-ship builders.

In this country the development of the iron industry was much slower than in England during the period under consideration, so that, by the time the actual supremacy of the iron ship became established, we were far behind that country in all the essentials for rapid and economical construction. This state of things turned the tables as to first cost, besides relegating the wooden ship to the past. As soon as the English found that they could build iron ships cheaper than we could, and that their iron ships were commercially superior to our wooden ones, they at once began to clamor for repeal of our navigation laws. They rapidly pushed their way into the markets of the rest of the world, building iron ships at great profit to themselves for nearly every nation but our own, and they naturally desired to overrun ours too.

Then began a series of systematic, organized assaults on our navigation laws, always prompted from English sources and gradually adopted as a policy by certain of our lawmakers. These assaults, though made with vigor and sometimes adroitly

managed, failed in every case. Whenever the question came to a vote it was always found that a majority in one or both houses of Congress had inherited the patriotism of their ancestors of 1792.

Had any of these assaults been successful to the extent of wiping the act of 1792 from the pages of the Revised Statutes, there would not now be a first-class shipyard in existence on our soil and we would have been, like Chili and Japan, forced to dicker on the banks of the Clyde for the construction of our new navy, if we had one at all. But aside from the desire of English shipbuilders to create a new market for their product by opening our registry, there is a political cause operating with even greater force to make free American registry a desideratum to England. It lies in the threat of maritime war to which European nations are constantly exposed and which just now happens to be at an acute stage.

At the time of the Franco-German war of 1870-71, even so sturdy a patriot as General Grant, then President, was persuaded for a time that it would be a good thing for our commerce as a neutral nation to permit American registry of foreign-built vessels, the theory being that many vessels of nations which might become involved in the struggle would seek the asylum of our flag.

Actuated by powerful New York influences which found expression through Roscoe Conkling, Edwin D. Morgan, and Hamilton Fish, already conspicuously hostile to the American merchant marine, General Grant in a special message recommended that Congress enact legislation to that end. This proposition was antagonized by Judge Kelley, of Pennsylvania—always at the front when American interests were threatened—in one of his most powerful efforts, couched in the vehement eloquence of which he was master, which impressed General Grant so much that he abandoned that policy, and subsequently adhered to the existing system.

I will not stop here to point out in detail the tremendous political and diplomatic advantage which England would enjoy when dealing with other maritime powers if she could have always at hand an asylum for the lame ducks of her commercial fleet in time of war. Her ocean greyhounds that could either escape the enemy's cruisers, or be readily converted into cruisers

themselves, might remain under her flag; while all her slow freighters, tramps, and obsolete passenger boats of past eras would be transferred by sham sales to our flag, under which they could pursue their traffic in safety during the war under peace rates of insurance, and without any material diversion of their earnings, which would of course be increased by war freight rates, returning to their former allegiance at the end of the war. The lack of such an asylum amounts to a perpetual bond to keep the peace.

From the end of the civil war to about 1880, there was but feeble effort to revive shipbuilding in this country. All our energies of capital and enterprise, as I have remarked elsewhere, were directed to the extension of railways in every direction, to the repair of the war-ravages in the South, to the settlement of the vast territories of the West—in a word, to purely domestic development; pending which, England was by common consent left to enjoy her ocean monopoly.

Such was the state of affairs in 1883–85, when the adoption of the policy of naval reconstruction offered to American shipbuilding the first encouragement it had seen in a quarter of a century.

When we began to build the new navy, every English journal, from the London *Times* down pooh-poohed the idea that a modern man-of-war could be built in an American yard, modern high-powered engines in an American machine shop, or modern breech-loading cannon in an American forge. Many of the English shipbuilders rubbed their hands in actual anticipation of orders from this government for the ships and guns we needed, and they blandly assured us that they would give us quite as favorable terms as were accorded to China, Japan, and Chili. And, to their shame be it said, there were officers of our navy who not only adopted this view, but did all they could to commit our government to the pernicious policy.

In 1885, when Secretary Whitney took control of the Navy Department, the efforts of English shipbuilders to secure at least a share of the work were renewed. By this time the English were willing to admit that the hulls of modern ships could be built in the United States; but they were satisfied that our best policy would be to buy the necessary engines, cannon, and armor from them. Secretary Whitney, however, promptly decided that

the only article of foreign production which the new navy needed was the plans of vessels for comparison. This was wise, because it placed in the hands of our builders the results of the most mature experience abroad, at comparatively small cost. But one of the earliest and firmest decisions of Mr. Whitney was that our naval vessels, machinery and all, must be built at home and of domestic material.

The efforts of the English builders to get the engine-work for our new navy were much more serious and formidable than is generally known. A prominent member of the House Committee on Naval Affairs proposed an amendment to a pending naval bill empowering the Secretary at his discretion to contract abroad for the construction of propelling machinery for our naval ships. The language was, of course, general, but every one knows that the term "abroad" in this sense would be synonymous with Great Britain, and nothing more.

Mr. Whitney promptly met this proposition with a protest in the shape of a letter to the Naval Committee dated February 27, 1886. He said that so far as he was concerned, he would not avail himself of such a power if granted. There was no occasion for such power, and it could have no effect except to keep American builders in suspense and thereby augment the difficulty of obtaining capital for the enlargement of their facilities to meet the national requirements. Mr. Whitney's protest was so vigorous that the proposition died from its effects in the committee, and has been well-nigh forgotten. The proposer himself became satisfied that he had been misled by the representations of naval officers who were under English influence, and did not press his amendment.

I have brought these facts forward for the purpose of emphasizing my declaration that the promotive influence behind every movement against our navigation laws is of British origin, and that whenever you put a pin through a free-ship bill you prick an Englishman.

The portion of Mr. Whitney's letter referring to the proposed free-engine clause in the Naval Bill of 1886 was as follows:

> I think our true policy is to borrow the ideas of our neighbors as far as they are thought to be in advance of ours, give them to our shipbuilders in the shape of plans; and, having this object in view, I have been anxious to

acquire detailed drawings of the latest machinery in use abroad, and should feel at liberty to spend more in the same way in getting hold of the latest things as far as possible for the purpose of utilizing them. We have made important accumulations in this line during the last six months. I think I ought to say to the committee that I have placed myself in communication with some of the principal marine-engine builders of the country within the last three months for the purpose of conferring with them upon this subject. I detailed two officers of the navy—a chief engineer and a line officer—who, under my directions, visited the principal establishments in the East. They recognize that in the matter of engines for naval ships we are quite inexperienced as compared with some other countries. It is this fact, doubtless, which the committee has in view in authorizing the purchase and importation of engines for one of the vessels authorized to be constructed under this act. If the committee will permit me to make the suggestion, I find myself quite satisfied, after consultation with people engaged in the industry in this country, that it would not be necessary for me to avail of that discretionary power in order to produce machines of the most advanced character. Our marine-engine builders in general express their inability at the present moment to design the latest and most approved type of engines for naval vessels—an inability arising from the fact that they have not been called upon to do anything of importance in that line. At the same time, they state that if they are given the necessary time, and are asked to offer designs in competition, they would acquaint themselves with the state of the art abroad and here, and would prepare to offer to the government designs embodying the latest improvements in the art. And they are ready to construct at the present time anything that can be built anywhere else if the plans are furnished. As I find no great difficulty in the way of purchasing plans (in fact there is an entire readiness to sell to us on the part of the engine builders abroad) I think the solution of the question will be not very difficult, although it may require some time and a little delay.

It will be noted that but little more than eight years have elapsed since the date of Secretary Whitney's letter. The wisdom of his policy needs no eulogy, beyond the history of the development of steam engineering in the United States during that brief period. In fact no other eulogy could be a tenth part as eloquent as that history is.

In 1886 we were content to purchase engine plans abroad. In 1894 we exhibit to the world the marvellous machinery of the New York, the Olympia, and the Columbia ; not to speak of the still higher development that is now being wrought out for the new greyhounds of the American trans-Atlantic line.

The engines of the New York, Olympia, and Columbia have no equals, either in material, workmanship, or performance. Does any one suppose they would have ever been built if Secretary Whitney had adopted the policy of buying our naval engines in England, thereby devoting the resources of the American

treasury to promote a British monopoly? No. In their stead we would have, perhaps, the engines of the Blake, guaranteed to develop 20,000 indicated horse power, and accepted on a performance of 13,000; or the engines of the Vulcan, with deficiency of performance even more pitiable.

The policy of Secretary Whitney was in fact an echo of the sturdy patriotism that framed the act of December 31, 1792, dictated by the same impulse of national independence and conceived in the same aspiration of patriotic pride.

And now, in the face of this record so fresh and recent, the same old demand for English free ships is heard again in our midst, promoted by the same old lobby and pressed on the same old lines. Are we never to hear the last of it? Is there to be a perennial supply of American legislators willing to promote a British industry by destroying an American one? To all history, to all logic, they oppose a single phrase: "Let us buy ships where they are cheapest." Well, if national independence is valueless, and if everything is to be subordinated to cheapness, why not get our laws made in the House of Commons? The members of the House of Commons legislate for nothing. Senators and Representatives charge $5,000 a year for their services, besides stationery allowance and mileage. The House of Commons makes laws cheaper than our Congress does. Our ships and our capacity to create them are as much a symbol of independence as our laws are; and if it is good policy to get the former where they are cheapest, why not get the latter on the same terms?

Two years ago I discussed in these pages "The First Cost of Ships," pointing out, among other things, the enormous progress that has been made in the development of ships and engine building and contributory industries in a brief space by reason of the reconstruction of the navy under a domestic policy. Last November I contributed a paper to the "Proceedings of the American Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers," in which I stated that, notwithstanding the privilege embodied in Section 8 of the existing tariff to import material of foreign production free of duty for use in the construction of vessels designed for the foreign trade, I had not taken advantage of it, but had placed orders for many thousand tons of steel with American rolling mills, forges, and foundries.

I had to pay something more for American material than British material would have cost delivered here, but there were certain mechanical and financial considerations involved which in my judgment more than offset this disparity. Hence we may dismiss the question of material and consider only that of labor, which represents a very large percentage of the cost of a ship.

In this particular the English builders have an undoubted advantage over us, as will appear from the subjoined tables of comparative wages embracing twenty occupations. I have not depended on the consular reports, but have compiled them through my own sources of information from the actual payrolls respectively of British ship-yards and our own. In reducing British wages to our standard I have taken the shilling as the equivalent of our quarter of a dollar. I have also brought all wages to a weekly basis, taking the average yearly rate of fifty-six hours to the week in the British yards:

Trade.	British Rate.	American Rate.
Patternmakers	$9 00	$18.00
Machinists	8.50	15.00
Riveters	7.50	12.00
Calkers and chippers	7.80	15.00
Beam and angle smiths	8.40	15.00
Holders-on	4.20	9.00
Fitters-up	7.80	15.00
Ship carpenters	9.60	18.00
Joiners	9.00	16.50
Painters	9.60	18.00

Trade.	British Rate.	American Rate.
Shipshed machine men	$7.20	$15.00
Furnacemen	6.00	10.80
Riggers	7.20	11.00
Plumbers	9.60	19.50
Drillers	6.40	11.00
Sheetiron workers	8.50	15.00
Coppersmiths	8.60	18.00
Moulders, iron	9.00	14.50
Moulders, brass	9 00	15.00
Laborers	4.20	$3 to $9

These figures are taken direct from the books of representative shipyards in the United States and Great Britain, and represent average rates for 1893. The comparison tells its own story. Brushing aside sophistry and cant, we have in front of us a plain proposition, the logic of which no man can evade. It is simply this:

A vote for English free ships means a vote to reduce the wages of American patternmakers from $18 a week to the British rate of $9; of American machinists from $15 a week to $8.50; of American boilermakers from $15 a week to $8.50; of American sheet-iron workers from $15 a week to $8.50; of American coppersmiths from $18 to $8.60; of American plumbers and pipe fitters from $19.50 per week to $9.60; of American carpenters from $18 a week to $9.60; of American drillers from $11 a week to $6.40; of American fitters-up from $15 a week to $7.80; of American riveters from $12 a week to $7.50; of American calkers from $15 a week to $7.80; of American moulders from $15 a week to

$9; of American furnacemen from $11 a week to $6; of American painters from $18 a week to $9.60; of American joiners from $16.50 a week to $9; of American common laborers from $9 a week to $4.20.

There is no alternative to these reductions of wages except total closing of American shipyards, which of course would reduce all shipbuilding wages from their present rates to nothing. This is what men mean when they talk about buying ships where they are cheapest. This is what makes ships cheaper in England than here. And this too is what makes English ships inferior to American ships, class for class and rate for rate; it is because $18 a week will buy better skill and greater diligence than $9 or $10 a week in any country or under any flag.

As a collateral argument in favor of free ships we are informed by the last report of the Post-Office Department that the act of March 3, 1891, providing for ocean mail service in American vessels has not resulted in any improvement of the merchant marine.

The solemnity with which this information is offered to the country indicates that its authors considered it important. Less than three years have elapsed since that law was enacted. Without reference to its merits as an economic policy, but from the practical point of view, not much progress could be expected in that time, unless merchant fleets are supposed to spring from the brain of Congress full panoplied like Minerva from the brow of Jove. However, a broader survey of the situation shows that there has been material improvement of the merchant marine consequent upon that act.

In conjunction with another act which created the nucleus of an American line of trans-Atlantic greyhounds, the law of March 3, 1891, has caused five new vessels to be under construction, which are in all respects abreast and in many respects ahead of anything now afloat. These vessels are being built in conformity to the requirements of the two acts referred to, under a contract duly executed between their owners and the Post-Office Department, to go into active effect in October, 1895, for a period of ten years. This is surely progress and improvement, but the Foreign Mail Bureau of the Post-Office Department has either overlooked or ignored it through impatience with the slow processes inevitable in the production of ships over a tenth of a mile long.

This is somewhat digressive, but it is introduced here by way

of preface to the remark that the capacity to build such ships has been attained but recently by any American shipyard, and hence, unless active hostility to American shipbuilding be admitted as the motive, it is difficult to conceive the rationale of a movement the success of which would be inevitably and almost instantly fatal to the entire industry.

It has been well said that "A great steamship is the grandest triumph of mind over matter." In no other structure appears such a combination of science and skill, such a conspiracy of brain and brawn. When a steamship leaves the yard for her maiden voyage her cost account shows ninety-five per cent. of the total to the credit of labor. There is no charge for right of way, real estate, or accessories. She is a thing of life, an autonomy within herself, and, once off the land, is for the time being a planet. Her deck is the soil of the nation whose flag she bears. Her freight is not only the commodities of commerce, but human lives. Upon her safety and efficiency constantly hang the hopes and loves of thousands. No other thing made by human hands can appeal to the sentiment of men like a great steamship. From this point of view there is an element of public pride, of patriotic exultation in the national possession of great steamships, and it would seem that cognate pride and exultation ought to be cherished in the national capacity to create them. Such a capacity, after years of disheartening struggle against powerful and vindictive rivalry, has at last been attained and is now being exerted with grand results—when Congress is asked to paralyze it for all time.

It has been said that even if the English should build all our ships for us, except those for the coastwise trade under such a law, American shipyards would still flourish on the proceeds of the coastwise construction and the repairs. Did the authors of that theory ever see an establishment entirely devoted to the repair of ships that was equipped to build so much as a tug? The Erie Basin Drydocks in New York are exclusively repair works. Was ever a ship built there? Could one be built there? Certainly not.

As for the resources of the coastwise trade, the state of shipbuilding in this country ten years ago, and before the government came into the market with the new navy, indicates the limit of its possibilities. From 1878 to 1888 there was considerable activity in

shipbuilding for the coastwise trade, resulting in the production of a large amount of tonnage which newly equipped that traffic for a term of years. After 1888 this demand fell off in consequence of having been fully supplied, so that since that time but few orders for further coastwise construction have been offered. The total tonnage of new or comparatively new iron steam tonnage now employed in the coastwise trade, including colliers and ocean tugs employed in barge-towing, is about 340,000, and this, in the opinion of men qualified to judge, is a fair supply for the rest of this century at least.

It is observed that the present English raid on the navigation law is the most determined yet made. This is because the development of shipbuilding capacity in Great Britain during the last decade has outstripped the demand for ships, and there is desperate need of a new market.

France, Germany, Holland, Spain, Russia, and Italy, which were formerly large customers, have in recent years encouraged home shipbuilding by subvention and commercial discriminations, until their patronage has been almost entirely withdrawn from British yards. So severe has been the distress of English shipyards under these conditions that quite recently one of them contracted to build a large ship "at cost," in express terms for the sole purpose of keeping their organization together. Even Japan, which in years past has poured about thirty millions of dollars into England's coffers for ships and guns, has now begun to build her own men-of-war.

Denunciation of our navigation laws as "obsolete" is a fashionable fallacy. It is true that they are among the most venerable of our statutes, the Constitution itself antedating them only three years. But I call attention to the fact that the act of December 31, 1792, was quite as much in force from that time to 1860, when our merchant marine was at its zenith of prosperity, as now, when it is prostrate. This is a historical fact which no one can gainsay. It is therefore not easy to see why a law which promoted such prosperity as our merchant marine enjoyed prior to 1860, should exert an exactly contrary effect in 1894. At any rate it would require a new school of logic to prove that it has worked both ways. Denunciation of every business transaction between the government and steamship owners as "subsidy" is also a fashionable fad.

Steamship owners who perform public service by transporting ocean mails undoubtedly expect pay for it; but I am unable to see why a certain sum when paid to a railroad company or a river steamboat for mail-carrying under contract should be called "compensation," and when paid to an ocean steamship company for similar service should be called "subsidy."

The five maritime great powers of Europe—England, France, Germany, Russia, and Italy—during the year 1893 paid £3,331,573 sterling, or, roughly, $16,657,865, for the transportation of their mails by sea. England paid $4,360,000, including the "retainer" of 20 shillings per ton per annum to the vessels enrolled as convertible cruisers for the auxiliary fleet. France paid, including both mail compensation and tonnage bounty, $5,356,000. Germany paid, inclusive of discriminations in taxes, port dues, and lighthouse fees in favor of ships built in Germany, $1,962,000, of which $1,200,000 went to one company, the North German Lloyd.

In all these cases the transactions are considered as being in the nature of fair compensation for actual services, and no one denounces them as subsidy. It would appear that compensation for service becomes "subsidy" only when paid to an American shipowner. Summing up, it appears that the actual, practical, valid reasons for the repeal of our navigation laws are:

1. That it would open a new and much needed market for the product of over-developed English shipyards.

2. That it would offer to English shipowners opportunity to unload their obsolete and worn-out tramps from the foot of their list upon our "bargain-hunters," enabling them to recruit at the top with new ships.

3. That it would release England from her bond to keep the peace by opening an asylum for her commercial fleet whenever she might desire to make war on a maritime power.

These reasons are all English.

There are no American reasons.

CHAS. H. CRAMP.

PRIVATE HISTORY OF THE "JUMPING FROG" STORY.

BY MARK TWAIN.

FIVE or six years ago a lady from Finland asked me to tell her a story in our negro dialect, so that she could get an idea of what that variety of speech was like. I told her one of Hopkinson Smith's negro stories, and gave her a copy of *Harper's Monthly* containing it. She translated it for a Swedish newspaper, but by an oversight named me as the author of it instead of Smith. I was very sorry for that, because I got a good lashing in the Swedish press, which would have fallen to his share but for that mistake; for it was shown that Boccaccio had told that very story, in his curt and meagre fashion, five hundred years before Smith took hold of it and made a good and tellable thing out of it.

I have always been sorry for Smith. But my own turn has come now. A few weeks ago Professor Van Dyke, of Princeton, asked this question:

"Do you know how old your Jumping Frog story is?"

And I answered:

"Yes—forty-five years. The thing happened in Calaveras County in the spring of 1849."

"No; it happened earlier—a couple of thousand years earlier; it is a Greek story."

I was astonished—and hurt. I said:

"I am willing to be a literary thief if it has been so ordained; I am even willing to be caught robbing the ancient dead alongside of Hopkinson Smith, for he is my friend and a good fellow, and I think would be as honest as any one if he could do it without occasioning remark; but I am not willing to antedate his

SOUTH END

crimes by fifteen hundred years. I must ask you to knock off part of that."

But the professor was not chaffing; he was in earnest and could not abate a century. He named the Greek author, and offered to get the book and send it to me and the college text-book containing the English translation also. I thought I would like the translation best, because Greek makes me tired. January 30th he sent me the English version, and I will presently insert it in this article. It is my Jumping Frog tale in every essential. It is not strung out as I have strung it out, but it is all there.

To me this is very curious and interesting. Curious, for several reasons. For instance:

I heard the story told by a man who was not telling it to his hearers as a thing new to them, but as a thing which *they had witnessed and would remember*. He was a dull person, and ignorant; he had no gift as a story-teller, and no invention; in his mouth this episode was merely history—history and statistics; and the gravest sort of history, too; he was entirely serious, for he was dealing with what to him were austere facts, and they interested him solely because they *were* facts; he was drawing on his memory, not his mind; he saw no humor in his tale, neither did his listeners; neither he nor they ever smiled or laughed; in my time I have not attended a more solemn conference. To him and to his fellow gold-miners there were just two things in the story that were worth considering. One was, the smartness of its hero, Jim Smiley, in taking the stranger in with a loaded frog; and the other was Smiley's deep knowledge of a frog's nature—for he knew (as the narrator asserted and the listeners conceded) that a frog *likes shot* and is always ready to eat it. Those men discussed those two points, and those only. They were hearty in their admiration of them, and none of the party was aware that a first rate story had been told, in a first rate way, and that it was brimful of a quality whose presence they never suspected—humor.

Now, then, the interesting question is, *did* the frog episode happen in Angel's Camp in the spring of '49, as told in my hearing that day in the fall of 1865? I am perfectly sure that it did. I am also sure that its duplicate happened in Bœotia a couple of thousand years ago. I think it must be a case of history actually repeating itself, and not a case of a good story

floating down the ages and surviving because too good to be allowed to perish.

I would now like to have the reader examine the Greek story and the story told by the dull and solemn Californian, and observe how exactly alike they are in essentials.

[*Translation.*]

THE ATHENIAN AND THE FROG.*

An Athenian once fell in with a Bœotian who was sitting by the road side looking at a frog. Seeing the other approach, the Bœotian said his was a remarkable frog, and asked if he would agree to start a contest of frogs, on condition that he whose frog jumped farthest should receive a large sum of money. The Athenian replied that he would if the other would fetch him a frog, for the lake was near. To this he agreed, and when he was gone the Athenian took the frog, and opening its mouth poured some stones into its stomach, so that it did not indeed seem larger than before, but could not jump. The Bœotian soon returned with the other frog, and the contest began. The second frog first was pinched and jumped moderately; then they pinched the Bœotian frog. And he gathered himself for a leap, and used the utmost effort, but he could not move his body the least. So the Athenian departed with the money. When he was gone the Bœotian, wondering what was the matter with the frog, lifted him up and examined him. And being turned upside down, he opened his mouth and vomited out the stones.

And here is the way it happened in California:

FROM "THE CELEBRATED JUMPING FROG OF CALAVERAS COUNTY."

Well, thish-yer Smiley had rat-tarriers, and chicken cocks, and tomcats, and all them kind of things, till you couldn't rest, and you couldn't fetch nothing for him to bet on but he'd match you. He ketched a frog one day, and took him home, and said he cal'lated to educate him; and so he never done nothing for three months but set in his backyard and learn that frog to jump. And you bet you he *did* learn him, too. He'd give him a little punch behind, and the next minute you'd see that frog whirling in the air like a doughnut—see him turn one summerset, or maybe a couple if he got a good start, and come down flat-footed and all right, like a cat. He got him up so in the matter of ketching flies, and kep' him in practice so constant, that he'd nail a fly every time as fur as he could see him. Smiley said all a frog wanted was education, and he could do 'most anything—and I believe him. Why, I've seen him set Dan'l Webster down here on this floor—Dan'l Webster was the name of the frog—and sing out "Flies, Dan'l, flies!" and quicker'n you could wink he'd spring straight up and snake a fly off'n the counter there, and flop down on the floor ag'in as solid as a gob of mud, and fall to scratching the side of his head with his hind foot as indifferent as if he hadn't no idea he'd been doin' any more'n any frog might do. You never see a frog so modest and straightfor'ard as he was, for all he was so gifted. And when it come to fair and square jump-

* Sidgwick, *Greek Prose Composition*, page 116.

ing on a dead level, he could get over more ground at one straddle than any animal of his breed you ever see. Jumping on a dead level was his strong suit, you understand; and when it come to that, Smiley would ante up money on him as long as he had a red. Smiley was monstrous proud of his frog, and well he might be, for fellers that had travelled and been everywheres, all said he laid over any frog that ever *they* see.

Well, Smiley kep' the beast in a little lattice box, and he used to fetch him downtown sometimes and lay for a bet. One day a feller—a stranger in the camp, he was—come acrost him with his box, and says:

"What might it be that you've got in the box?"

And Smiley says, sorter indifferent-like, "It might be a parrot, or it might be a canary, maybe, but it ain't—it's only just a frog."

And the feller took it, and looked at it careful, and turned it round this way and that, and says, "H'm—so 'tis. Well, what's *he* good for?"

"Well," Smiley says, easy and careless, "he's good enough for *one* thing, I should judge—he can outjump any frog in Calaveras County."

The feller took the box again and took another long, particular look, and give it back to Smiley and says very deliberate, "Well," he says, "I don't see no p'ints about that frog that's any better'n any other frog."

"Maybe you don't," Smiley says. "Maybe you understand frogs and maybe you don't understand 'em; maybe you've had experience, and maybe you ain't only a amature, as it were. Anyways, I've got *my* opinion and I'll resk forty dollars that he can outjump any frog in Calaveras County."

And the feller studies a minute and then says, kinder sad like, "Well, I'm only a stranger here, and I ain't got no frog, but if I had a frog I'd bet you."

And then Smiley says: "That's all right—that's all right—if you'll hold my box a minute, I'll go and get you a frog." And so the feller took the box and put up his forty dollars along with Smiley's and set down to wait.

So he set there a good while thinking and thinking to hisself, and then he got the frog out and prized his mouth open and took a teaspoon and filled him full of quail shot—filled him pretty near up to his chin—and set him on the floor. Smiley he went to the swamp and slopped around in the mud for a long time, and finally he ketched a frog and fetched him in and give him to this feller, and says:

"Now, if you're ready, set him alongside of Dan'l, with his fore-paws just even with Dan'l's, and I'll give the word." Then he says, "One—two—three—*git!*" and him and the feller touched up the frogs from behind, and the new frog hopped off lively; but Dan'l give a heave, and hysted up his shoulders—so—like a Frenchman, but it warn't no use—he couldn't budge; he was planted as solid as a church, and he couldn't no more stir than if he was anchored out. Smiley was a good deal surprised, and he was disgusted, too, but he didn't have no idea what the matter was, of course.

The feller took the money and started away; and when he was going out at the door, he sorter jerked his thumb over his shoulder—so—at Dan'l, and says again, very deliberate: "Well," he says, "*I* don't see no p'ints about that frog that's any better'n any other frog."

Smiley he stood scratching his head and looking down at Dan'l a long time, and at last he says, "I do wonder what in the nation that frog throw'd off for—I wonder if there ain't something the matter with him—he 'pears to look mighty baggy, somehow." And he ketched Dan'l by the nap of the neck, and hefted him, and says, "Why, blame my cats if he don't weigh five

pound!" and turned him upside down and he belched out a double handful of shot. And then he see how it was, and he was the maddest man—he set the frog down and took out after that feller, but he never ketched him.

The resemblances are deliciously exact. There you have the wily Bœotian and the wily Jim Smiley waiting—two thousand years apart—and waiting, each equipped with his frog and "laying" for the stranger. A contest is proposed—for money. The Athenian would take a chance "if the other would fetch him a frog"; the Yankee says: "I'm only a stranger here and I ain't got no frog; but if I had a frog I'd bet you." The wily Bœotian and the wily Californian, with that vast gulf of two thousand years between, retire eagerly and go frogging in the marsh; the Athenian and the Yankee remain behind and work a base advantage, the one with pebbles, the other with shot. Presently the contest began. In the one case "they pinched the Bœotian frog"; in the other, "him and the feller touched up the frogs from behind." The Bœotian frog "gathered himself for a leap" (you can just *see* him!), but "could not move his body in the least"; the Californian frog "give a heave, but it warn't no use—he couldn't budge." In both the ancient and the modern cases the strangers departed with the money. The Bœotian and the Californian wonder what is the matter with their frogs; they lift them and examine; they turn them upside down and out spills the informing ballast.

Yes, the resemblances are curiously exact. I used to tell the story of the Jumping Frog in San Francisco, and presently Artemus Ward came along and wanted it to help fill out a little book which he was about to publish; so I wrote it out and sent it to his publisher, Carleton; but Carleton thought the book had enough matter in it, so he gave the story to Henry Clapp as a present, and Clapp put it in his *Saturday Press*, and it killed that paper with a suddenness that was beyond praise. At least the paper died with that issue, and none but envious people have ever tried to rob me of the honor and credit of killing it. The "Jumping Frog" was the first piece of writing of mine that spread itself through the newspapers and brought me into public notice. Consequently, the *Saturday Press* was a cocoon and I the worm in it; also, I was the gay-colored literary moth which its death set free. This simile has been used before.

Early in '66 the "Jumping Frog" was issued in book form,

with other sketches of mine. A year or two later Madame Blanc translated it into French and published it in the *Revue des Deux Mondes,* but the result was not what should have been expected, for the *Revue* struggled along and pulled through, and is alive yet. I think the fault must have been in the translation. I ought to have translated it myself. I think so because I examined into the matter and finally retranslated the sketch from the French back into English, to see what the trouble was ; that is, to see just what sort of a focus the French people got upon it. Then the mystery was explained. In French the story is too confused, and chaotic, and unreposeful, and ungrammatical, and insane ; consequently it could only cause grief and sickness—it could not kill. A glance at my retranslation will show the reader that this must be true.

[*My Retranslation.*]

THE FROG JUMPING OF THE COUNTY OF CALAVERAS.

Eh bien ! this Smiley nourished some terriers á rats, and some cocks of combat, and some cats, and all sort of things ; and with his rage of betting one no had more of repose. He trapped one day a frog and him imported with him (et l'emporta chez lui) saying that he pretended to make his education. You me believe if you will, but during three months he not has nothing done but to him apprehend to jump (apprendre a sauter) in a court retired of her mansion (de sa maison). And I you respond that he have succeeded. He him gives a small blow by behind, and the instant after you shall see the frog turn in the air like a grease-biscuit, make one summersault, sometimes two, when she was well started, and re-fall upon his feet like a cat. He him had accomplished in the art of to gobble the flies (gober des mouches), and him there exercised continually—so well that a fly at the most far that she appeared was a fly lost. Smiley had custom to say that all which lacked to a frog it was the education, but with the education she could do nearly all—and I him believe. Tenez, I him have seen pose Daniel Webster there upon this plank—Daniel Webster was the name of the frog—and to him sing, "Some flies, Daniel, some flies!"—in a flash of the eye Daniel had bounded and seized a fly here upon the counter, then jumped anew at the earth, where he rested truly to himself scratch the head with his behind-foot, as if he no had not the least idea of his superiority. Never you not have seen frog as modest, as natural, sweet as she was. And when he himself agitated to jump purely and simply upon plain earth, she does more ground in one jump than any beast of his species than you can know.

To jump plain—this was his strong. When he himself agitated for that Smiley multiplied the bets upon her as long as there to him remained a red. It must to know, Smiley was monstrously proud of his frog, and he of it was right, for some men who were traveled, who had all seen, said that they to him would be injurious to him compare to another frog. Smiley guarded Daniel in a little box latticed which he carried bytimes to the village for some bet.

One day an individual stranger at the camp him arrested with his box and him said :

" What is this that you have then shut up there within ?"

Smiley said, with an air indifferent :

" That could be a paroquet, or a syringe (*ou un serin*), but this no is nothing of such, it not is but a frog."

The individual it took, it regarded with care, it turned from one side and from the other, then he said :

" *Tiens !* in effect !—At what is she good ?"

" My God !" respond Smiley, always with an air disengaged, " she is good for one thing, to my notice, (*à mon avis*), she can batter in jumping (*elle peut batter en sautant*) all frogs of the county of Calaveras."

The individual re-took the box, it examined of new longly, and it rendered to Smiley in saying with an air deliberate :

" *Eh bien !* I no saw not that that frog had nothing of better than each frog." (*Je ne vois pas que cette grenouille ait rien de mieux qu'aucune grenouille*). [If that isn't grammar gone to seed, then I count myself no judge.—M. T.]

" Possible that you not it saw not," said Smiley, " possible that you—you comprehend frogs ; possible that you not you there comprehend nothing ; possible that you had of the experience, and possible that you not be but an amateur. Of all manner (*De toute manière*) I bet forty dollars that she batter in jumping no matter which frog of the county of Calaveras."

The individual reflected a second, and said like sad :

" I not am but a stranger here, I no have not a frog ; but if I of it had one, I would embrace the bet."

" Strong, well !" respond Smiley ; " nothing of more facility. If you will hold my box a minute, I go you to search a frog (*j'irai vous chercher*)."

Behold, then, the individual, who guards the box, who puts his forty dollars upon those of Smiley, and who attends (*et qui attend*). He attended enough longtimes, reflecting all solely. And figure you that he takes Daniel, him opens the mouth by force and with a tea-spoon him fills with shot of the hunt, even him fills just to the chin, then he him puts by the earth. Smiley during these times was at slopping in a swamp. Finally he trapped (*attrape*) a frog, him carried to that individual, and said :

" Now if you be ready, put him all against Daniel, with their before-feet upon the same line, and I give the signal"—then he added : " One, two, three—advance !"

Him and the individual touched their frogs by behind, and the frog new put to jump smartly, but Daniel himself lifted ponderously, exalted the shoulders thus, like a Frenchman—to what good ? he could not budge, he is planted solid like a church, he not advance no more than if one him had put at the anchor.

Smiley was surprised and disgusted, but he not himself doubted not of the turn being intended (*mais il ne se doutait pas du tour bien entendu*). The individual empocketed the silver, himself with it went, and of it himself in going is that he no gives not a jerk of thumb over the shoulder—like that—at the poor Daniel, in saying with his air deliberate—(*L'individu empoche l'argent s'en va et en s'en allant est ce qu'il ne donne pas un coup de pouce par-dessus l'épaule, comme ça, au pauvre Daniel, en disant de son air délibéré.*)

"Eh bien! *I no see not that that frog has nothing of better than another.*"

Smiley himself scratched longtimes the head, the eyes fixed upon Daniel, until that which at last he said:

"I me demand how the devil it makes itself that this beast has refused. Is it that she had something? One would believe that she is stuffed."

He grasped Daniel by the skin of the neck, him lifted and said:

"The wolf me bite if he no weigh not five pounds."

He him reversed and the unhappy belched two handfuls of shot (*et le malheureux*, etc).—When Smiley recognized how it was, he was like mad. He deposited his frog by the earth and ran after that individual, but he not him caught never.

It may be that there are people who can translate better than I can, but I am not acquainted with them.

So ends the private and public history of the jumping frog of Calaveras County, an incident which has this unique feature about it—that it is both old and new, a "chestnut" and not a "chestnut"; for it was original when it happened two thousand years ago, and was again original when it happened in California in our own time.

MARK TWAIN.

FORGERY AS A PROFESSION.

BY ROBERT A. PINKERTON.

PROFESSIONAL forgers usually make their homes in large cities. They are constantly studying schemes and organizing gangs of men to defraud banks, trust companies, and money lenders by means of forged checks, notes, drafts, bills of exchange, letters of credit, and in some instances altering registered government and other bonds, and counterfeiting the bonds of corporations. These bonds they dispose of or hypothecate to obtain loans on.

A professional forgery gang consists of: First, a capitalist or backer; second, the actual forger, who is known among his associates as the "scratcher"; third, the man who acts as confidential agent for the forger, who is known as the "middleman" or the "go-between"; fourth, the man who presents the forged paper at the bank for payment, who is known as the "layer-down" or "presenter."

When it is necessary to have a capitalist or backer connected with a gang, he furnishes the funds for the organization, frequently lays out the plans of work and obtains the genuine paper from which forgeries are made. He will, when necessary, find the engraver, the lithographer, and, most important of all, the "professional" forger, who will do the actual forgery work.

The professional forger has, as a rule, considerable knowledge of chemicals which enables him to alter checks, drafts, bills of exchange, letters of credit, or to change the names on registered bonds. He is something of an artist, too, for with a fine camel's-hair brush he can restore the most delicate tints in bank safety paper, where the tints have been destroyed by the use of acids; in fact, no bank safety paper is a protection against him. When the amount of the genuine draft or check is perforated in the

paper, certain professional forgers have reached that point in their work where they fill up the perforations with paper pulp, then with a hot iron press it out so that it is a very difficult matter to detect the alterations even with the use of the finest microscope. This done and the writing cleaned off the face of the draft, check, letter of credit, or bill of exchange, with only the genuine signature left and the tints on the paper restored, the forger is prepared to fill up the paper for any amount decided upon.

The backer or capitalist is rarely known to any member of the gang outside of the "go-between," whom he makes use of to find the forger. He very rarely allows himself to become known to the men who "present" the forged paper at the banks. If the forgery scheme is successful, the backer receives back the money paid out for the preparation of the work, as well as any amount he may have loaned the "band" to enable them to open accounts at banks where they propose placing the forged paper. He is also allowed a certain percentage on all successful forgeries. This percentage will run from 20 to 30 per cent., but where the backer and forger are working together, their joint percentage is never less than 50 per cent.

The duties of the "middleman" or "go-between" are to receive from the forger or his confidential agent the altered or forged paper. He finds the man to "present" the same, accompanies his confederates on their forgery trips throughout the country, acts as the agent of the backer in dealing out money for expenses, sees that their plan of operations is carried out, and, in fact, becomes the general manager of the band. He is in full control of the men who act as "presenters" of the forged paper. If there be more than one man to "present" the paper, the middleman, as a rule, will not allow them to become known to each other. He meets them in secluded places, generally in little out-of-the-way saloons. In summer-time a favorite meeting place is some secluded spot in the public parks. At one meeting he makes an appointment for the next meeting. He uses great care in making these appointments, so that the different "presenters" do not come together and thereby become known to each other. The middleman is usually selected for his firmness of character. He must be a man known among criminals as a "staunch" man, one who can-

not be easily frightened by detectives when arrested, no matter what pressure may be brought to bear upon him. He must have such an acquaintanceship among criminals as will enable him to select other men who are "staunch" and who are not apt to talk and tell their business, whether sober or under the influence of liquor. It is from among this class of acquaintances that he selects the men to "present" the forged paper. It is an invariable rule followed by the backer and forger that in selecting a middleman they select one who not only has the reputation of being a "staunch" man, but he must also be a man who has at least one record of conviction standing against him. This is for the additional protection of the backer and forger, as they know that in law the testimony of an accomplice who is also an ex-convict, should he conclude to become a state's witness, would have to be strongly corroborated before a court or jury in order to be believed.

As the capitalist and forger, for self-protection, use great care in selecting a "middleman," the middleman to protect himself also uses the same care in the selection of men to "present" the forged paper. He endeavors, like the backer and forger, to throw as much protection around himself as possible, and for the same reasons he also uses ex-convicts as the men to "present" the forged paper at the banks. The "presenters" are of all ages and appearances, from the party who will pass as an errand boy, messenger, porter, or clerk to the prosperous business man, horse trader, stock buyer, or farmer. When a presenter enters a bank to "lay down" a forged paper, the "go-between" will sometimes enter the bank with him, and stand outside the counter noting carefully if there is any suspicious action on the part of the paying teller when the forged paper is presented to him; and whether the "presenter" carries himself properly and does his part well. But usually the middleman prefers waiting outside the bank for the "presenter," possibly watching him through a window from the street. If the "presenter" is successful and gets the money on the forged paper, the middleman will follow him when he leaves the bank to some convenient spot where, without attracting attention, he receives the money. He then gives the presenter another piece of forged paper drawn on some other bank in the immediate neighborhood, accompanying him also to this bank, and so they go from bank to bank, usually victimizing

from three to five banks in each city, their work being completed generally in less than an hour's time. All money obtained from the various banks on the forged paper is immediately turned over to the middleman, who furnishes all the money for current expenses. After the work is completed, the presenters leave the city by different routes, first having agreed on a meeting point in some neighboring city. The "presenters" frequently walk out of the city to some outlying station on the line of the road they propose to take to their next destination. This precaution is taken to avoid arrest at the depot in case the forgery is discovered before they can leave the city. At the next meeting-point the middleman, having deducted the expenses advanced, pays the "presenters" their percentage of the money obtained on the forged paper.

A band of professional forgers before starting out always agree on a basis of division of all moneys obtained on their forgery paper. This division might be about as follows: For a presenter where the amount to be drawn does not exceed $2,000, 15 to 25 per cent.; but where the amount to be drawn is from $3,000 to $5,000 and upwards, the "presenter" receives from 35 to 45 per cent. The price is raised as the risk increases, and it is generally considered a greater risk to attempt to pass a check or draft of a large denomination than a smaller one. The middleman gets from 15 to 25 per cent. His work is more, and his responsibility is greater, but the risk is less. There are plenty of middlemen to be had, but the "presenters" are scarce. The "shadow," when one accompanies the band, is sometimes paid a salary by the middleman and his expenses, but at other times he is allowed a small percentage, not to exceed 5 per cent. and his expenses, as with ordinary care his risk is very slight. The backer and forger get the balance, which usually amounts to from 50 to 60 per cent. The expenses that have been advanced the men who go out on the road are usually deducted at the final division.

In case of the arrest of one of the "presenters" in the act of "laying down" forged paper, the middleman or shadow immediately notifies other members of the band who may be in the city. All attempts to get money from the other banks are stopped, and the other members of the band leave the city as best they can to meet at some designated point in a near-by city. Out of their first suc-

cessful forgeries a certain sum from each man's share is held by the "middleman" to be used in the defence of any member of the band who may be arrested on the trip. This money is called "fall money," and is used to employ counsel for the men under arrest, or to do anything for them that may be for their interest. Any part of this money not used is paid back in proportion to the amount advanced to the various members of the band from whose share it has been retained. Sometimes, however, in forming a band of forgers there is an understanding or agreement entered into at the outset, that each man "stand on his own bottom"—that is, if arrested, take care of himself. When this is agreed to, the men arrested must get out as best they can. Under these circumstances there is no assessment for "fall money," but usually the men who present the paper insist on "fall money" being put up, as it assures them the aid of some one of the band working earnestly in their behalf and watching their interests, outside of the attorney retained.

When a "middleman" is exceedingly cautious and not entirely satisfied with the "presenters," he will sometimes have an assistant. This is where the "shadow" comes in. This shadow will, under the directions of the "middleman," follow the presenter into the bank and report fully on his actions. He sometimes catches the "presenter" in an attempt to swindle his companions by claiming that he did not get the money, but had to get out of the bank in a hurry and leave the check or draft, as the paying teller was suspicious. A "presenter" caught at this trick is sometimes sent into a bank to present a forged check where the bank has been previously warned of his coming by an anonymous letter, written by or at the instigation of one of the leaders. This is done as a punishment for his dishonesty, and as a warning to the other "presenters" not to attempt this treachery. Usually, however, a dishonest member is quietly dropped. The "shadow" will follow the "presenters" from the time they get the forged paper from the middleman until they hand the money over to him. A good "shadow" is always useful to the middleman, who does not allow him to become known to his confederates.

When one of the party is arrested, an attorney is at once sent to him. As a rule, in selecting an attorney, one is employed who is known as a good criminal lawyer. It is also preferred that he should be a lawyer who has some political weight. The mid-

dleman employs the attorney, and pays him out of the "fall money." The arrested man is strictly instructed by the attorney to do no talking, and is usually encouraged by the promise that they will have him out in a short time. In order to keep him quiet, this promise is frequently renewed by the attorney acting for the "middleman." This is done to prevent a confession being made in case the arrested man should show signs of weakening. Finally, when he is forced to stand trial, if the case is one certain of conviction, the attorney will get him to plead guilty, with the promise of a short sentence, and will then bargain to this end with the court or prosecutor. Thus guided by the attorney selected and acting for the "middleman" and his associates, the prisoner pleads guilty, and frequently discovers, when it is too late, that he has been tricked into keeping his mouth shut in the interests of his associates. It is but fair to state, however, that if money can save an arrested party, and if his associates have it, they will use it freely among attorneys or "jury fixers," where the latter can be made use of, and frequently it is paid to politicians who make a pretence of having a "pull" with the prosecuting officers or the court.

Many banks are swindled in the United States and Canada yearly by bands of professional forgers. One or more of them will go to a town or city, buy a draft for $15 or $25, which they "raise" to any amount they think they can have cashed. To establish identification various methods and tricks are resorted to. Frequently these men will have their signatures forwarded by mail by the bank issuing the draft, and where it is a check they will forge the guarantee of the maker of the check to the indorsement or will forge the name of a firm near the bank, whose signature is known at the bank guaranteeing the indorsement. Within the past year two members (presenters) of one of these forgery bands have been arrested; one a year after he had presented the forged drafts to a bank in a Western city. He was dying of consumption when arrested, and was never able to be moved to the scene of his forgeries. In one of the banks where this man had been successful in obtaining money on the forged drafts, he was taken with a coughing spell while waiting for the money to be counted over to him by the paying teller, who, as he afterwards expressed it, paid him the money quickly, being afraid the man would

die at the counter. This "presenter" was one of the "staunch men," as it is said he would never open his lips previous to his death as to who his associates were. Another member of this band who was recently arrested in a Southern city, was convicted and sentenced to five years' imprisonment, having been arrested in the act of "presenting" a forged draft. It is sometimes a difficult matter to convict a "presenter" of forged paper unless he is arrested immediately after presenting the paper, for the reason that bank tellers, after a lapse of a few days or possibly weeks, cannot be relied upon to identify the man who "presented" the paper. Many banks on whom forgeries have been perpetrated are unwilling to incur the expense of hunting down forgers, for fear the matter should become public and thereby hurt their standing or reflect on their business management. For this reason they frequently suppress the facts and charge the forgeries to profit and loss. It is a difficult matter to get evidence to convict either the capitalist or actual forger, for as a rule, in order to convict either of these, it is necessary to get a confession from the "presenter" or the "middleman," and then corroborate his statements in order to have them believed. As a rule, the "presenter" cannot furnish the evidence to convict the backer or the actual forger, because he seldom knows either of them, as he always does his business through the "middleman." It is frequently the case that the capitalist or forger is not in the city where the forgeries are committed. They prepare the work and the middleman and "presenters" get the money. The general public, or in fact, banks, have but a slight idea of the ramifications of a forgery band.

In my opinion there is but one way to stamp out professional forgery. Let the banks enter into a union having this for its object. A union of this kind could be organized and maintained at very little cost to each member of the association. When a forgery is perpetrated on a member of the association, prompt and vigorous action could then be taken. The detectives employed by the association could be sent to the scene of the forgery almost immediately after the forgery was discovered; and by their knowledge of the men engaged in this class of work, and by persistent efforts on their part, in time the leaders of these bands and their tools would be convicted and sentenced. The victimized banks would not be put to the cost of tracing

down the parties who had committed these forgeries, as this would be attended to by the association, whose executive officers would also decide on the detectives to be employed, and advise with them at all times as to their plans and the progress of the work. In forming an association of this kind the first principle should be "no compromise." An earnest effort should be made to get the forgers and recover as much of the money obtained by them as is possible, but a prosecution to convicition should be certain. In the United States to-day there are not a dozen men who will enter into the business of backing a forgery band, and there are not over five or six men in the United States who have the ability and are willing to use it as professional forgers. The conviction of one backer or one actual forger would do more good than the conviction of fifty "presenters." On account of the many safeguards with which the backers and forgers surround themselves it might not be an easy matter to connect them with each forgery they might be concerned in, but by constant watchfulness it could be accomplished.

As an illustration of the value of such an association as a bankers' union, the case of the Jewellers' Protective Union and the Jewellers' Security Alliance might be cited. These two organizations were organized in the city of New York, and their officers reside there. They have been in existence a number of years and have been very successful in causing the arrest and punishment of professional thieves who make it a business to rob travelling jewellery salesmen or burglarize jewellers' safes. Before the formation of these associations the stealing of the trunks of travelling jewellery salesmen and the burglarizing of their safes were quite common occurrences, there being anywhere from one to six robberies in a year. The action taken against jewellery thieves, causing their arrest and severe punishment, almost put a stop to this class of thievery. Most of the men who made it a business and a study to relieve travelling jewellery salesmen of their trunks and stock are in prison, and those not there have chosen some other line of thievery less dangerous. Professional thieves have been made to understand that if they will persist in robbing jewellery salesmen or jewellers' safes, who are under protection of either of these associations, they are sure to be punished. Professional thieves are not looking for trouble, and, as a rule, will avoid it.

An association of banks contending against professional forgers would be just as successful as either of the two jewellery associations, and even more so, as, in the first place, the number of actual professional forgers is limited. Conviction of the men who are the actual forgers and the backers would put the middlemen and "presenters" out of business, as it is not in their power to do the forgery work.

Another instance showing that professional forgery can be stamped out in the United States is the success that has crowned the efforts of the government in virtually putting a stop to the counterfeiting of government notes. Previous to the Civil War a large number of "crooked" engravers and lithographers were actively engaged in counterfeiting the State Bank bills. When the United States and National Bank currency was adopted, these men turned their attention to counterfeiting the government money. To contend against these counterfeiters the government found it necessary to organize the United States Secret Service, in which a large number of detectives were employed and stationed at various points throughout the United States and Canada. Within a few years the counterfeiting of United States currency was checked, and it is now almost extinct. The leaders of these bands, capitalists, backers, engravers, and lithographers, have been arrested, sentenced, and many of them are in prison. The United States Secret Service is still kept up, under a chief who reports directly to the Secretary of the Treasury, but the force has been greatly reduced, and the counterfeiting of the United States and the National Bank notes has been reduced to a minimum, if not entirely stopped. This has been brought about by making punishment certain for all who engaged in counterfeiting government notes. The counterfeiting of silver coins is still carried on to a certain extent, mostly by Italians, with plaster molds, but even this is almost stopped.

A combination of banks would bring about the same results. Capitalists and actual forgers would be reached and punished or driven out of the business into some other line of thievery. Just as the burglar and "sneak" thief have been made to respect these jewellery associations, and the counterfeiter has been made to understand that he must not meddle with the Government's money, so the professional forger would come to understand that in laying

out his plans to commit a forgery, one of the first points for him to ascertain would be, "Does this bank belong to the bankers' association for the prosecution of forgers?" If the paying tellers in banks belonging to the association were able to have a notice over their windows, stating that the bank was under the protection of the bankers' protective association, the first thing a professional forger or "presenter" of forged paper would do would be to look for this notioe. In time professional forgers would be made to so respect this notice that there would be but a slight chance of a bank belonging to this association being swindled by professional forgers.

The initiation fee, and thereafter the annual dues, would undoubtedly not only support the association, but they could lay up a surplus as their membership increased. An association somewhat similar to the one I have outlined is said to exist in London. If any of its members are forged upon, the forgers are followed over the world, brought back, and punished for their crimes.

The American professional forger is the most expert of any of his class in the world. Bands of American forgers have travelled all over Europe and South America, perpetrating forgeries, and have been quite successful. The great Bank of England forgeries were perpetrated by Americans. These were the largest forgeries ever conceived and carried out successfully by a professional forgery band, and if it had not been for a mere accident in the forger's failing to put in a date on a bill of acceptance, they would have cost the Bank of England $3,000,000 instead of $600,000. Had there been an association of bankers in the United States for protection against professional forgers, the probabilities are that the Bank of England forgery could have been prevented, as it was known to American detectives at the time that there was a band of American forgers working in Europe, who were making their headquarters in London.

ROBERT A. PINKERTON.

TARIFF REFORM AND MONETARY REFORM.

BY PRESIDENT E. B. ANDREWS, OF BROWN UNIVERSITY.

THE fundamental truth on which the policy of tariff reform is based is that the world of commerce is by nature a continuous unity. Any measure or system which tends to hedge it off into districts or departments is more or less artificial, and therefore, if justifiable at all, justifiable only on account of some temporary stress or other circumstance foreign to the normal order of society. Starting out from this principle, I desire to show that at the present time tariff reform depends upon monetary reform, and can never achieve its end in any satisfactory degree without a radical modification of the monetary conditions which now prevail.

It is universally admitted that since 1873 there has been an extraordinary appreciation of gold, or, what is the same thing, an extraordinary fall in general prices; but no one, so far as I am aware, has noticed what a decided forensic advantage this gives high protectionists in their argument against tariff reformers. In the last presidential canvass anti-protectionists incessantly inveighed against the McKinley Bill on the ground that it had raised prices. They were able to prove that it had raised some prices, but that it had elevated prices generally they could not prove. On the contrary, the figures gathered by the Senate Committee showed that after the McKinley Act went into effect general prices slightly fell. This result was undoubtedly due in part to the inclusion of sugar in the Senate statistics; but the rise of general prices under the McKinley Act, even aside from sugar, was insignificant. Because of this, many believed, and still believe, that the whole outcry against the law sprang either from error or from a purpose to deceive voters.

What the McKinley legislation did do, beyond all question, was to enhance the intrinsic costs of things, to increase the amount of exertion which our people in general were having to put forth in order to procure a given number of pounds, yards, bushels, etc., of the various goods necessary to their subsistence. It did not raise prices in general, but it did raise costs in general. That few people saw this, was due to the natural but very perverse habit of confusing prices with costs, as if the two were either identical or always varied in the same direction. The tendency of a protective tariff to elevate prices had in this case been partially or wholly offset by the fall in prices involved in the appreciation of gold.

Had there been no appreciation of gold, that is, no downward movement in general prices, caused by paucity of full money in our part of the world, the consequence of the McKinley law would have been a considerable rise of prices. The nature of that legislation would thus have been made so apparent that the recent victory for reform would have been overwhelming and final. The nation's verdict in the matter would have been so decisive as to settle forever the question what sort of a tariff policy the United States should pursue. As it is, this cannot be said to have been the case. If any expect the lowering of our customs duties to be from this time an easy and certain thing, they are, in my judgment, much mistaken. The cause still has great obstacles to overcome, in which all possible help will be needed. It is extremely desirable that the fall of prices which obscures, and, unless stopped, will go on obscuring the inevitable effect of high tariffs, should be obviated if possible.

It is necessary to insist with extreme emphasis upon this difference between prices and costs. Pardon me, therefore, for dwelling a few moments longer upon the dense and painful misunderstanding upon this point which afflicts many perfectly intelligent people. The statement is continually made that falling prices are advantageous, just what one ought to wish, as the signs of advancing wealth, comfort, and civilization. The proposition needs amendment. What is desirable is that the costs of commodities should decrease, but it is not necessary that this decrease should be accompanied by a fall in prices. It may even be accompanied by a rise in prices, as was the case after 1848.

All are glad, certainly, to have the costs of things become less and less. This process has been going on since 1873. Had

this alone occurred, no one would complain. There are two proofs that this is not all which has been doing. One is that intrinsic costs were falling between 1848 and 1873—falling as rapidly as since 1873. But prices then were rising rather than falling and it was a period of extraordinary prosperity everywhere. Another evidence that the fall in the intrinsic costs of things since 1873 has had a baneful accompaniment of some sort is as follows: Falling costs imply prosperity. The signs of a *régime* of falling costs are high interest and dividends, good wages and profits, happy merchants, manufacturers, bankers, and workmen; few failures, few strikes and lockouts, rapidly multiplying industrial undertakings, and rapidly increasing wealth. This is not a picture of the world's economic life for the last twenty years. Costs have fallen, doubtless, but the fall in prices has not consisted solely or mainly in reduced costs.

Just so, an advance in prices may mean an advance in costs, as is often or usually the case when prices are put up by a tariff; or it may mean merely an increase in the volume of money, without increase or even with decrease in costs, as was the case after 1850. I have nowhere seen these distinctions properly observed; and because they are not observed, people of much information talk very absurdly upon the subject. One class hails with joy a rise of prices, whatever its cause; another laments it, whatever its cause. So, when prices decline, many imagine that the decline must mean a lessening of the effort necessary to get commodities, and they utter hallelujahs accordingly.

It is quite conceivable that costs should go one way and prices another, that costs in general should fall, so that the community needs less effort year by year to get a certain amount of satisfactions, and yet gives for those satisfactions a greater number of the units of money year by year. This is what was taking place after 1850. The reverse may also occur; that is, costs may increase or may remain stationary, and yet prices decrease. The McKinley tariff added to the costs of all or most things which it affected, but an unhappy appreciation of gold, to a great extent prevented this increase of cost—this addition to the effort necessary to obtain things—from taking effect in the form of higher prices. This obscuration of fact, I repeat, gave in the canvass, and continues to give, to the high tariff party a prodigious advantage in argument. There is no doubt that, in the election, it

secured for high tariff multitudes of votes. It keeps in favor thereof numbers of men who, but for it, would prefer reform, and it will continue to have this effect so long as the source of the error lasts. The condition producing the mistake ought to be cancelled by arresting the appreciation of gold through an increase in the volume of full or exportable money.

With this support which the appreciation of gold gives the protectionist as a debater, is closely connected the impulse toward protection with which it plies him if, as is usual, he is also a producer. The first of these considerations relates to logic, appealing to the mind; the second is economic, addressing itself to the pocket. Producers as such always like to see prices rise; and up to the figure where the increase begins to limit sales so as to lower total profit, they are sure to use their influence in favor of an advancing market. When prices threaten or begin to fall, producers redouble their efforts as bulls. At such a time stock depreciates upon manufacturers' hands. Spontaneously struggling to avert this, they welcome any resource that bids fair to aid. Unable to compass their ends in other ways, they are moved to agitate for protection, which often, when it does not out and out elevate or stay the prices of goods, prevents them from falling as low as they would fall otherwise. If, as has almost always been the case in our country, manufacturers are foremost in framing the nation's fiscal policy, this is in any event sure to be protective, but it will be doubly so if they change it while prices are sinking.

That the consideration here touched has been most potent in the revived protectionist agitation which has swept over the world since the time when prices began to fall, hardly admits of doubt.* Since 1891, even New South Wales succumbs to this drift. The two phenomena are connected not alone in point of time, but logically, just as those of low duties and progress toward free trade after 1845 are connected with the rise of prices during the same period. As to times more recent, I have no hesitation in saying that had prices since the war been stationary or only slowly advancing, the rise in tariff rates so much bewailed would not only have been impossible, but would never have been thought of; and the painful effort which we are now making to rationalize our fiscal system would have been unnecessary.

* The rise of trusts and other combinations of capital is due to the same cause. In times of falling prices, production is extra hazardous, and such as engage in it feel the need of some special shelter, defence, or insurance.

Unless something can be done to remedy the world's monetary disorders, the manufacturing classes will continue as in recent years to be arrayed in almost solid phalanx against tariff reform, whereas, if the fall of prices could be checked, one principal motive now prompting them to such an attitude would happily fall away. This motive, now, has a certain justification, which even free traders must admit.

A special incentive just now operative in the United States spurs protectionists here to try and maintain high customs duties. It is the fact that we must retain our gold. In the East, nearly all our citizens admit this necessity, whatever their views regarding the tariff. As is well known, we produce several commodities which Europe must have, while few of our wants are of such a nature that we cannot, by sufficient expense, provide for them at home. By thwarting somewhat the disposition of people in Europe to settle with us in commodities, we compel them to send us more gold than they otherwise would. If the pressure for gold now so rife in all European countries could be removed, then this particular American ground for favoring protection would also be removed, and reform would be indefinitely easier in consequence. Otherwise the fight for gold cannot but plague us badly in settling a new tariff. Provided we are going to keep our gold, we cannot permit Europe too easily to liquidate in goods the debts she incurs on our side the ocean. The present Congress encountered this difficulty in its very first debate on the tariff, and will have to reckon with it at every step. Should the Wilson bill become law, and immense new importations under it send all our gold to Europe, many who have voted for it would curse the day when they did so.

Tariff reform proposes to do much for the American farmer, and it will do much, but its benign effect in this way must be painfully restricted unless silver can be brought back to or toward its old-time value-relation with gold. Many wonder at Great Britain's obstinacy in refusing to do aught that might help on the rehabilitation of silver. The opposition of the creditor interest is commonly considered the cause of this. It is one cause, but there is another quite as strong—the determination of the entire non-agricultural population of Great Britain to maintain the present low price of wheat. This having resulted from the appreciation of gold, Lord Rosebery and his followers see that,

were silver to be reinstated, wheat prices would considerably advance.

The appreciation of gold depresses the price of wheat in London by powerfully stimulating the importation of wheat from India. Let us recur to the days when gold was only fifteen and a half times as precious as silver. Suppose that then four shillings in gold, two rupees in silver, and a bushel of wheat were equal in value each to each. A Mark Lane dealer sends to India two rupees' worth of silver for a bushel of wheat, getting his rupees by paying four shillings' worth of gold. Now change the supposition: Gold appreciates, so that the two rupees will buy only three shillings instead of four, as previously. That is, silver has fallen in relation to gold 25 per cent., and gold has risen in relation to silver 33⅓ per cent. Wheat, too, has fallen in relation to gold, but not so much as silver, so that, say, a bushel will exchange for three and a half shillings gold. Observe, now, how the appreciation of gold blesses our Mark Lane wheatmonger. The rupee or silver price of wheat in India has not changed. His two rupees will, as before, set a bushel of wheat going from Calcutta to London. He now, however, gets his rupees for three shillings gold, while his wheat brings him three and a half shillings gold. That is, he makes sixpence gold on every bushel. To aid simplicity I have made these figures gross and general and have taken no account of freight or exchange. But, though more or less inexact in detail, the supposition perfectly illustrates the effect which the dislocation of the old value-relation between the precious metals has had in filling London with Indian wheat. The profit, of course, does not continue so high as indicated, but is lowered by competition. This lowering comes about by a fall in the gold price of wheat in England, which not only more and more cuts down the London market for American wheat, but depresses the price of wheat to the remotest farm in the United States.

The correctness of the theory just stated is sometimes challenged on the ground that if it were correct the silver price of wheat would, through stimulation of the demand, have risen in India, which has not been the case. This apparent anomaly is easily explained. There has no doubt been a tendency to such rise, but it has been balanced by the counter-tendency toward cheapness put in exercise by the immense multiplication in India,

during recent years, of railways and other facilities for easy transportation. In this roundabout yet inevitable way, both the American market for wheat and the American price thereof are kept down by the appreciation of gold. A similar analysis could be given in relation to cotton, only here the British pressure in favor of low prices through dear gold is offset somewhat by the difficulty which dear gold gives the cotton people themselves in preserving their market abroad. Of this I shall say more presently. Meantime, it seems to me absolutely certain that the production of the two great staples mentioned can never be duly profitable in America till the gold price of silver is much raised; that is, the appreciation of gold checked.

Tariff reform sees still another powerful reason why silver ought to be brought back to a certain regular parity with gold. It is a reason of which we in America have thought little, but we cannot permanently ignore it. I refer to the lack of a fixed par, a mint par, between the gold-using and the silver-using portions of the world. The distress which the absence of such a par has produced in England is among the chief causes for the great increase of sentiment there favorable to bimetallism. It is found that trade between England and India has come to be little more than a game of chance. All the people engaged in it or acquainted with it pronounce its condition intolerable. We Americans have been accustomed to think of this evil as having little importance for us, but we are certainly in error. All parties are agreed that it is already desirable and must soon be indispensable to increase our foreign trade. Some would promote this by subsidies upon steamship lines between our own and foreign countries. Others prefer the method of reducing duties. But no intelligent American will deny that in some way or other the exports from the United States of America must immensely increase if the prosperity of our country is to go on. A very great part of the new exports must go to the lands which have silver as the basis of their currency, as China, Mexico, Central and South America. We ought to be the principal purveyors of manufactured goods to all these regions. No other great manufacturing nation is so near them. Far too long have we been sluggish touching this important interest. Even the last election has hardly awakened us. When the matter is studied as it deserves to be, our people will not rest until they begin to utilize

this gigantic possibility. Now the friction in exchange between the gold-using and the silver-using populations of mankind is about the worst conceivable barrier to the execution of this splendid scheme. It may seem a strong statement, yet I am of the opinion, after much reflection, that the demonetization of silver in 1873, annihilating all money par between rich and populous sections of humanity, sections which more than any others ought to be trading freely together because their natural products are so diverse, is doing more to repress commerce than all the tariffs in existence. This is why the exports from Great Britain to the East have for many years been either falling off or increasing at a snail's pace in comparison with the progress they ought to have made. Excepting a few writers for the London press, I do not believe that an intelligent Englishman can be found who will not trace this loss to the crazy condition of exchange.

The same evil affects Mexico as well. At the Monetary Conference the Mexican delegates submitted a paper which gave impressive testimony to this fact. Among other documen s which they laid before the Conference was a table illustrating the frequency and sweep of the variations in Mexican exchange upon London for the years 1889 and 1890. Here is that table :

	1889.				1890.			
Months.	Max.	Min.	Var.	No. of Var.	Max.	Min.	Var.	No. of Var.
	Pence.	Pence.			Pence.	Pence		
January	35¾	35¼	1/16	7	37⅝	37⅜	¼	8
February	35⅝	35	5/16	6	37⅝	36½	⅛	9
March	35½	35⅜	⅛	1	37⅝	36½	⅛	15
April	35⅜	35¼	⅛	1	39	37⅛	1⅞	13
May	35 13/16	35⅜	3/16	2	39¾	38¼	1½	8
June	35⅞	35½	⅜	2	41½	39¼	2¼	11
July	35⅞	35⅜	½	3	42½	40¾	1¾	8
August	35 11/16	35⅜	5/16	3	45½	42¼	3¼	9
September	36⅛	35¼	⅜	6	45⅝	44	2⅝	10
October	37⅜	35⅜	2	6	43¼	40¾	2⅛	17
November	37¾	37⅛	5/16	11	41⅜	37	4⅜	14
December	37⅜	37¼	⅛	12	41½	39¼	2¼	13

Similar variations in exchange rates between the gold and silver portions of the globe are of course taking place at all points. Yet those are precisely the exchanges which are most important for the advance of human weal and civilization.

The last fall in the gold price of silver has greatly aggravated this evil.

This obstruction of international exchange operates exactly like a high protective tariff, forcing nations to use at home what they could more profitably export, and produce at home what they could more profitably import. Capital and labor are thus driven into needlessly unremunerative channels, and the average welfare of men kept down. It was recently stated in Parliament that "eighteen cotton mills are at this moment being erected in Bombay and two in England." During the year between July 1, 1890, and July 1, 1891, nine factories were building in India. One hundred and twenty-five in all were then in operation there, with 24,531 looms and 3,351,694 spindles. There were then 110,000 Indian laborers engaged in this industry, and they used 40 per cent. of the about 300,000,000 bales of cotton produced in India. Within ten years the number of hands has multiplied threefold, and the amount of cotton wrought by them more than fourfold. It is true that the import of woollen yarn into India from England still keeps up, but it does little more than this, and is mainly confined to the finer lines. Even if the establishment of this Indian manufacture involved no loss to England so far as her trade to India itself is concerned, which, of course, it does, she suffers vast loss in China, whither most of the Indian yarn is exported. In 1888 and 1889 India sent to China 101 billion pounds of cotton yarn, having a value of $814,326,750. In three years the amount of yarn increased 50 per cent., and the value nearly the same. In the year 1890 the value of Indian commerce with Europe was $441,000,000, with an export surplus of $31,090,000. With the other countries of the world, India's total commerce was $187,338,750, with an export surplus of $81,783,750. Thus, while the centre of gravity of India's foreign commerce is in Europe, the centre of gravity of her surplus export is elsewhere. The surplus is particularly great with Ceylon, Japan, and China. What is more surprising than these figures is that, spite of the heavy wheat trade just referred to, India's balance with England taken alone is even passive, very passive, as she imports from England $188,591,250, and exports thither only $146,703,750, whereas from the rest of Europe, outside of Turkey, she imports but $16,376,250, while exporting thither $89,298,750, leaving a net export of

SOUTH END.

$57,922,500. Her net exports to the silvering-using lands are singularly striking: $6,307,500 to Ceylon, $4,723,750 to Japan; $35,551,250* to China.

The jute industry, too, has of late years had enormous development in India. At the close of 1890, 160,275 spindles and 7,964 looms were devoted to this industry in that country, employing 70,000 laborers. Five hundred new looms are said to have been set up in 1891. Steam flouring mills have also been erected of late in Bombay. India would probably in any event become in time one of the great manufacturing centres of the globe, but it would, for the present, be to her advantage, could she trade freely with England, to purchase thence most of her manufactures. She would perhaps profit by the arrangement as much as would England herself.

India's active commodity balance, or, as we say, favorable balance of trade, is paid for mostly in silver, though that enormous country, which contains almost one-fifth of the world's population, trained through centuries to think of law and government as uncertain, and being, therefore, not in condition to utilize credit, absorbs enormous amounts of gold also. In 1890, 461 lacs† of rupees in gold came into the country, but only two lacs went to the mint. The entire remainder the people hoarded or made into trinkets. Even the imports of the precious metals do not fully equate the surplus of commodity imports, the remainder being made up in London council bills.

Another movement dear to tariff reformers which is mightily hindered by the rise in gold is the flow of free capital from rich countries to poor. That international commerce may be as beneficial as possible it is necessary that the most abundant resources from every quarter should be at the disposal of those in any country who are endeavoring to build up the industries in prosecuting which that country has special advantages. Incalculable is the aid which human progress has received from investments made by countries of abounding capital in less fortunate portions of the world. Such blessing takes effect at both poles of the transaction. If well placed, the loans pay richly those offering them, at the same time that the borrower countries receive a great boon. This is but the beginning. Wealth and production

* These amounts in dollars are arrived at by reckoning rupees at 37½ cents.
† A lac = 10,000.

being stimulated both in the land that makes and in that which takes the loan, each becomes a better customer for the other, furthering its prosperity still more, and so on, in ceaseless round. Now, the destruction of a par in exchange between two countries with different basal moneys clogs the play of this benign principle, making interest inordinately high in silver lands and desperately low in gold lands, each side being impoverished for lack of a service which the other would gladly render could it do so with financial safety. The would-be borrower, in Benares or Delhi, hesitates to promise any rate per cent. in gold, as he cannot tell for a month, or even a day, beforehand what such rate will soon mean in silver, wherein every item of his income is told. The would-be lender, in London, Berlin, or Paris, disinclines to let his capital go for any rate per cent. whatever expressed in silver, since, were he to do so, however high the figure might be, it might, when interest day came, mean in gold anything from 20 per cent. down to zero. It is clear that no bridge of normal and regular credit can be made to span a commercial chasm of this nature. No loans will be effected under such circumstances, till interest is so low on the gold side and so high on the other that both parties grow very rash. In other words, borrowing and lending amid difficulties so grave is no longer business but gambling.

In Mexico, as well as in India, the appreciation of gold, wrecking the old parity between gold and silver and turning foreign exchange into witchcraft, has had the same effect, of immensely stimulating domestic manufactures. The Mexican delegates at the Brussels Conference made upon this point a statement which I beg leave to reproduce:

"If silver remains in Mexico in larger quantities than hitherto, productive employment for it must, perforce, be found. Agriculture will certainly be developed, but, considering the special circumstances of the country, we think that industrial undertakings will be preferred. The production of our own manufactures will cause a proportional diminution in the consumption of many European manufactures, and will in time end by completely superseding some of them. This consequence of the increase in the currency in Mexico is already beginning to be realized. For a long time we have had, if not many, yet for the most part very important, manufactures of cotton and woollen fabrics, of paper, etc., and their number has been increasing the last few years. Recently, in October, a manufactory of cotton fabrics of all sorts was opened at Rio Blanco, near Orizava, on the Mexico & Vera Cruz Railway, the importance and the probable producing power of which may be estimated by its having cost already about 5,000,000

piastres [about $5,000,000 in silver]. Besides this noteworthy example, we often find in the newspapers accounts of the establishment of new manufactories of various kinds, also of metal foundries, some of them on a large scale, like those erected two years since at Monterey and San Luis de Potosi, to utilize our lead ores, which had been exiled from the United States by a nearly prohibitive import duty. Manufactories of soap, of Portland cement, and of many other articles have been introduced."

It is at this point that the far-sighted and patriotic among the advocates of free silver find their inspiration. Aware of the absolute necessity resting upon this country to extend its foreign markets, they would take advantage of England's folly in continuing under gold monometallism and would place the United States at the head of the silver-using group of nations, to do for them their manufacturing. "Let us break off commercial relations with Europe," they say, "if only we can establish such relations with that vast part of the world where manufactures are either non-existent or inchoate, and must grow, if at all, with difficulty; and let us create for those teeming millions all their manufactured articles, taking in return those things which they can produce so much more easily than we." When men point out the prosperity that might come to our country through the introduction of such a scheme, to ridicule them betrays no intelligence. Their thought in itself is magnificent. In declaring that there is an opportunity by the means suggested to "dish" England in the markets of the world, they are quite right. If this could be accomplished without involving us in other difficulties, it would be the finest commercial *coup d'état* ever effected since trade began. So much reason attends the notion that it seems to me sheer madness to oppose to it a policy like England's present one of stubbornly adhering to gold monometallism.

With that of the ultra-silver men falls in wonderfully the idea of reciprocity put forward by Mr. Blaine. This is very popular with those brought up to believe in protection, who yet see how badly protection handicaps us in certain directions. Were every custom-house in the land levelled and every customs officer dismissed, silver monometallism, or free silver, would still preserve protection between us and Europe, just as gold monometallism now has exactly the effect of protection between us and the silver-using world. No consistent tariff reformer can wish either of these policies to prevail. The only tariff reform that will go to the root of things, carrying out the proper theory of

international commerce, must involve bimetallism, thus making the world, for trade purposes, into one unbroken total. A protectionist is naturally a monometallist: a silver monometallist if he wishes trade defences against Europe, a gold monometallist if he wishes commercial shelter against the rest of the world. But how a thinker who sees through and is inspired by the thought of world-commerce and the uplift of civilization inevitably consequent thereupon can desire either of these monometallisms to exist passes my wit.

The suggestion just thrown out seems to me to indicate the proper method whereby to bring the two great monetary factions of our country into working harmony. Without some sort of a compromise in the matter, we shall be for an indefinite time to come at a hopeless deadlock over our treatment of silver. The ultra-gold party can never carry the day. Neither can the ultra-silver party. Though either may win a majority for a time, too much life will be found on the other side to allow permanent victory. Let those who oppose free silver take more pains to show that they are not averse to a monetary system involving silver as full money, provided it can be so ordered as to make the basis of our trade, external and internal, perfectly solid. International bimetallism will certainly do this. We are not the vassals of the small class who live upon the interest of loaned money but produce nothing. Let influential men in the East more earnestly champion the cause of bimetallism, instead of continually casting umbrage upon it, thus showing aid and comfort to the party in England which is striving to maintain and increase the appreciation of gold. At best, doubtless, the more rabid free silver men will be intractable, but the course I recommend would break that party. Those determined not to Mexicanize the United States in respect to money would receive from the silver ranks allies enough to establish a strong and permanent hard-money majority in Congress. Let this country take an attitude against the free coinage of silver by the United States alone, but in favor of its free coinage in case all the great nations will join therein, and the bimetallists in the British Parliament will soon win the day there. The policy of all Europe will then become bimetallic, and monetary peace and prosperity be assured to the world for at least the next hundred years.

E. Benj. Andrews.

WILD TRAITS IN TAME ANIMALS.

I.—THE HORSE.

BY DR. LOUIS ROBINSON.

All our tame beasts are descended from wild ancestors. Their most noteworthy characteristics are attributable to certain needs of their free life before ever straps and chains were thought of. The qualities which we find so useful were not developed in the first place for human ends. The cunning brain of man has adapted and improved them, but they were there and serving a useful purpose in the private economy of the animals before our earliest savage ancestors had learned to make knives of chipped stone.

We will give the horse the first place in the inquiry; but although others of the familiar inhabitants of our houses, farms, and fields will be passed in review in turn, it will not be possible to consider one species without taking account of others. For instance, we value the horse for his speed and endurance; yet had it not been for the chief ancestor of our faithful friend the dog, *i. e.*, the grim gray wolf of Europe and Asia, with his everlasting hunger and untiring gallop, the wild horses which swarmed over the great plains of the Old World, and from which all our modern steeds have sprung, would never have developed the swiftness and staying power they possessed and have transmitted to their descendants.

The wolves and the wild horses were constantly at war, and, moreover, the wolf was the only predatory beast existing in ancient times which was able to pursue the horses and hunt them down out on the open steppe. The galloping power of the horse was thus undoubtedly developed to enable him to escape these gaunt, persistent foes. So certain does

this appear to me that I never see a wolf in a menagerie without feeling inclined to raise my hat to him and to thank him for many an exhilarating gallop on horseback. If his bloodthirsty forefathers had never existed, there would have been little to choose between a horse and a donkey.

It must be borne in mind that such influences were at work from day to day, from year to year, and from century to century during immense epochs before ever the first wild horse was lassoed by man. It seems strange that this long and bitter feud between the *Equidæ* and the *Canidæ* should now be almost entirely forgotten. Horses seldom show an instinctive enmity to dogs in the same way that cattle do. Probably this is because they are so closely associated together in their common state of servitude to man. The horse is an intelligent animal and readily finds out who are his friends. Probably also when wild he had little fear of a single wolf, for he has plenty of courage and is a skilful fighter with hoofs and teeth. Occasionally, however, the old dread and enmity crop up. I have known young horses, when surrounded by a pack of foxhounds for the first time, to become almost frantic with fear. My brother, who lives among the Essex Downs, and who spends much of his time on horseback, has informed me that he had often noticed when crossing the open hills at night that his mare would suddenly start and tremble and try to make a dash for home, with ears laid back and every sign of great agitation. At first he was puzzled by this, for the animal was generally quiet and tractable. At length he found that the terrifying object was usually a wandering hill-fox, which had chanced to pass near enough to be perceived either by the horse's power of scent or of vision.

Foxes, of course, are not dangerous to larger animals, but probably there is something of the wild beast about them, absent in the dog, which reminds the horses of their ancient foes. There is no doubt that when coyotes are ridden down on the prairie and killed with a bull whip or revolver at close quarters, the horses enter into the hunt with enthusiasm. They do their best to catch the wolves, and will strike at them with their hoofs if they get near enough. Darwin has recorded the remarkable fact that almost the only occasion upon which horses are known to scream with terror, when not suffering pain, is when they are at-

tacked by wolves ; and Charles Kingsley, in one of his charming *Prose Idylls,* describes the conduct of his horse when a hunted fox passed near it. It laid back its ears, bared its teeth, and bit at the air in the direction of the fox. Kingsley accounted for the hostile demonstration on the part of his horse by the fact that it was an old hunter. Excellent naturalist though he was, I think he was mistaken in his conclusion on this occasion. A horse ridden after hounds seldom has a chance of seeing the object of pursuit, and probably in nine cases out of ten knows nothing about it. Certainly he could never learn enough to acquire a savage hostility to poor Reynard. Nor is there any reason why he should. The hunted fox, whether known or unknown, is to him a source of delight, for a hunter always manifests pleasurable excitement when he sees the hounds and anticipates a gallop.

We know that the horse's wild forefathers, like the free mustangs, inhabited open plains and trusted chiefly to their speed to escape from their enemies. This becomes all the more evident when we examine a young foal. All young creatures tend to resemble the earlier types from which the race has sprung, more than adults do. The legs of the foal are enormously developed from birth. He looks absurdly like a horse on stilts, and when four or five days old he can gallop almost as fast as ever he will in his life. He holds his head up boldly, and never tries to slink away and hide, like a young calf or fawn, whose ancestors dwelt in the forest. There is a story that a thoroughbred foal of about a month old once beat a racehorse over a half-mile course. His dam was a mare celebrated for her speed, and she had a jockey on her back. She outstripped the rival horse, and her long-legged offspring kept level with her with ease.

If you watch how a young colt takes his nourishment, you will see that his habits tell the same story. He never takes a full meal in the way that a young calf does, but keeps constantly running to his mother, and refreshing himself every few minutes. This shows, first, that it is not his custom to be long absent from his dam, as are young animals which lie hidden among the thickets while their parents go to seek food. It shows, secondly, that his stomach is never so loaded with a meal as to hinder his running powers, which were all-important when the youngest member of the band had to keep up with the rest in their flight from wolves or other enemies. Again, a colt, when he lies down, does not curl

himself up in small compass, as if to escape observation, after the bashful manner of a calf, but extends his long limbs conspicuously.

It is difficult to understand how the legs of horses stand the wear and tear of work in our great cities, where every step of their iron shod hoofs is upon a hard, unyielding road. There is no other creature living, with the exception of the donkey or the mule, which can long bear the constant battering entailed by rapid locomotion over a paved surface. But if we look at the structure of the horse's legs we see how it is that the jar and vibration do not injure him more. His "pasterns," the part just above the hoof, yield a little at each step, and so break the force of the concussion. He is, in fact, mounted on springs. This is one chief reason why he is a pleasant animal to ride. Any one who has tried riding a cow or ox has found the difference between the easy, elastic movements of the horse and the jolting and jogging of a horned mount.

Again, wild habits of ancient date further explain the fact for us. The mobs of wild horses had to travel far and fast, for dear life, over rock-strewn deserts, both when in search of food and when pursued by their hereditary foes. It was most necessary, in habitually traversing hard and stony plains for many hours at a stretch, to have strong hoofs, and legs which would both stand wear and tear and at the same time save the body from the injurious effects of the constant jar and concussion. The importance of this can be judged by those who have ridden both a cushion-tired cycle and an old-fashioned "bone-shaker." Vibration is always most exhausting to the body. The reason why a pneumatic-tired sulky is worth several seconds in the mile to a trotter is not so much because it is of lighter draught, but because practically no vibration is conveyed along the shafts and traces to the horse's body. Ever so little vibration will weary his muscles and hamper his movements to a certain extent.

I should like to discuss the questions why the horse in the wild state took to a life out in the open, and what are the other effects of such a life upon his structure, more in detail; but this would involve too many technical points. His earliest known fossil ancestor was a five-toed animal. He was by no means swift or imposing in appearance, and probably paddled about in the soft marshes during the early part of the tertiary geological epoch, much as the tapir does at the present day. Later there were huge herds

SOUTH END.

of three-toed horses abounding all the world over. It seems as if, the fewer were the toes, the better was the horse. It is quite certain that a one-toed hoofed animal is better adapted for swift progress over firm ground than one of the type of the tapir or rhinoceros.

Did the earth gradually dry up so as to give the one-toed varieties the advantage ? Or did the sedgy marshes and thicket-lined streams harbor too many prowling foes, so that the early horse-like animals had to take to the open ? I am inclined to think that the latter theory is the correct one. Even now most young horses resemble wild animals in being suspicious of any strange sound or object. "Shying" is most distinctly a relic of an ancestral instinct. The wild horse, swift of foot and keen of vision, feared few enemies when out on the naked plains ; but every bush or tuft of long grass might, and often did, contain a fierce foe lying in ambush. Many and many a time must the wild horse have saved his life by a sudden swerve and leap in the opposite direction the moment he heard the rustle of leaves or descried some strange and dimly outlined object among the underwood.

I know several horses by no means timid or given to shying which become almost mad with terror when they hear the loud rustle of reeds by a river-bank. Yet there is no danger to be anticipated from this sound, as far as their experience goes. Their panic tells us a tale of many a tragic incident of the remote past, when the herds of wild desert steeds, parched with thirst, sought the water-courses, where was "grass with reeds and rushes," and were there pounced upon by leopards or tigers, crouching, concealed, on the watch for prey.

Every horse which is employed on the road must learn to trot, or he is of little use to his owner. Yet we find that wild prairie horses, and young colts out at pasture, seldom trot. Some naturalists have even said that this pace is entirely artificial, and has been acquired since the horse became man's captive. I need not here say anything of the wonderful perfection to which trotting has been brought by judicious breeding and training. But let us consider what was the natural raw material out of which the feats of "Maud S." and her competitors have been evolved.

On the smooth, springy turf cantering or galloping is the easiest pace ; but on a hard, irregular track with rocks strewn

about, even the wild horse will trot, and lift his knees in the most approved style. So at least I have been told by those who have watched the wild "brumbies" in the mountains of Australia. The reason is not difficult to see. A horse, when he walks or trots, puts down one front foot at a time; and when the rough and treacherous nature of the ground renders careful going necessary—for a false step might mean instant death from foes or precipices—this is by far the safest method of going. The animal can choose his path better than if, as when he canters or gallops, he has to find foothold for both his front hoofs together instead of for one at a time. We find practically nowadays that for road work, trotting is the safest pace, and takes far less out of a horse than cantering. Hence, again, we see that a provision of nature for special emergencies of free equine life has been taken hold of by civilized man, and developed for his own ends.

The tractable temper of the horse we owe to the fact that he is naturally gregarious in his habits; for when many animals are associated together for common protection, an accommodating temper and a readiness to obey the leaders are most necessary virtues. Selfishness and cantankerousness would soon break up the band, and then each member would have to fight the wolves or watch for the prowling *Felidæ* single-handed. A two-year-old yields his will to that of his trainer, just as the wild colt had to "knock under" to the wily veteran which was the acknowledged leader of his mob.

The courage of the horse is doubtless attributable to his habit of waging fierce war with rivals or enemies in a state of freedom. Every one has noticed that a bad-tempered horse lays back his ears. Darwin drew attention to the fact that as horses fight largely with their teeth, the ears were in the first place pressed back to prevent their being bitten. All long-eared animals which use their teeth in battle do the same. The movement was always associated with hostile intentions, and for this reason is now so inseparable from emotions of this kind that we take the laying back of the ears as the mark of ill-temper.

The great difference between the various breeds of horses has been largely brought about by human agency; but not entirely. We find that in mountainous regions the horses are small and shaggy. All ponies are descended from those herds which chose the hills for their *habitat*.

I shall have something to say in later articles upon the effect of mountain ranges in developing certain useful qualities of our domestic animals. Not long ago I saw some Hungarian mountain ponies in London, and mistook them for large Shetlanders. The resemblance was certainly very great. What is more interesting is the fact that both kinds almost exactly resemble the prehistoric European wild horse, which the early men of central France used to kill with their flint-headed arrows. We know this partly from the shape of the bones of horses found with early human remains, but also owing to the curious fact that these primitive savages were accomplished artists, and that they have left many sketches of horses scratched on reindeer horns, slate, and mammoth tusks, in the caves they used to inhabit. The horses here represented have large heads, straight, short necks, round bodies, and short legs. We know that they existed in countless herds, for at one place where the ancient horse-hunters lived, there are the bones of many thousands. They were not large animals, and there is very little doubt that we have in the Shetland and Hungarian ponies their direct descendants, with very little change produced by the admixture of Eastern blood. The race horse and most other light horses owe their origin largely to Arab and Barb importations. The great dray horses are most probably the stout European wild horses improved by constant selection and good feeding. Most of them have the appearance of overgrown ponies. The mustangs of the West are now pretty thoroughly mixed, but in the first place they were the descendants of the horses which escaped from the Spanish conquerors. These, from ancient pictures, I should judge to have been a cross between the native European horse and the African Barb.

Now there is a riddle I will leave to my readers. Every horse has on his legs certain wart-like patches of bare skin, called callosities. On the fore legs they are above the knee, and on the hind legs below the hock. They are of no use that we can discover, and no theory has ever been put forward that will account for them. But they would not be there in every horse unless they met some vital want, either in the past or present. Probably in this case they are vestiges of some ancient habit. If any one can find out what this was, he will throw an interesting light upon early equine history, and his name will become famous among naturalists all the world over.

LOUIS ROBINSON.

AN ANGLO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

BY ARTHUR SILVA WHITE.

THE principles underlying the development of nationalities, the growth and expansion of nations, and the consolidation of world-power have been the same throughout the history of mankind. They are familiar to the historian or the geographer who views his subject in its political aspects as a science. And their application to the elucidation of the Present, seen through the Past, with reference to the Future, is as sure as human reasoning and forecast can ever hope to be.

The *nuclei* of civilization, formed at various epochs in the world's history, have, within the last few centuries, rapidly grown and become intermerged. The chief focus of civilization was first located, we are told, somewhere in western Asia; afterward it shifted to the Mediterranean; at the present day it is over the Atlantic, and we may reasonably assume that to-morrow, whenever that times comes, it will be centred in the Pacific. The course of empire, it has been truly said, moves ever westward. Who are its heirs to-day? Who shall be the legatees to-morrow?

The first question has been answered—Europe and America, with "poor relations" scattered over other parts of the globe. The second question has to be considered. Shall the reply be—America and Asia? Or shall the cycle of civilization, being thus completed, embrace the whole world? Personally, I think the latter alternative the more reasonable solution, for it is difficult, almost impossible, to presuppose the extinction of Europe as a leading factor in the world's politics.

Europe to-day is an armed camp; America is a base for its supplies; Asia and Africa are the fields of its rivalries. Europe, in short, overruns the world. Nations may rise and fall, but the

domination of Europe over the other continents is assured for at least another twenty-five years. So much is certain. What, then, are the international changes likely to ensue during that period? And in how far will America participate in those changes? People in Europe speak of "America" when they mean the United States only; but by geographers the latter are regarded simply as the most important political division of a vast continent. The genius and enterprise of the "Americans" have secured for them a position in the appreciation of Europe out of all proportion to their effective strength as an independent nationality. Owing to their geographical position and lack of colonial interests, they are in a great measure "counted out" of European politics. But once the United States are consolidated as a nation, and the course of empire touches the western shores of the Atlantic, the Monroe Doctrine will fall to the ground unless it be upheld by force of arms. Did France and England respect the Papal bull that divided the world between Spain and Portugal? Can a nation become great and prosperous unless it be able to command respect for its flag in all parts of the world? These are questions that I shall endeavor to answer in another place. Meantime, what is the political situation in the Old World? The great powers of Europe are terribly crippled by the enormous armaments which, in order to insure their national security, they are forced to keep up. Between them there is a merciless competition for supremacy, which saps their strength in peace and dissipates it in war. It may be truly said that none of these powers has a genuine friend in Europe; such a luxury might involve too great a sacrifice. Yet all desire peace—or, shall we say, a truce—during which their national armaments may be strengthened? Some, with this object, form combinations; but none trusts alone to peace alliances and paper treaties. Self-interest is the only stable factor in such relationships, and in Europe, as elsewhere, every state has divergent interests. The duty of diplomacy is to make the most and the best of these ever-changing conditions. Consequently, the danger of war, the limitation of which can rarely be foreseen, is ever with us.

To Great Britain, owing to the extent of world-embracing empire, European alliances are all but impossible. She endeavors to stand alone and to rest her security on her long-existing supremacy over the sea, which unites and does not separate—so

long as her sea power is upheld—the mother-country with her colonies. In consequence of this supremacy—which, as an Englishman, I am proud to think is nowadays exercised with moderation and justice, and for the benefit of civilization—Great Britain enjoys the enviable position of being the most detested power in Europe. Nevertheless, she is not without "fair-weather friends"; no power, of such standing, could be safely neglected. Her policy, more than that of any other great power, makes for peace; since she has everything to lose and nothing to gain by the arbitrament of war. But the best guarantee of peace is, after all, the convention between the three central powers. It is true, the Triple Alliance is not so stable as it once was, owing to the impoverishment of the allies and especially of Italy; at any moment it may fall asunder. Italy, under the Marquis di Rudini, is, in fact, known to have coquetted with Russia, in anticipation of a fall. The *Kaiserbund* no longer exists; the project of a league between neutrals, though again revived, seems as remote from realization as ever: and, barring secret alliances, of which we can have no knowledge, the only other alliance between European states is that recently concluded between France and Russia. Such a combination, judged by the national tendencies of the allies, is a menace to the peace of Europe; and more especially is it directed against Great Britain. It is an accord which, in the present tension of European politics, reverberates in every court as an ominous discord. France and Russia are the most restless and aggressive of the great powers; whilst their common and hereditary enemy is Great Britain. In consequence, therefore, of this disturbance of the balance of power in Europe, we may look to the near future for the birth of epoch-making events. It seems impossible that the outbreak of hostilities can be long delayed. Experts are fairly unanimous in the belief that, should a European war break out, the British Empire would be shaken to its foundation. Perhaps it may totally collapse? And, in the event of such collapse, what would be the position of America? These are questions that statesmen are bound to consider, since no man may say that such a calamity as the break-up of the British Empire is an impossibility. Indeed, under certain circumstances, it would be inevitable. These contingencies being possible, however remote, it is our duty to examine them and, if possible, to indicate a way by which they

may be averted. And, since America must necessarily participate in the issue, for good or evil, it becomes a question of vital concern to the United States.

Supposing France and Russia were to declare war against Great Britain? It would be a maritime war, of course. The Allies would aim at the destruction of British sea-power, with the fall of which the British Empire would tumble to pieces. The French land-forces would be held in readiness to invade England in the event of the British Navy's being defeated in the English Channel. The Russian hordes would hover on the Northwest frontier of India, preparatory to a descent on that coveted land. In all parts of the world Great Britain would, moreover, have to protect her vital colonial interests and her vast sea-borne commerce.

The traditional maritime policy of France has been to prey upon British commerce; but, as Captain Mahan points out, the destruction of commerce and the interruption of supplies will not of themselves determine the main issues of a maritime campaign. Tactically, such a policy may be effective enough, and in that sense prepare the way for a naval victory; but strategically, the *guerre-de-course* may be the means of losing more than it gains. The real issues to a maritime war between the great naval powers of Europe must, of necessity, be determined in European waters. Great Britain has not troops enough with which to invade France and Russia, or even one of these powers, with any certainty of dealing them a vital blow; indeed, her only chance of undertaking effective land operations would be in becoming a party to the Triple Alliance, and thus securing the assistance of the central powers under the circumstances. Once war were declared, however, such a combination would be impossible; since none of the central powers would have cause to regret the humiliation of England. Of course it is clear that the mere fact of Great Britain's joining the Triple Alliance would of itself avert the outbreak of hostilities. France and Russia could not possibly stand against such a mighty coalition, and could depend on no other European allies. But there are strong objections against Great Britain's openly joining the Triple Alliance; moreover, her understanding with Italy as regards the Mediterranean, and with Germany and Austria as regards Europe, would appear to suffice at the present time. France and Russia pitted against

Great Britain, alone and without allies, would have at least a reasonable chance of succeeding in their task of crippling or breaking up the empire. In the event of such a war, the neutral powers would, if possible, stand aloof, in the same way as Europe watched the Franco-German duel. The humiliation and spoliation of the British Empire might benefit them all—for a time. But I have no hesitation in saying that such a disaster would injuriously affect every unconsolidated and free nationality throughout the world. If the empire of the sea were to pass into the hands of France, the world would have to be conquered anew. The English domination may be haughty and sufficiently exasperating towards weaker nations, but what would be that of France? Moreover, France bears evidence of an arrested national development, and appears to be quite incapable of maintaining such a position, with which a fortuitous combination of events might temporarily invest her.

If the war were seen to be going against Great Britain, Germany would probably join in the issue (as against the French hegemony) if not too late to avert the worst consequences. At the same time, neither Austria nor Italy would view with equanimity the growth and expansion of Russia and France at the expense of Great Britain. So that, under the least favorable circumstances of the latter, it is evident that the total collapse of her empire is improbable; except under the inconceivable circumstances of the colonies seceding at her moment of direst peril, or of the British Navy's being rendered impotent.

Enough has been said to illustrate the statement I am now about to make: that *the welfare of the United States is bound up with the maintenance of the British Empire.* In the event of such a war as has been indicated, the United States would, no doubt, by remaining neutral, profit by the temporary transference of a portion of the world's shipping to their flag; but only the command of the sea would enable them to obtain any material and permanent advantage by the altered situation. The United States have lost most of their carrying-trade simply because of the inadequate strength of their navy; and any attempt to compete with a rival European power, other than Great Britain, for the supremacy of the sea, would involve them in responsibilities which they are at present unable to meet.

When all has been said, there is more affinity based upon a

common language and a common origin, between the United States and Great Britain than there is between the States and any other European power. Though England, through her own fault, lost the States as an integral portion of the British Empire, their mutual interests, though involving commercial rivalry, remain radically the same. Both wish to "live and let live." And it is not too much to say that, but for this relationship, the United States might not have enjoyed the same immunity from European aggression as they have up to the present. The mother-country and her whilom colonies in America separated and agreed to live apart; but I believe that both would have deep cause to regret and would make an effort to avert a vital blow struck at their existence as great and independent states.

The subject of Imperial Federation has been widely discussed during recent years; and public opinion is fairly unanimous in the adoption of the following unassailable premises:

1. That the relations at present existing between the mother-country and the great self-governing colonies, though cordial in sentiment, form the slenderest political ties, liable to be broken on a sudden emergency. This is chiefly due to the fact that, both at home and abroad, public opinion is insufficiently educated to appreciate the value of an inviolable political union between the mother-country and the colonies. 2. That secession on the part of any one colony would be detrimental to the interests of the empire, in which all British subjects have a share. 3. That the home government, being unable to take official cognizance of a secession that is only problematical, or, in the event of such secession to prevent it, it rests with all loyal subjects of Her Majesty themselves to secure their heritage as British citizens. 4. That, both at home and in the colonies there is a growing tendency in favor of what has been popularly called "imperial federation"—or, as I prefer to style it, "Britannic confederation"—but that, hitherto, the complexity of the problem has prevented the formulation of any practical and well-considered scheme. 5. That, in brief, the consensus of opinion is against the formation of a *Zollverein*, as being at present impossible, owing to the immature development of the colonies; but that a *Kriegsverein*, or combination for mutual defence in time of war, is not only immediately practicable, but is a measure that is urgently needed.

The "Imperial Federation League" still exists; but its Council and Central Executive have resigned; they maintain that the objects of the league, in obstructing public opinion, have been attained. The city branch of the league, however, proposes to carry on the propaganda on more commercial lines, whilst the West End branch, in which the executive originally reposed, intends to take up independently the subject of defence. Thus, the league, though altered in its constitution, is likely to achieve more practical results in the future. As to the colonies themselves—*i. e.*, the great self-governing colonies; since, of course, all crown dependencies are necessarily excluded from any scheme of confederation—Canada, the most advanced in political development, has boldly thrown in her lot with the British Empire, though her destiny cannot fail to be greatly affected by her contiguity to the United States; Australia is endeavoring to promote inter-federation, on free-trade lines, between the several colonies of the Australian Continent —a step that must necessarily precede Britannic confederation; New Zealand remains a staunch adherent of the Crown; while Cape Colony and Natal, though loyal, are, by reason of their mixed populations, and especially of the relatively small European contingent, scarcely prepared to take up the full citizenship of the empire. So that we see some time must elapse before a matured and workable scheme of confederation can be safely adopted. As long, however, as the colonies maintain the union and sufficiently provide for their self-defence, the British Empire has nothing to fear from any combination of hostile powers. And it seems to be beyond criticism to disprove that, only by maintaining the union, can the colonies ever hope to secure their self-preservation and independence. Canada, it is true, might unite her fortunes with those of the United States; but, by so doing, she would inevitably lose the freedom of national development and the independence of political action which she at present enjoys as a member of the British Empire; she would, in short, become absorbed into the more important and better situated States on her southern borders.

Now, those who, like myself, believe that the consolidation of the British Empire is inevitable, unless some disaster befall us within the next decade, are not content that the United States should be excluded from this world-embracing power.

Some of us look with hope for a confederation of all English-speaking countries. Of course, such a union would require to be of the simplest and most flexible kind; in short, merely a combination for defence, a *Kriegsverein*. Even that is impossible, so far as the United States are concerned, at the present day. But, what is impossible now may become possible enough at a future date. Before the first quarter of the next century the United States will have become a consolidated nation. What, then, will be their position, in face of Europe and its political combinations? Who will be the great colonial powers? In whose hands will rest the supremacy of the sea? If Great Britain maintains her empire, and with it her naval supremacy, the United States, without colonies of their own and without a navy equal to that of any European power, must be satisfied to take a "back-seat" in the councils of the world; they may become a great trading community, at the sufferance of Europe, but a great nation—never. Nor could they escape the adoption of a foreign policy, with its concomitant risks. As a member of the Britannic confederation of the future, or by whatever name it may be called, they would, on the other hand, without losing their independence or dignity, join with the English-speaking states in their pacific conquest of the world, and thrive under a reign of peace which only such a combination can insure. In a word, I do not see how it is possible for the United States, once they have reached the high level of self-contained and rigidly restricted position of a continental state, ever to become a world-power, unless they possess—as Great Britain now possesses—the appanages of empire. Besides which, their isolated position is always assailable by a stronger power.

Some of my critics may say: We Americans are satisfied with our position and prospects as they stand. Quite so; I fully believe it. But what will be your position and prospects twenty-five years hence? That is the question I wish to ask Americans. Not being a prophet, the most I can do is to indicate, in a general way, what the position and prospects of the United States may be in, say, 1925. I have already vaguely referred to these; but, there is another matter, upon which too great stress cannot be laid; namely, the opening of the Nicaragua Canal. So soon as it becomes possible for large ships to pass the Central American isthmus, either through the Nicaragua Canal or by another route,

the world's commerce will be revolutionized. The displacement of commercial centres and the alteration of trade-routes which followed the opening of the Suez Canal will be re-enacted, on a vastly greater scale, and in a manner peculiarly vital to America, when once the Isthmus of Panama ceases to oppose obstacles to shipping. The United States will then dominate one of the chief *foci* of the world's commerce, and it will rest with them to make or mar their future prosperity. Their international isolation will thus become impossible. But, without a naval establishment equal to its responsibilities, the United States cannot hope to wrest the carrying-trade or foreign commerce from those who now enjoy these perquisites. On the other hand, their eastern States will be brought very near to the western states of South America, and they will thereby be enabled to compete successfully with European exports to those markets. That South America will be left alone to "stew in its own juice," is not at all likely.

Since, with a nation as with an individual, no limit can be set to self-aggrandisement, beyond that imposed by capacity, it rests with the United States either to attain a high position among the nations of the world or to be satisfied with a relatively low one. In order to achieve the former, the United States must either throw in their lot with the greatest colonial power of the times or be in a position to subsequently supplant it. Vast as are their territories, the day must come when the United States will have a surplus population or when the exigencies of commerce will call for the command of foreign markets. If, therefore, these markets and new fields of expansion can be obtained pacifically and cheaply, it is obviously to the advantage of the United States thus to secure them, rather than to rest their future prosperity on the chances of war and of political catastrophies.

A political union between the United States and the British Empire being at present impossible, there remains but one expedient—an alliance, or accord, which would pave the way to concerted action in the future. This alliance need not be of sufficient intimacy to involve the United States in any responsibility as regards British interests in all parts of the world. It is obvious that, in their present undeveloped condition, the United States dare not risk becoming involved in a

European war. Their desire is to remain neutral; and the alliance I am about to propose provides for their strict neutrality, in the terms of international law. If I were asked to draft the terms of an Anglo-American alliance, or accord, I should put it in this way:

Great Britain shall become an ally of the United States in the event of any European power or powers declaring war against the latter. On the other hand, the United States shall guarantee friendly neutrality in the event of Great Britain becoming involved in a war with one or more of the European powers concerning issues that in no way concern the pacific interests of the United States; and, under such circumstances, the United States shall render to Great Britain every assistance, positive and negative, allowed to neutrals.

The United States would thereby secure a guarantee of safety against foreign aggression or invasion; whilst all that they would be called upon to give, in return for this inestimable advantage, would be their goodwill towards the British Empire. In this way Great Britain would improve her means of communication and supplies. Ultimately it might lead to a defensive alliance. To a naval power like Great Britain, it would be of immense advantage to secure a friendly, neutral base on the Atlantic and Pacific shores of the United States; the more so, if such assistance were refused to the powers with whom Great Britain might be at war. Every neutral has sympathies and is in a position to render valuable, though legitimate, aid to a belligerent; and it does not seem too much to ask that, other things being equal, the United States should assist their own cousins rather than outsiders. Nothing but positive ill-will could inspire any other policy towards Great Britain; but, it is tolerably certain, that the active good-will I should like to see existing between them can by no means be reckoned upon. It is for this reason that I venture to urge the adoption of a distinct Anglo-American alliance.

ARTHUR SILVA WHITE.

HOW WE RESTRICT IMMIGRATION.

BY DR. JOSEPH H. SENNER, UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION.

IMMIGRATION has practically come to a standstill. We have to look back beyond the year 1880 to find figures so low as those for the months of January and February, 1894. If we take into consideration the unprecedented number of emigrants from the United States to Europe since August, 1893, and the fact that an exceedingly large portion of all the recent immigrants has consisted of mere relatives (members of the same family) of residents of this country, we may well state that immigration has substantially ceased. A good deal has been said of recent years about the supposedly all-deciding influence of the great steamship trade on immigration. Many members of our legislative bodies actually believed, or pretended to believe, that it was the avarice of the steamship magnates and of their agents which almost exclusively created immigration, and that it needed only a severe "pounding" of the creators of the evil to abolish it once for all. The eagerness of the steamship companies to earn money has certainly not lessened in these times of forced depression and unavoidable losses in business. No doubt their agents work harder than ever to earn commissions. And yet we find an immigration equal to naught, and, if advance reports prove to be as correct an indication as usual of the prospects for this year, it bids fair to be one of the poorest in immigration since 1856. The traffic in prepaid tickets, which for many years past has represented about 50 per cent. of all the sales, has been wiped out of existence. Our foreign-born residents are themselves too deeply engaged in the hardest struggle for life to spare money to pay the passage of their European relatives or friends, or to assist them to earn a living. Their letters to the

old fatherland are no longer filled with the spirit of bragging, so common among newcomers who have exchanged a life of deprivation for a civilized standard and for the prospects of healthy prosperity. Such glowing letters, the very best and in fact the only efficient immigration agents, are replaced by tales of woe not much less heart-rending than those told by the European kinsfolk and friends, and certainly much more sad and impressive because unexpected. To make matters worse, an unprecedentedly large number of would-be Americans returning to Europe have additional and aggravated tales of woe to relate. Whether they have returned voluntarily among the tens of thousands who since August, 1893, have given up the hope of finding an Eldorado on this side of the Atlantic, or whether they have been forced to return by the watchful gatekeepers of the United States as undesirable, they become in either case anti-immigration agents of the most effective type. Not even the enactment of the sternest statute, could be more restrictive of immigration than these natural regulators of the ebb and flow in the tide of aliens.

To substantiate these general remarks by telling figures, I present a table of immigration at the port of New York during the winter months, October, November, December, January, and February, of 1893–94, compared with the same months of 1890–91 and 1891–92. The winter of 1892–93 does not admit of fair comparison, on account of the cholera scare and the enforced stoppage of immigration. Nevertheless, its immigration, during the five months mentioned, exceeded that of last year's corresponding period by 2,777 :

	1890-91.	1891-92.	1893-94.
October	31,434	36,798	15,466
November	30,590	28,019	12,345
December	17,048	20,116	11,415
January	11,092	13,761	5,578
February	15,377	20,882	6,841
Total for five months	105,541	119,576	51,645

Immigration to the other ports of entry has, I am told, diminished by a still larger percentage. As far as results go, therefore, the first year's enforcement of the last immigration law (the act of March 3, 1893), under a Democratic administration, has

proved beyond doubt a great success as a restrictive measure. But no one, however intimately he may be connected with the framing or the enforcement of this and the other immigration laws, is or will claim to be entitled to credit for the result attained, which under existing conditions is certainly all that could be wished for. These conditions, only too well known to every suffering American, have unquestionably done the most, but the provisions of the last act, and the enforcement of them, have done not a little to bring about the desired result. And as the law of March 3, 1893, was avowedly of a tentative character, it is very interesting to review its practical working during its lifetime of a little more than nine months.

The act "to facilitate the enforcement of the immigration and contract labor laws of the United States," approved March 3, 1893, took effect, as to vessels departing from foreign ports for ports within the United States, after sixty days from the passage of the act, *i. e.*, after the 2d of May, 1893. It did not enlarge the category of excluded persons. Its provisions were but additional to those of the laws of March 3, 1875, August 3, 1882, February 26, 1885, March 23, 1887, October 19, 1885, and March 3, 1891, and related principally to the duties of the steamship companies and the manner of examining and inspecting passengers. Since its passage, as before, the excluded classes consist only of idiots, the insane, paupers or persons likely to become a public charge, persons suffering from a loathsome or a dangerous contagious disease, persons convicted of a felony or other infamous crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude (expressly saving those convicted of a political offence), polygamists, and finally contract laborers, who, with some minor exceptions, are absolutely excluded, as well as all assisted immigrants, unless it be affirmatively and satisfactorily shown, on special inquiry, that they do not belong to one of the excluded classes. But while there is no change in the excluded classes, there is a notable and most beneficial improvement in the methods provided for their detection.

First of all, the steamship companies have been forced to initiate the process, before embarkation, of winnowing the immigrants. Their manifests, which must be sworn to by the master or commanding officer and by the surgeon of the vessel, before the United States consul at the port of departure, are required to

state, as to each and every immigrant, the full name, age, and sex, whether married or single; the calling or occupation; whether able to read or write; the nationality; the last residence; the seaport for landing in the United States; the final destination, if any, beyond the seaport of landing; whether having a ticket through to such final destination; whether the immigrant has paid his own passage, or whether it has been paid by other persons or by any corporation, society, municipality, or government; whether in possession of money, and, if so, whether upwards of $30, and how much if $30 or less; whether going to join a relative, and, if so, what relative, and his name and address; whether ever before in the United States, and, if so, when and where; whether ever in prison or almshouse or supported by charity; whether a polygamist; whether under contract, express or implied, to perform labor in the United States; and what is the immigrant's condition of health mentally and physically, and whether deformed or crippled, and, if so, from what cause.*

The very nature and the number of these questions, the answer to which is to be sworn to by responsible representatives of the steamship company as correct and true to the best of their knowledge and belief, enforce a hitherto unknown examination of the immigrants before embarkation. Any violation of this law exposes the steamship company to heavy fines and, besides, to the quite large expense of maintaining the immigrants during the period of inspection and special inquiry, and of returning the debarred to the nation whence he came. Moreover, those unlawfully landed must be likewise returned, at any time within one year, at the expense of the steamship company; and a person who becomes a public charge within one year after his arrival, from causes existing prior to his landing, is deemed to have come in violation of the law. It may be said, to the credit of the steamship companies, that they have gracefully submitted to all the requirements of the law and to the stringent regulations issued by Secretary Carlisle, and that, as a rule, they have earnestly endeavored to carry out the law, not only in the letter, but also in the spirit. Numerous inquiries filed at Ellis Island from would-be immigrants or their American friends furnish clear evidence of the unwillingness of the

* Before the last law went into effect, the officers of the vessel had only to report the name, nationality, last residence, and destination of all aliens.

steamship companies to assume the risk of transporting any immigrants likely to be excluded. It is certain that at least the first part of the process of assorting immigrants, the preliminary examination by the steamship companies before embarkation, has proved sufficient to keep out the most flagrant cases of undesirability, and to furnish a fair working basis for the second and more efficient part of the winnowing process, that conducted by the Federal inspection officers. And it is here, at this second stage of sifting, where the new law has introduced some important additions to and improvements upon the old methods of inspection, which had become very nearly a mere matter of census-taking. By a very simple and practical system of grouping and labelling the immigrants, it is made possible to identify each and every one of them. The inspection officers ars obliged to put all the questions above enumerated anew to the immigrant, and to compare his oral statements with the written evidence before them. Every person who may not appear to the inspection officers to be clearly and beyond doubt entitled to admission must be detained for a "special inquiry," to be conducted by not less than four officials acting as a board of inspectors; and no immigrant can be admitted upon special inquiry except after a favorable decision made by at least three of said inspectors. To what extent this novel institution has been carried into operation on Ellis Island may be best judged by the plain fact that, up to March 1, not less than 7,367 cases have been brought before the Board of Special Inquiry, who, at 792 sessions, not seldom after repeated rehearings, admitted 5,714, and excluded 1,653, immigrants. An additional safeguard in the nation's interest was established by granting to any dissenting inspector the right of appeal from a decision to admit, while under the old law only decisions adverse to the right of the alien to land were subject to appeal. To further protect our country against the influx of paupers, the new law provided that no bond or guaranty, written or oral, that an alien immigrant shall not become a public charge should be received from any person, corporation, or society, unless authority to receive the same should in each special case have been given by the Superintendent of Immigration, with the written approval of the Secretary of the Treasury. No inspection officer, not even the Board of Special Inquiry, is, therefore, now competent to accept assurances of friends, or even relatives, of

an immigrant that he will be taken care of, as sufficient basis for admittance.

It is obvious that government officials, who are faithful, conscientious, and sagacious as well, are sufficiently enabled by the provisions of the latest immigration law to protect this country from an influx of any considerable number of undesirable immigrants, without excluding desirable and welcome additions to our population. Especially the clause referring to "persons likely to become a public charge" affords ample and broad opportunity to use the greatest discretion and good judgment not only as to the individual seeking admission, but also bearing in mind the general conditions of the country. The decisions of the Federal officers in charge of this important branch of the public service must necessarily be guided, in a country like ours, by careful consideration of all the general and special circumstances of each case. Whether or not the present officers perform their arduous and responsible duties to the full satisfaction of the nation it is not for me to pass upon. But of one thing I am sure: the United States Bureau of Immigration in Washington, under its circumspect and broad-minded chief, is not only fully alive to the great responsibility resting upon the gatekeepers of the country, but endeavors earnestly to imbue all its agents, from New York and Halifax to San Francisco and Victoria, with a spirit equal to the momentous duties devolving upon them.

DR. J. H. SENNER.

THE SUPPRESSION OF LAWLESSNESS IN THE SOUTH.

BY THE HON. J. M. STONE, GOVERNOR OF MISSISSIPPI.

THE title of this article implies that the Southern States present conditions differing from those of other sections of the United States, and requiring remedial treatment of a special or extraordinary character. There is an element of truth in this idea, but a correct and comprehensive understanding of the subject requires careful and exact discrimination. It is true that the presence of the negro race in large numbers in the Southern States is a fact that distinguishes, in many ways, the conditions of society in those States from those of Northern communities. It is very far from true, however, that extraordinary or peculiar remedies are required or would prove useful or efficacious. On the contrary the elements of ignorance and immorality that tend to lawlessness in the South are not different in quality from those existing elsewhere, though they are more extensive and prevalent, in a relative point of view, when compared with communities with exclusively white populations.

The white race of the South has the same general and fundamental moral and intellectual qualities, and the same racial instincts and characteristics, that distinguish the race elsewhere. The subject of organized society, public morality and good government, as well as the principles that regulate private obligations and duties, are unquestionably regarded by the best classes of white people in the South as they are accepted and regarded by the people in the other States. And moreover, the better class of negroes in the South share with their white fellow-citizens the desire for the moral as well as the material improvement and advancement of our commonwealths.

The elements of ignorance and illiteracy, with an accompanying low standard of morality, prevailing widely among the negro population in the South, constitute in the broadest sense the only peculiar and abnormal features that characterize the existing situation in the Southern States. While these circumstances, complicated by the friction of race prejudice, *prima facie* seem to call for special methods of treatment, and new or novel remedies, yet after careful examination and reflection, and upon an exact and thoughtful analysis, the evident impracticability, in our form of government, of heroic or empirical legal measures for the suppression of individual crimes resolves the problem at last into one that must be dealt with by ordinary legal remedies and moral forces necessarily involving a slow and tedious process.

In view of the former condition of slavery, the negroes of the South, since their emancipation, have done well, and all that could have been expected, in the direction of moral and mental advancement; but a vast deal remains to be done. The important and practical question that now presents itself is, What measures and remedies are best adapted to the solution of the problem of bringing the races into more harmonious relations, and for continuing the improvement that is now slowly going on?

The negro question, the race question, or the Southern question, as it has been indifferently termed, has been voluminously discussed from every point of view. The best thought of the country has been directed to its solution or adjustment, but the inquiry has always proceeded upon the fallacious assumption that a satisfactory result could only be accomplished by artificial, legal, or force methods; whereas it is continually becoming clearer that the problem is too complicated and the environment by far too ramified and intricate for drastic or rapid treatment, and that we must be content to wait patiently and hopefully the slow but certain operation of those great moral forces and principles that underlie our social structure, and that uniformly direct human actions in the greatest concerns of races and peoples. It seems now to be the consensus of public thought and opinion on this subject that external interference cannot possibly promote the solution of this Southern problem or lessen its tension, and that at last it must be left in the hands of the communities immediately and directly concerned in its settlement and adjustment. It is not, however, within the purpose of this paper to

discuss the political phases of this question, but only to consider the fact of political and race antagonisms in their relations to the commission and suppression of crime.

The white race of the South, charged as it is with the responsibility of government in the Southern States, has accepted the responsibility, which was unavoidable, of dealing with this race issue with all that is involved in it. The measure of this trust is correctly appreciated, and its difficulties are not underestimated, nor can either of these considerations be disregarded when it is remembered that the white men of the South, above all others, are vitally concerned in the just and proper accomplishment of this task. This consideration stands as a guaranty of our earnest purpose to secure the prosperity and welfare of these Southern communities; a consummation which involves necessarily the greatest good to the greatest number of individuals of both races, resting firmly upon a broad and just basis.

While these generalities apply broadly and in a general sense to the Southern States, the observations I shall now make are directed exclusively to the State of Mississippi.

Racial antagonisms between the whites and blacks have been a serious disturbing element, and have impaired, in a measure, the proper administration of the criminal laws in this State. The inharmonious relations between the races are due very largely to political causes which, happily, are rapidly diminishing under the operation of the suffrage clause of the State constitution of 1890, which places an educational qualification upon the elective franchise. Instead of the enormous negro majorities that formerly existed, there is now in the State a large majority of white electors, and the apprehensions and uneasiness in respect to the former ignorant and incompetent mass of voters have disappeared, and public disorders and disturbances, and the various forms of lawlessness having their origin in political causes, have ceased to occur, and there is no reasonable apprehension of their reappearance.

Notwithstanding the great modification or removal of the political tension, there remains a great mass of ignorance and illiteracy accompanied by a low standard of morality among the negro population, and there also remain the prejudices of race and caste which operate as an irritant, and which obstruct and impair, in a measure, the perfectly just and impartial administration of the criminal jurisprudence of the State. The

criminal laws of the State are perfectly just, and entirely equal and impartial in all their terms, in respect to the two races; and the judges, without exception, in their rulings and decisions, act with impartiality, though the verdicts of the juries in criminal cases are not always responsive to the justice of the case. Offences against property are not more numerous in Mississippi than in other States, and the civil laws in respect to private property rights are generally administered by the courts and juries with justice and impartiality between the races. It may be fairly asserted that property and property rights of every kind are generally protected as effectually as in other States, and a healthy public opinion prevails in the State in respect to this subject, and public sentiment is steadily advancing to a higher appreciation of the value of human life.

Conflicts between the races have happily ceased to occur. A far better feeling prevails between the whites and the blacks, and a just recognition of personal rights is gradually but steadily suppressing a former spirit of lawlessness. I can perceive no reason why, under the continued and steady pressure of this improving public sentiment, the race question should not gradually and finally cease to operate upon or affect the administration of the criminal laws of the State. When the magnitude of the upheaval of the social and political elements of the South that followed the emancipation and political enfranchisement of the slave population is considered, and the turbulence, public disorders, and bloodshed that unhappily marked the period of reconstruction is remembered, the present condition of public affairs in Mississippi is far from unsatisfactory. As the result of these periods of disorder, there naturally followed a marked increase of crimes of a homicidal nature, as is shown by the statistics of the State Penitentiary. Thus in the year 1879, in a prison population of 997, there were 247 convicts under sentence for murder, manslaughter, and homicidal assaults. In 1881 the total number of convicts was 876, and the number of this class of crimes was 237. Again in 1883, in a total of 763, there were 205 cases of this class. The following later statistics indicate the persistent continuance of this form of crime. Thus in the year 1890, in a prison population of 485, there were in the aggregate 219 convicts under sentence of imprisonment for murder, manslaughter, and homi-

cidal assault. In the year 1891, in a total of 543 convicts, 268 were under sentence for these crimes. In the year 1892, in a total of 601, there were 272 convicts sentenced for these crimes; while in 1893 the total prison population was 767, with 334 convicts under sentence for these homicidal offences. The white and black convicts are shown in the following proportions: In the year 1890, whites 50, and negroes 435; in 1891, whites 54, negroes 489; in 1892, whites 47, and negroes 533; in 1893, whites 120, while there were 647 negro convicts.

During the year 1893, as shown by the records of the Supreme Court of the State, there were appeals from convictions in twenty-six murder cases, ten of manslaughter and nine of homicidal assaults, making a total of forty-five convictions by juries for homicidal offences which were reviewed by the Supreme Court. Of the murder cases nine were convictions of white men, and in the manslaughter cases one-half were white offenders. The proportion or percentage of crime is very much larger with the negroes than the whites, as will appear from the relative population of the two races. The whole population of the State, as shown by the Census of 1890, is 1,289,600, of which 544,851 are whites, and 747,749 are negroes. The relative proportions of crime show one negro convict for every 1,155 of negro population, and one white convict to every 4,540 of white population.

The period embracing the years 1875 and 1876, and perhaps 1877, exhibited a high percentage of crime. The State-prison register of the year 1877 showed a total of 1,012 convicts in the state prison, and in the year 1878 the number had increased to 1,056, the blacks largely predominating. In October, 1893, the date of the last prison report, the total number of convicts was 767. This decrease in the prison population indicates a decrease in crime, and the increase in the number of white convicts from 50 in the year 1890, to 120 in the year 1893, in my judgment, is an evidence that the law is being more effectually enforced against white offenders. Both of these indications are unquestionably in the right direction.

During what is commonly known as the reconstruction period of the South, there were in many localities semi-political organizations illegal in their character, and within the past two or three years there have appeared in a few localities in the State certain lawless organizations known as "White Caps," hav-

ing in view the purposes of self-constituted vigilance committees, but not political in their character. By the ordinary methods of criminal procedure, these organizations have been completely broken up by the indictment, conviction, and punishment of numbers of the offenders. With the extermination of "White-capism" there is now no form of organized lawlessness existing in the State. Whatever of lawlessness exists here is confined to the acts of individuals, proceeding from the ordinary motives and purposes that impel individuals to violate the laws of the land.

There are occasional instances of lynching of negroes charged with the offence of criminal assault upon white women. But the instinct that prompts this form of lawlessness is not peculiar to the white race of the South, though for obvious reasons it is more frequent than in the Northern States. It is a mistake, however, to suppose that lynching is not the exception, for the prison reports show that for the year 1890 there were thirty-one convicts under sentence for this crime; in 1891 there were twenty-eight under like sentence; in 1892 there were twenty-five of such convicts; and in 1893 there were twenty-seven convicts under sentence for this crime. These statistics show clearly that ordinarily the law takes its proper course in the punishment of this most infamous of crimes, and that the lynching of the offenders is the exception, and not the rule.

The complete eradication of what is commonly termed lynch law, especially in this class of offences, has been found in all the States of the American Union a difficult, if not an impossible, task. It is obviously more difficult of treatment in the large negro populations of the South than in white communities. The death penalty has been imposed by the statutes of the State for this offence, and under the influence of this penalty I think there has been a decrease in the commission of this crime, and as the effect of an improving public sentiment there is a more general disposition to leave the trial and punishment of this class of offenders to the courts of the State. The remedies to be applied and the agencies to be employed in effecting a still further improvement in the enforcement of the law and the suppression of crime must flow naturally from the great moral forces that underlie our civilization. As the negro advances in intelligence his conceptions of the duties of citizenship will improve, and he will more distinctly and clearly perceive the duty of all members of society to obey

the laws of the state. It is not above his comprehension to understand that his welfare and immunity from punishment, not to speak of his prosperity and advancement, depend upon his observance of the rights of others. He is steadily learning this lesson. On the other hand it is becoming clearer to the white race, that the highest condition of prosperity and improvement must finally rest upon a condition or basis involving the prosperity and contentment of the negroes, who form the great body of peasantry in the Southern States, for no country can be great or prosperous with an oppressed and discontented peasantry.

Mississippi, out of its slender resources, is spending over a million and a half dollars annually in public education, and educational facilities are provided for all the children of the State. Negro illiteracy is decreasing, and if the common-school system of public education is a potent agency in the suppression of crime, satisfactory results from this source may be confidently anticipated. Education of public thought finds its way quickly into the jury box, and improves the quality of verdicts in the just and impartial enforcement of the criminal laws. In a limited way, and as incidental to the main purpose, the technicalities of criminal law by which the guilty sometimes escape, and the delays of criminal procedure so favorable to the law-breakers, might be remedied, and a better jury system might be provided.

The white men of the South have dealt with those formidable conditions substantially as any other white men would have done. It may be fairly claimed for them that they have accomplished as much as any others in their place would have accomplished, and it may be conceded that they have probably committed as many errors. As it is, they have done their best, and the present condition of improvement is not unsatisfactory, in view of the magnitude of the undertaking. The most gratifying feature in the situation is that the trend of public thought and action is steadily in the direction of justice and fair dealing, while there is nothing in view to indicate retrogression. On the contrary, everything promises a continuance of the improvement in the relations between the races and the continued moral and material advancement of the people.

J. M. STONE.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

DELICACY, TRUE AND FALSE.

THE outcry which has been raised by some persons in Boston against the bas-relief on the façade of the new Public Library Building, as an offence against decency, tempts us to consider the question, What is true delicacy, and what is false? It seems that Mr. Kenyon Cox, of New York, has produced, at the request of the Trustees of the Library, a seal which St. Gaudens, the sculptor, has carved in stone, and which many men of taste regard as heraldic, distinctive, and beautiful. This seal is a shield which, bearing an open book and resting on a pedestal, is supported by two little naked boys, each holding a long torch. At their feet are two twisting dolphins, to signify the maritime importance of Boston. Over this is the motto, "Omnium lux civium." Is there anything indelicate in this, except to a "prurient prude"? If there is what shall we say of the naked boys in Raphael's paintings and those of other old masters, and in the statuary of all the galleries of Europe? Why, again, is there no outcry against the scores of nude statues in the Boston Art-Museum?

What is true delicacy, and what is false? It is common to speak of our age as one of refinement. No doubt we are separated by a gulf of restraints and scruples fro m the coarseness of former centuries,—centuries when a lady of rank bantered Congreve across the pit of a theatre in phrases which shock us to-day; when a Duchess of Northumberland accepted the dedication of a novel fit to be read only by the creatures of a brothel; and when Young destroyed the notes of Lady Mary Wortley as too gross for print. But when persons to-day boast of their "refinement," what is it that they mean? Do they mean by the word true purity of mind reflected in the conduct, language, and manners, or do they mean only fastidiousness? It has been justly said that refinement, like modesty, consists in negatives. It is not self-conscious, coarse, or impure. This unconsciousness is a safeguard from contamination and suspicion; so that in no age is individual refinement impossible.

True refinement is slow to suspect evil. It interprets what it sees on the principles of charity. A man is not more refined than another because he suspects the loaf he eats, and assumes, therefore, that the kneader was a dirty fellow. On the contrary, refinement, being clean itself, thinks that others are clean also, until forcibly undeceived. The "father of poetry," barbarous as we deem the age in which he lived, has keenly discriminated between true and mock delicacy. When, in the Odyssey, the Princess Nausicaa and her maids are washing their garments in the river, and the naked, shipwrecked mariner appears as a suppliant before them, they act precisely as a high-bred princess and her half-bred maids would act to-day. The one,

with real dignity, listens to his supplications and relieves his necessities, while the others run screaming away.

Byron once said that the more delicate people become in words, the less so they are in acts; and Addison complained that, in his day, the more polish people got by social privilege, the more prone they were to language which "a clown would blush to hear." It is only the meretricious and wanton mind that is over-nice and squeamish in its choice of words, for the simple reason that it seeks the daintiest garment of language in which to veil its moral impurity. True delicacy, on the other hand, is never for a moment perplexed to find proper terms to express itself in, because it *thinks* no impropriety. For it to think, is to give utterance to its thoughts; and to feel, is to give expression to its emotions, with a guileless simplicity, unsuspicious of ill-natured misrepresentation, and fearless, because unconscious of the possibility, of misconstruction.

There are some persons of exceeding refinement in their own estimation, whose delicacy, of which they make a great parade, is only a delicacy, and a false one at that, in words. It is of that spurious kind which abhors plain noun substantives, and would hide its improper imaginings in studied circumlocutions. If a word has two meanings it is sensitively conscious of the worst one, and is shocked at its utterance as if the better meaning could not have been intended. It was a lady with this mock delicacy—the forerunner of those of a later day that are said to have "pantaletted" the legs (or rather, as they would have said, "the limbs") of their pianos, and to have woven aprons to cover the nakedness of marble Cupids and Psyches—who, after the publication of Johnson's dictionary, wrote to the author complaining of the naughty words he had put into it, and drew from him the cutting sarcasm, "So you have been looking for them, it seems!" When Boswell asked the doctor, as they were standing in front of a classic nude statue, "Do you not think this statue is indecent?" he bluntly replied: "No; but I think your remark is." When a man boasts of his refinement, he shows by that very act that he is not refined, but only fastidious. It was such persons that Swift satirized in one of his acutest epigrams, when he said that "nice persons are persons of nasty ideas." The Dardani, we are told, washed but thrice in their lives—when they were born, when they married, and when they died. Had they suddenly learned the necessity of frequent ablution, can one doubt that they would have been constantly talking of it? To a prurient mind the language must have many immodest words, for such are associated in great numbers to such a mind with its habitual train of thought. Such words will be avoided, while the things they denote will be thought of with pleasure.

The daughter of Macklin, the famous English actor, died of a slight injury to her knee, which she allowed to grow mortal rather than permit any doctor to look at the suffering place, though she had won her success on the stage by appearing constantly in parts which compelled the most liberal display of form and limbs. "I know an actress," says the veteran actor John Gilbert, "who won't say her lines, 'I've nearly run my legs off,' but must say, 'limbs.' Yet she will cover these same legs with nothing but thin silk tights and show them to hundreds of men every night."

It is curious to trace the history of certain words which were once in repute, but which increasing refinement, or rather fastidiousness, has banished from people's lips. The word "sweetheart" has gone wholly out of polite use, though we have no term to supply its place. Another word,

once familiar enough, but now proscribed, and which De Quincy indicates by a Latin synonym, may be found in the following passage from Addison's *Spectator*: "'I have read over the whole sentence,' says I, 'but I look upon the parenthesis in the belly of it to be the most dangerous part.'" There are times when the word in question, which the "Opium-Eater" would replace by "stomach," is the only one adequate to the occasion. Some forty years ago Whittier wrote thus:

> "A king lies dead, his wafer duly eaten,
> His gold-bought masses given;
> And Rome's great altar smokes with gums to sweeten
> A name that stinks to heaven."

The verb in the last line offended the delicate nostrils of a Boston editor, and he proposed to emasculate the entire strength of the indignant verse by substituting "reeks" for its vulgar synonym, but it was said in reply that a thing may reek to heaven, and yet not stink to heaven, and that the latter was true of the King of Naples's name, which all the rose-water in flunkeydom could not sweeten. What right-minded person does not hold in far higher respect the outspoken honesty and truthfulness of the New England poet which prompted him to call things by their right names than the fastidiousness which led the editor of an "expurgated" edition of Shakespeare, to substitute "stomach" for "belly" some ten times in *Coriolanus* (in the fable of the belly and the members)? This editor must have been shocked at Paul's indelicacy in speaking of "men whose god is their *belly*."

Englishmen are generally supposed to have less false delicacy than Americans; but a London journal accounts for the languishing state of sculpture in England by the prudery prevailing there, which stands like a phantom on the threshhold of the sculptor's studio and scares away patronage. Proficiency in the plastic art cannot be obtained without indefatigable study of the human figure, and corresponding attention to the study of the nude; and that study is either avowedly or half unconsciously held in horror by multitudes of highly respectable people. Who has forgotten the famous protest of the bishops against the casts from the antique at the Crystal Palace? Far different was the sentiment of one of the acutest of British critics, William Hazlitt, who asserts that it is only when there is nothing but the naked figure that the display of it is offensive. "In proportion as the beauty or perfection of the imitation rises, the indecency vanishes." Northcote, the painter, in his conversations with Hazlitt, maintains the same opinion. Of Guido's "Venus attired by the Graces," he says: "None but the most vicious can find fault with it—the very beauty, elegance, and grace keep down instead of exciting improper ideas;" and again, of both this picture and the "Andromeda chained to the rock," he says: "There is no possible offence to be taken at them; nothing to shock the most timid or innocent, because there was no particle of grossness in the painter's mind. I have seen pictures by others, muffled up to the chin, that had twenty times as much vice in them. The intention will always peep out; you do not communicate a disease if you are not infected with it yourself." Just and weighty words, in which are condensed the whole philosophy of the subject! The mere quality of thorough and absolute sincerity of artistic purpose diffuses a charm over a painter's or sculptor's work, and steeps it in an atmosphere of art, which is practically a safeguard against every corrupting influence. The man who finds his imagi-

nation debauched after looking at a masterpiece of Raphael or Angelo may be sure that the mischief was already done before he felt the necromancy of these great magicians of the pencil and the chisel.

WILLIAM MATHEWS, LL. D.

COLLEGE THEATRICALS—AS WE HAVE THEM.

COLLEGE theatricals appear to be among the good things that soon will have attained a "commonness" and an irreclaimable mischievousness that cannot be longer ignored. Such has been the fate at least of the most conspicuous college theatricals in the United States, particularly in such large cities as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and so on.

To a Greek tragedy or comedy, or a fling at Terence or Plautus, or English classic, by college students, nobody need object. From time immemorial theatricals of such sort have been university prerogatives. Indeed, much is owed to the antique practice. It can go on *in sæcula sæculorum* without undue interruption to undergraduate work in term-time. Much less need it bring any interference to growth of a college boy in manliness of mind and body. Such college play-acting need not be stupid. It cannot be other than dignified, highly artistic and enjoyable.

But can our college presidents, professors, trustees, parents, or guardians establish a connection worth considering between this student-like and manly phase of university theatricals and those entertainments to which the general public has been treated recently by prominent college clubs. A trivial operetta, little above the level of a music-hall burlesque, is secured by the club from somewhere, and often with the understanding that as "professionally" excellent a performance shall be offered as is practicable. The cast for it is made up with the inclusion, not merely of undergraduates, but of young men who are either past their graduation or who may have had no sufficient connection with the college. During the most necessary and vital portion of the college year, rehearsals are held weekly, daily, twice a day, as the rush of preparing advances. Now and then is convenient a certain *sub-rosa* employment of Sunday, truly "professional." Study goes by the board, except just so much study as will serve to carry a lad through his classes. Examinations must be met as best they can. Is not our collegian too busy learning his lines, his music, his "steps" in the dances, his "business" generally? He comes home at night fagged, excited, tired. He learns not his mathematics or languages. Instead he realizes the grind of the stage and its severities on head and body. In place of athletics he studies how to show his leg in a galliard and cut a high caper that would satisfy Sir Toby Belch.

Presently comes the public—not performance, but series of performances. They occur in some well-known theatre, with much advertisement. All the town, fashionable or unfashionable, is begged to come and behold a performance that cannot possibly be well achieved by the actors. In its intrinsic vapidity and sheer silliness it is not worthy giving at all. Thoughtless parents and friends are delighted to crowd to the show and to gild it with the glitter of society's approval. This or that fashionable charity of the great city is occasionally announced as its beneficiary. Finally, after the dancing and singing of the week is over, comes the last touch of a truly "professional" per-

formance of the burlesque. We have a very tolerable semblance to a tour "on the road," with suburban representations here and there. With about half the college year occupied in the preparation of one of these engrossing entertainments, and its repetitions, and with the other half given to another one and its series, it is not easy to discover how any college can exert its measure of mental, moral, and physical influence on a young man.

Nor is this all that is decidedly amiss in college-theatricals as we have them. The present theatrical pieces most in vogue among our colleges bring on the stage the young American man put into short skirts or long skirts; made "pretty" as a girl, except in regard to proportions of face and figure, where indignant Nature refuses to help the unlovely metamorphosis. These modern college theatricals set him posturing and gyrating and simpering before us, in the nearest approach to girlishness that he can effect. For whatever vanity, whatever weakness, whatever pusillanimity may be innate in the boy, the playing of young women's rôles in these extravaganzas is the perfectest sort of nourishment. Are so many fathers, who wish their sons to become men, are so many thoughtless mothers charmed to behold their sons in the effeminacies of female gear? Do they love to watch them so arrayed, languishing and tripping in public, for money, withal?

I do not discuss here theatricals in women's colleges. In some of them lately, plays containing male characters have been taken up, the male rôles being allotted to young women. In certain instances the classical or other piece thus performed has had a more public audience than seems expedient under such circumstances. Still the average girl playing the man in a toga or in a pair of trowsers is so complete a failure as to amuse. Or, if she have the gift of physique and enough art to tolerably counterfeit the other sex, the presentment is not repulsive. But to watch your young man, after his first teens, acting the woman, the squeaking Cleopatras boying womanishness, is to be disgusted.

Such are "college-theatricals" typically, at present. They are, as such, a discredit and a foe—a foe to the physical and intellectual and moral health of the young American man. Better "rush" than skirt-dance and become an adept in burlesque. Better break legs at football than acquire delicacy in pirouettes or attitudinize like a danseuse, with a corset, tulle skirts, diamonds, and pink nails. We want from our colleges brains, muscle, and manliness—not frivolity and hermaphrodity, ruddled with rouge and imitating the shining ornamentsof certain French courts, passed away in ignominy. It is to the credit of some of our Catholic universities that they have held to the old dignity of intent in undergraduate performances.

The present writer likely will be set down as an unqualified old fogy by a good many people. But he believes that a tolerable contingent of American men and women, even with whiter hair than his, will concur in what is in no case an unkindly or jaundiced consideration of a patent and latent evil in our colleges. And if it be true that it is not expedient for universities concerned to undertake any summary processes of discouragement of the practice of theatricals, there exists at least one preliminary. They should emphatically refuse the university name to those clubs pursuing such a line of amusement, especially if those clubs be largely composed of talent not undergraduate and not strictly of immediate college derivation and permanent connection. Devoid of the university name such a

club would be no longer active in a line of amusement that reflects no credit on the *alma mater* or on the amateur actors concerned, and would become merely a phase of the general question of ethics and of amateur theatricals of this *fin de siècle* time of ours.

It may also be questioned whether the college banjo-club, glee club and other musical societies have not passed far beyond their allowable field of usefulness. Should it take in their innumerable public entertainments, and the long and thoroughly "professional" tours on the road, from one end of the country to the other, in term-time, and out of it, which lately have been so elaborate and so much applauded by society?

E. IRENÆUS STEVENSON.

LAND HELD OUT OF USE.

IN THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for May, 1893, Wm. B. Cooper replies in the negative to the question, "Is Land Held Out of Use?" He says in effect that the purchase price or rent demanded by landowners does not hold land out of use any more than the cab hire demanded by owners of such vehicles holds cabs out of use, and that deprivation of cabs for out-of-town exercise in the case of sick people may be just as injurious as the impossibility of access to land is in its effect on the unemployed classes.

The parallel does not seem to me a strong one. Invalids may readily find a substitute for prohibited cabs, and enjoy their exercise, the actual benefits of which would be in each case problematical. But as land and labor are the only factors necessary to the production of economic "wealth," or a living, free access to the raw material of nature would be a sure cure for the evils of poverty. Landlordism does not constitute a factor in the production of wealth, its function being merely the collection of rent.

Is land held out of use? Well, on Broadway, in a very desirable business locality, I find a vacant lot, at present surrounded by a bill-board. Why is it not occupied by a great store, hotel, bank or club? Because an enormous premium is demanded by the owner, either in price or rent, for access to it. The site is worth what is asked for it. Many an enterprising man would gladly pay it, *if that ended his payments*, and he were left free to keep for himself the legitimate profits of the business he proposed to build upon the lot. But when he contemplates the municipal and national taxation he will have to face, in addition to his rent—on his building, stock, fixtures, clothes, food, etc., etc.—he hesitates. Under the single-tax system he would be relieved of all these. He would pay ground rent only, but he would pay it to the public till, instead of to the private land-owner.

Mr. Cooper seems to be under the impression that single-taxers propose that the Government should assume the duties of landlordism and dispose of sites to the highest bidders. This is erroneous. It is simply proposed that land and land only shall be assessed each year at its full value and the annual rental value collected as a tax. No "tenant" would be in danger of "being dispossessed by an effective bid" by another, for he would be already paying what was adjudged to be the full value of his location.

J. W. BENGOUGH.

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SOUTH HED.

OUR WHISKEY REBELLION.

BY THE HON. B. R. TILLMAN, GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

THE attention of the United States has for more than a year been directed to South Carolina. This State has endeavored to solve the liquor problem, a troublesome one to all governments, in a manner so novel as to be startling. So much has been published about the Dispensary law in the papers and magazines of the Union that its scope and purpose are well known, and explanations on those points are not needed in this article.

History bears out the assertion that whenever restriction or prohibition of the liquor traffic is attempted, resistance, either political or by force, is attempted. When South Carolina sought a solution of this troublesome problem, and tried to solve it by passage of the Dispensary law, the inevitable conflict with the whiskey element was expected, nor has the expectation been without fulfilment. The general conditions can easily be understood, for they would prevail in any other State were a similar law enacted there; but the struggle between the whiskey and anti-whiskey elements in South Carolina has been intensified by conditions peculiar to the State of South Carolina and which would not obtain elsewhere. I will briefly outline these local conditions, so that the cause and violence of the whiskey rebellion can be seen at a glance. Prior to 1890, under a vicious system of party

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politics, the control of the government of the State was in the hands of the remnants of the old slave-holding aristocracy, which had saddled upon the State a condition of affairs resembling as much as possible that prevalent before the war of 1861–65. A complete return of those conditions, the outcome of that war had rendered impossible. I led a fight inside the Democratic party, the white man's party, to free the State from the rule of these old Bourbons, who wanted the reins of government to rest entirely in the hands of themselves and those who would be subservient to their will. After a canvass of the State from one end to the other, meeting on the stump two representatives of the old order of things, I received the nomination of the Democratic party regularly and by an unexampled majority; but the old aristocratic element would not submit, and ran an independent ticket at the regular election, appealing to the negroes for votes. I was elected by an overwhelming majority, the greater part of my support coming from the agricultural classes, which had until then been practically deprived of a voice in the selection of the officers of the State government. The old Bourbon element had control of the press and the banks. Among them were the best-trained intellects of the State, and these all kept warring upon the new order of things. Taking the position that naught good could come out of Nazareth, they opposed every act of my administration, which has been for the masses as against the classes.

In 1892, after another hot canvass, I was re-elected Governor, obtaining an increased majority. The Bourbons began to see that they could never be returned to power by a vote of the people, and commenced casting about for new combinations and devices by which to regain power.

In the fall of 1892, the General Assembly passed the Dispensary Act as a compromise between the wishes of the ultra-prohibitionists and the whiskey people. This law gets rid of the worst features of the liquor traffic, while not removing liquor beyond the reach of those who desire to drink it in moderation. It was natural that the men who had been engaged in the liquor business should try to evade the law and sell liquor in violation of it. They opened "blind tigers" for the sale of contraband liquors. The Dispensary law provided for the commission of whatever number of constables was deemed necessary for the discovery and suppression of these places. The Bourbons made this

feature the point of attack upon the law; their many papers hounded down these men, calling them "spies" and "sneaks," and applying to them all manner of abusive epithets, thus seeking to stir up against them the anger of the people in the towns and cities, the inhabitants of which constitute the opposition to the reform movement which resulted in my election. Almost all the work of these constables had to be done in these cities, which made it easier to create bitter, unreasoning prejudice against them. Every daily paper in the State, save one, is under the control of the "antis," as they are called, and these have spared no effort in the attempt to stir up anger against the constables, the law under which they operate, and the administration which enacted that law. Realizing the effect of the assertion that liberty is in danger, they used that sacred name in the appeal for subversion of the Dispensary law and the retirement from authority of those who are responsible for it. The law gives the constables, when armed with proper warrants from the civil authorities, the right to search private residences for the seizure of contraband liquors. Were this provision absent from the law, it would be practically inoperative, as men would turn their private residences into "blind tigers," where they would sell liquor with impunity. The papers supporting the combination of the whiskey men and the old political leaders alleged that the Dispensary law gave the constables the right to search private residences indiscriminately and without warrant, which is something to which Anglo-Saxon blood will not submit. These falsehoods stirred up bitter, unreasoning passion in the cities and towns against the constables, and threats were freely made against them. Being in danger of bodily harm, after having been mobbed and pelted with rotten eggs on more than one occasion, the constables were armed for their own protection. Hypocritical use was made of the old adage that "A man's home is his castle," to incite violence. "A man's home is his castle," but he has no right to turn it into a saloon and expect to exercise the same rights there he would have in a private dwelling.

These were the conditions of thought and feeling existing at the time of the whiskey rebellion, which broke out last month.

The towns of Darlington, Florence, and Sumter are points of a triangle connected by railroads. Darlington and Florence are ten miles apart and both are about forty miles from Sumter.

Certain people in those towns banded together for opposition to the Dispensary law, especially the constabulary feature of it. Several constables were sent to Darlington. The leaders of the conspirators spread abroad reports that the constables were there for the purpose of searching private houses without warrants. This was not true; the constables, under the Dispensary law, could not search private residences without warrants, and they had no intention of searching any residence in Darlington—all of their warrants being for the search of public places, where contraband liquors were stored and sold. But the false report was spread and had its due effect, when the execution of the warrants began. Large numbers of armed men gathered on the streets for the protection of a "liberty" which was not in danger. The five or six constables in Darlington were followed by this armed mob which guyed, cursed, and abused them. I thereupon ordered the Chief Constable by telegraph to proceed to the scene with re-enforcements. The six constables on the ground being in danger, I sent a military company from Sumter to Darlington for their protection while in discharge of their duties as officers of the State carrying out one of its laws. The mob quieted down at once, and the military company returned home the morning following its arrival in Darlington. In the afternoon of the day of the departure of the company, four of the constables, their work being done, went to one depot and the other nineteen to the other, to depart. Two boys, citizens of Darlington, got into a fight at the depot where the main body of constables was. One of them, who was whipped, ran up town and returned, followed by an armed mob. A wrangle started a fight between this mob and the constables. One constable and two of the mob were killed, and several constables and citizens were wounded. When the mob were put to flight, the constables themselves took to the woods near by, for they knew that the flying mob would return re-enforced by hundreds of armed fellow-conspirators. Such was the outcome. The town bell was rung as a tocsin to the conspirators, and they turned out in the twinkling of an eye, all heavily armed. The constables were pursued and the conspirators in Florence and Sumter, being called out by telegraph, joined in the pursuit. Fortunately night soon came on and none of the chasing parties came up with the escaping constabulary, or else more blood would have been shed. The disposition of the conspirators to exterminate the constabulary is

shown by the fact that the train containing the four constables who had gone to the other depot of the town and had taken no part in the fight, was riddled with bullets fired in a desperate attempt to kill them as it came by on its way to Charleston.

The mob took possession of the three towns, committing many acts of violence. In Sumter, where the first mobbing of Dispensary constables took place, there is one of the best managed Dispensaries in the State, and the police authorities have assisted in the enforcement of the Dispensary law. The part this town took in the rebellion was confined to the going out of its most lawless and turbulent citizens to aid in the chase of the constables.

Under the Dispensary law, part of the profits of the Dispensaries goes to the towns in which they are located, provided the authorities of those towns assist in the enforcement of the law. In cases where municipal authorities fail to help enforce the law, the State Board of Control is vested with authority to withhold from such towns the share of the profits that would otherwise come to them on the morning when the constables were first maltreated in Darlington the municipal authorities of that town were notified that they would receive no share of the profits from the Dispensaries located in that town, because they had failed to do their duty towards the enforcement of the law. A similar notice had been given to the Council at Florence. This added to the anger of the mob, and had much to do with inciting the mob in Florence to looting the Dispensary there.

I was informed by the sheriff that the civil authorities were powerless in Darlington, and was asked to order out the militia. I did so, ordering out at first five companies nearest the scene—three at Columbia, one at Manning, and one at Sumter. The old political Bourbons, aided by the whiskey element, brought such pressure to bear upon the companies in Columbia that they refused to obey the orders of their Commander-in-Chief. The Columbia companies set the example, and it was followed by the other two companies I had ordered out. Thirteen of the town companies, and the entire fourth brigade, composed of the troops of Charleston, refused to turn out when ordered to do so. The armories of two companies in Columbia, one in Florence, and one in Chester were broken into and their guns stolen, possibly with the connivance of members of the companies. The idea was that I would be left powerless, and that similar disorder

could be created in other cities, making it necessary for the United States Government to take charge of the State, thus accomplishing their determination to overthrow my administration and restore themselves to power by my downfall. But many military companies, without regard to politics, remained true to their allegiance, and the yeomanry of the State volunteered for duty in such numbers as showed the conspirators that they were powerless. Had I deemed it necessary, I could in forty-eight hours after issuance of the call have had an armed force of ten thousand farmers at my command. But this was not necessary; my determination to uphold the laws of the State and to protect its officers, and the fact that I would be supported by the best citizens of the State, overawed the conspirators and they subsided.

The trouble at Darlington culminated on Friday, March 30, at 4 P. M. Valuable time was lost that evening and night while waiting to mobilize the militia which failed me at the last. Orders did not go to the companies which responded until Saturday morning; the first company that could be depended on arrived in Columbia on Saturday evening at 5 P. M. As a more dangerous mob had assembled in Columbia on Friday night than was pursuing the constables at the scene of the disturbance, I deemed it wise to concentrate troops there to overawe it and not leave the capitol unprotected or move on Darlington until I had a force to do both. Saturday night and Sunday, militia and volunteer companies of farmers' continued to arrive, so that on Sunday evening I felt warranted in ordering three hundred men to Darlington and had as many more in the city of Columbia. This last force was mostly volunteers who had taken their horses from the plough, and, shouldering their shotguns, hastened to sustain the government of their choice.

One of the most potent factors in the suppression of the rebellion was the seizure of the telegraph lines and the railroads. It is hard to say how much mischief would have been done had I not availed myself of the old statute which was doubtless placed among our laws for just such an emergency. By this means excitement was allayed and the insurgents were kept from being reinforced. The people had been wrought up to a frenzy of excitement by the many blood-curdling and sensational despatches sent out before the seizure of the wires, and I feel sure that, had I not stopped

their transmission, we would have had collisions between the excited and angry countrymen and townspeople in several parts of the State. The railroads obeyed the order and co-operated with me without protest, deserving great credit therefor, but I had to invoke the assistance of the judiciary by injunction on the telegraph company until I could use the military and seize the offices of the company by force. This caused considerable dissatisfaction among the newspapers, but under like circumstances I would do the same thing again, even without authority of a statute, for the public welfare demanded it.

A prompt reorganization of the militia has been ordered. All the men who disgraced themselves by refusing to respond to my orders will be dismissed from the service. The conspiracy is crushed and will raise its horrid head no more. The inevitable conflict with the whiskey element, which was made more fierce than is ordinarily the case by the political complications I have briefly sketched, has been fought, and the Dispensary law will hereafter be enforced more rigidly than ever.

As I stated in an address to the troops :

"The Dispensary law was enacted by the Legislature, by the majority of the representatives of the people. It is the law until the Supreme Court declares it unconstitutional or until repealed. The places to fight it are the ballot box and the courts, and not with bullets."

And until it is declared unconstitutional by the courts, or repealed by the General Assembly, it shall be enforced at all hazards.

B. R. TILLMAN.

SUCCESSFUL PUBLIC-HOUSE REFORM.

BY THE RIGHT REV. FRANCIS JOHN JAYNE, D. D., BISHOP OF CHESTER.

RIGHT reason and Scandinavian experience—these are the converging roads to belief in that method of public-house reform on which attention is now being earnestly and hopefully fixed in both America and Great Britain. Right reason, contemplating in other departments of life the achievements and adaptabilities of the civic spirit, the spirit of local patriotism, its power of conducting the business, supplying the wants, healing the wounds and grappling with the foes of society, is constrained to ask why scope should not be allowed for its beneficent operation here too, where "our need is the sorest," and where, if anywhere, the best blood is required to purify and regenerate our social system. Why, at least as an experiment, should not the peculiarly perilous alcohol monopoly be transferred from private to public hands, placed beyond the reach of private greed, cut off from its sinister connection with party politics, and disciplined to serve the community of which it has hitherto been in no small degree the tempter and tyrant. By thus socializing the public-house, its character and motive would be transformed, and abuses attacked at the root.

This is the road which other feet besides my own have travelled. Two capital instances may be mentioned. The fathers of temperance reform in Sweden, who had no previous experience to guide them, were obviously led by sheer reason and common-sense to include in the act of 1855 that pregnant clause which bore the first of its now abundant and world-famed fruits at Gothenburg in 1865. Mr. Chamberlain has also kindly enabled me to state in his own words the working of his mind some twenty years ago. In a recent letter he writes :

"You are quite correct in supposing that my Scandinavian experience did not suggest my proposals, but that my visit was made to confirm previously formed ideas. I started with the idea that the evil we had to combat was not drink, but drunkenness, and that the latter could be better prevented by proper regulations of the traffic than by proposals of absolute abolition which were not likely to be adopted, or, if adopted, would be likely to be evaded. At the same time, I had just had experience of the extraordinary capacities of municipal government for dealing with most difficult questions, and had come to the conclusion that, wherever it was possible to do so, all trades in the nature of a monopoly ought to be conducted by representatives of the community, for the benefit of the community, and not solely with regard to private profit. You will see, therefore, that I am entirely in agreement with you as to the grounds on which the proposed reform should be advocated, and, while I consider that the experience of Sweden and Norway has amply justified the experiment, I should be equally disposed to try it even if the results in those countries had been unsatisfactory; for I should have attributed its failure, not to an inherently bad principle, but to unfortunate methods of application."

Later on, in the same letter, Mr. Chamberlain makes it clear that, though he still considers municipal licensing as ideally best, he readily accepts the so-called Gothenburg System, which intrusts the liquor monopoly to voluntary associations, working under control of the local and central authorities and in the full light of public supervision, as the line of least resistance and otherwise more suitable for pioneer purposes. Upon this point there seems to be substantial agreement among those who in different countries have studied the question. The Company System treads less heavily on the conscientious scruples of total abstainers, and more easily finds room for the co-operation of the many capable and trustworthy citizens who are ready for any good work, so long as it does not involve the ordeal of a contested election. How conveniently this system meets the case of total abstainers may be seen in the following extract from a letter which the President of the Swedish Temperance Society, Dr. Sigfrid Wieselgren, was good enough to write me not long ago.

"The by-laws of the Gothenburg Company do not prevent the election of non-shareholders into its board of directors. I was voted in, although I have never been owner of a single share, and during eleven years I was one of the directors. I beg to call attention to this feature of the company system as being *ad imitandum*. The companies are thus able to make temperance reformers members of their boards without being shareholders, which, no doubt, would be repugnant to most of them. But as members of the boards, they have an excellent opportunity of doing a great deal of good work. And such a coöperation would certainly exercise a favorable influence on both the companies and the temperance reformers."

Than Dr. Wieselgren no one can speak with higher authority on

this subject. "His lifelong interest in the question," we are told by Dr. Gould, "is known the world over, and his practical efforts contributed quite as much as anything else to the success of the existing system." As Director-General of Prisons in Sweden and member of the Upper Chamber of the Diet, he looks at the matter from more than one point of view, and his strong convictions in favor of the reform have just found fresh expression in his pamphlet *More About the Gothenburg System*, which exposes the errors into which their quite superficial and hardly unbiassed study of the question have betrayed two English writers, Mr. Whyte, of the United Kingdom Alliance, and Mr. Mortimer, of the Country Brewers' Society. In a letter dated January 18, 1894, Dr. Wieselgren contrasts "their miscellaneous items, their fallacious figures, the grouping of which is more than bold, and their evidence, which is generally so insufficient" with Dr. Gould's "minute and calmly searching inquiry," which he considers "worthy of our respect and confidence."

The second road is that of Scandinavian experience, which has amply verified and illustrated the conclusions of right reason. Thus the idea is found to be no Utopian dream. It has taken shape as a broad, strong, beneficent fact, full of vitality, and of steadily widening operation. That the Gothenburg system has succeeded may be shown by reference, first, to the opinions of nations expressed in the most practical and convincing way. Aristocratic Sweden gave the lead; democratic Norway, not always in accord with the sister-kingdom, has in this case enthusiastically followed suit; Finland has done likewise; and Dr. Gould calls attention to the significant fact that "*no single community, as far as has been learned, that has once tried the system has afterwards abandoned it.*" Switzerland, after careful inquiry, has brought the principle to bear upon the manufacture and wholesale trade in the higher classes of spirits, constituting this a federal monopoly, and official reports speak favorably of the results in the way of decreased consumption, sounder quality of liquor, and substantial profit to the exchequer. At the Alcohol Congress of 1890, M. Milliet, the representative of Switzerland, is reported to have said that "the Gothenburg System is the best yet known solution of the question involved." A share of the profits is distributed among the cantons, to be used in counteracting the

evil effects of alcoholism, and it is interesting to observe what a vigilant eye the federal authority keeps on the employment of this share. It will be noticed that in Switzerland the Gothenburg principle is mainly applied to the wholesale trade in spirits, and we are thus reminded that the system, fully worked out, would bring the production as well as the distribution of alcohol under control, the wholesale trade being undertaken by the central government, while the retail trade would be intrusted to local associations. The combined experience of Scandinavia and Switzerland may, perhaps, some day and somewhere result in this completeness of application. In the mean time, "Half a loaf is better than no bread"; and if the retail trade is well under control, the wholesale trade will effectively, though indirectly, be controlled also.

Turning to England, the most thorough inquiry was that made by a Committee of the House of Lords in 1879, resulting in the recommendation "that legislative facilities should be afforded for the local adoption of the Gothenburg and Mr. Chamberlain's schemes, or of some modification of them." But the serried ranks of the trade, curiously reinforced by a section of temperance reformers, succeeded in reducing this recommendation to a dead letter. None the less those who took the lead in 1879 are still among the staunchest advocates of the reform, while the evidence to which they can now appeal is far clearer and stronger than it could be in those early days. Nor was the movement altogether checked. In the canteens and regimental institutes of our army, especially in our Indian army, under the influence of Lord Roberts, and again in four favorably situated parishes under the most laudable enterprise of two clergymen and two laymen,* what is essentially the Gothenburg System has been doing valuable service not only for those directly affected, but in support of a measure for which the country is steadily, if slowly, ripening.

From the opinions of nations we pass to the opinions of experts, and these, again, are practically unanimous in approval of the system. From America, Dr. Gould, Mr. John Graham Brooks, and Mr. Koren, Secretary of the Massachusetts Commission; from Sweden, Dr. Wieselgren; from Norway, Mr. Berner, sup-

* Viz.: Lord Wantage, the Hon. C. L. Wood, the Revs. O. Albert Mordaunt, and F. Willett.

ported by 120 opinions of leading officials, collected last year by Mr. T. M. Wilson; from Switzerland, M. Milliet; from Germany, Dr. Baer; for England, our late Ambassador at Stockholm, Sir F. R. Plunkett, whose two reports embody a multitude of contributory consular opinions, and the twenty-two Englishmen, including Mr. T. M. Wilson, of an average residence of sixteen and a half years in Norway, who memorialized Lord Rosebery in refutation of Mr. Michell's now thoroughly discredited report—here we have a bulk of testimony side by side with which the adverse opinions of Messrs. Whyte, Mortimer, and Michell look puny indeed. If space permitted, I could add a long list of those who have studied the system *in situ*, and are fully convinced that it ought to have a fair trial among ourselves. But apart from these, sum up the account, and it is no exaggeration to say that not less than ninety-five per cent. of the evidence is unequivocally favorable. Dr. Gould's conclusions, as given in his report, are doubtless so well known in America that I need not recapitulate them. In the fifth chapter he summarizes the advantages and disadvantages of the company system, and on examining these it is found that the few disadvantages do not belong to the system itself, but to the incompleteness with which it has hitherto been applied. Brandy drinking was the national habit and curse, to cope with which the Gothenburg System was originally framed. Of late years beer drinking has become an alarming source of drunkenness. The system is therefore being extended to meet the new conditions, and we learn that where powers have been taken for dealing with fermented as well as spirituous liquors, the results have been most satisfactory. One great lesson to be learned from Scandinavian experience is that control should be made as comprehensive and effective as possible, and the instrument is one which readily accommodates itself to altered circumstances and fresh requirements. In a letter dated January 10, 1894, Dr. Gould writes thus:

"The deeper I study this problem and the more I acquaint myself with the different systems which have been at work in our American commonwealths, in Canada, and in other places where Prohibition, Local Option, High License, and No License have been tried, the more firmly I am convinced that the Scandinavian system of control is by far the best and most practicable method."

Temperance reformers in England have lately been reading with much interest Mr. Fanshawe's careful and impartial report

on the American licensing systems. He leaves his readers to draw their own conclusions, but these can hardly tell in favor of prohibition, while high license comes off with more credit. Now it is surely true that in the Scandinavian system we have high license at its purest and best. An authorized company can offer the community advantages financial, social, and moral with which no one trading for private profit can hope to compete. The tender of such a company would run somewhat thus :

" We are prepared to undertake the licensed victualling of your locality, paying to the dispossessed publicans and to other legitimate claimants such compensation as law and equity may require. We will at once reduce our houses to such a number as the licensing authority may deem necessary. In Stockholm the brandy shops were reduced from 193 to 87 in a single day, without a murmur from the working-classes. We will re-engage respectable publicans as managers on terms far more favorable to themselves, their families, and the community than managers now enjoy under the tied-house system. They will receive a fixed salary with a bonus on the sale of eatables and non-alcoholic drinkables, but with absolutely no benefit from the sale of intoxicants. They will thus have no inducement to push the sale of alcohol, to drink with their customers, or to adulterate their liquor, while temperance beverages of every kind will be brought well to the front, invested with prestige, and supplied in the most convenient, attractive, and inexpensive way. Our surplus profits, after payment of a strictly limited interest, will be applied to public non-rate-aided objects, chosen from within lines laid down by statute, and including the establishment of bright and attractive temperance houses, to which those who wish to keep quite clear of the temptations of alcohol in any shape can safely resort. We should start on the distinct understanding that, if in due time we are found wanting as public servants, we must promptly make way for our betters. This is our tender. Will you accept us as your servants?"

I have outlined the good which a company can undertake to do ; the evils it will prevent are thus summarized by Dr. Wieselgren: "The Gothenburg System has proved itself a protection *against* the evil influences of individual greed of gain ; *against* the continued impoverishment of poor public-house visitors through drinking on credit or pawn tickets ; *against* the public-house visits of young people, and their enticement to drink; *against* the neglecting of the sanitary interests of the public-house customers with regard to the premises and the food which is sold there; *against* the transgressing of the restrictive regulations of the law with regard to the hours of sale, the quantities allowed to be sold and the whole management of the business; *against* a competition which lowers the prices ; *against* an unnecessarily great number of licenses being used, although granted;

against the withholding of any part of the sale from taxation; and finally *against* the rise of a mighty class of private publicans who, wherever they exist, are the greatest hindrance to the success of moral or religious movements." It is hard to understand why a method of so much performance, as well as promise, should be refused a footing in any country which has the licensing problem to solve. But ignorance, prejudice, self-interest, and political complications are obstacles not to be removed in a day. Still *dabit Deus his quoque finem*, and the cause demands our staunchest efforts. Mr. Cobbett's famous saying, "The temperance cause lies at the foundation of all social and political reform" is as true now as it ever was. Our aims are not merely to reduce drunkenness with its attendant train of ills—pauperism, crime, and misery in many shapes—but, while strenuously securing this, to brighten, sweeten, and enrich the life of our people by lifting their public refreshment to an altogether higher level. In such a climate as ours, with labor shortening and leisure lengthening, this entertainment-of-the-people question must grow in significance and importance. To say, as we sometimes hear it smoothly said by brewers, publicans, their political dependents, and by the advocates of *Laissez faire*, that the true work of temperance reform cannot be done by legislation, but must devolve on religion and education, is to bewilder the public mind with the sophistry of a half-truth. Here, as elsewhere, it behooves us to clear our minds of cant. You cannot of course make men temperate by act of Parliament. But by act of Parliament you can do much to sweep away the hindrances which go far to thwart the best efforts of church and school. Those who talk so glibly of education should not forget, first, that the ubiquitous tippling-house is a consummate trainer of youth in the way it should *not* go, for vice can educate as well as virtue; and, next, that the demand for legislation is itself the outcome of those influences in which we are told to put our trust. It is just because religion and education have been fruitfully at work that the reason and conscience of a people cannot rest till law has removed the barriers shortsightedly set up by earlier law or lax administration, behind which drunkenness is protected and fostered, and till the good angels of society have thus been given a fairer field on which to do battle for the right.

The friends of temperance reform in Great Britain already owe much, and hope to owe more, to the corresponding move-

ment across the Atlantic. America has facilities denied to us, and, if I am not mistaken, is free from at least one difficulty which we must frankly face. We in England approach licensing reform with clouded eyes and fettered limbs. America can think and move more freely. The steps taken by the Washington Labor Department and the Legislature of Massachusetts—to say nothing of the great task which the National Committee of Fifty has undertaken—would provoke our envy, did they not rather claim our admiring gratitude and hopeful expectation. England's peculiar difficulty is that connected with compensation. About this I need only say that those with whom it is my privilege to act have a single eye to justice—justice to the trade and justice to the community. We press for a thorough and impartial inquiry into the grounds of compensation, that we may learn the facts and equities of the case, and so be enabled to do what is neither more nor less than right to all concerned. But the question is so fenced in by foregone conclusions, trade mysteries, and political entanglements that it is no easy matter to come to close quarters with it. As regards its financial aspect, those best acquainted with the working of the Scandinivian companies are confident that anything like reasonable compensation would be well within the means of English companies out of their surplus profits.

I have dwelt on our difficulties. I must not omit one special item of encouragement. Sir Wilfrid Lawson, the undaunted champion of public-house abolition, in a lately published letter, holds out the hand of goodwill to the advocates of public-house reform. To reinforce his counsel of toleration I may quote a passage from the appeal which in November last Dr. Wieselgren, himself a veteran temperance reformer, and a son of the Swedish "Apostle of Temperance," Dean Peter Wieselgren, addressed to those uncompromising prohibitionists who look askance on what they deem half-measures.

"When, on this way of moral and religious progress, we have reached so far that the majorities of the nations know 'the things which belong unto their peace,' then the licensing systems may be succeeded by the prohibition systems. But till then we must take care not to reject any help which from a noble motive is offered to us by our allies in the struggle against this great evil. Neglecting the use of a less effective remedy cannot be excused by a declaration that we are not content unless the most effective one is offered. If our fathers had acted on this principle, if the policy of these modern temperance reformers who try to depreciate the value

of every reform which has not prohibition for its aim, had been followed by them, where should *we* have been? If any lesson is to be taken from the history of the liquor legislation of Sweden, it is that the object in view is more easily attained if it is perseveringly approached step by step than by standing still in vain attempts to bring about reforms which may be highly desirable, but are impracticable, even if this standpoint has been chosen on the top of some Nebo of enthusiasm, from which, at least in clear weather, the promised land of one's wishes appears by glimpses."

Perhaps the discipline of disappointment to which we have been so long subjected may weld into solid and well-tempered strength the detached and often mutually colliding sections of those who are of one heart, though not yet of one mind, in their zeal for temperance.

In the mean time a sound principle has nothing to lose, but everything to gain, by ventilation. Of stir and sifting and manifold enterprise on both sides of the Atlantic we can hardly have too much. To a better and more hopeful cause we may apply the old Jacobite motto, and cheerily say: "Push it about; it will come to the king."

F. J. Cestr.

A NATIONAL HEALTH BUREAU.

BY THE SURGEON-GENERAL OF THE ARMY, GEORGE M. STERNBERG.

We plume ourselves upon the extent of our territory, the intelligence and enterprise of our people, and our rapid progress in all of the arts which add to the comfort and enlightenment of man; but in one particular, at least, we are lamentably behind the leading countries of Europe. We have to-day no central health bureau, and, so far as national legislation is concerned, the sanitary interests of the people have received but little attention. It is true that laws have been enacted with a view to the exclusion of exotic pestilential diseases. But even if it should be conceded that the national quarantine service, as at present administered, is efficient for this purpose—and this is not conceded by many leading sanitarians in the country—the necessity for a central health bureau would be none the less imperative.

From the point of view of sensational writers for the daily press, and, unfortunately, of many of those upon whom national legislation depends, the exclusion of cholera, yellow fever, and other exotic maladies is the prime object of national sanitary legislation; and past experience shows that it is only under the stimulus of a recent or threatened epidemic that the attention of our lawmakers can be fixed upon these important interests long enough to secure any action. And yet it is well known to health officials and to the medical profession generally that the mortality from preventible diseases which prevail in all parts of the country, such as consumption, typhoid fever, diphtheria, summer diarrhœa of children, etc., is far greater than that caused by cholera or yellow fever in countries where these diseases prevail

habitually. Even in Havana and in Rio de Janeiro, where yellow fever is endemic, the mortality from consumption considerably exceeds that from yellow fever. And during the recent extended prevalence of cholera in Europe the mortality from this disease has not been great compared with that from the endemic infectious diseases mentioned—tuberculosis, typhoid fever, and diphtheria.

The exclusion of exotic pestilential diseases by quarantine restrictions will be imperative until such time as our towns and cities shall have been made proof against the extension of such diseases by sanitary measures which can readily be formulated to-day, but the execution of which calls for the expenditure of large sums of money and for the enactment and honest execution of state and municipal laws founded upon the exact knowledge now in the possession of sanitarians.

The principal objects of a central health bureau should be to extend and disseminate this exact knowledge, to give advice with reference to its application to special cases; to correspond with the central health authorities of other countries, for the purpose of learning their methods of sanitary administration and the results of the same; to collect and publish vital statistics, etc. Not the least of its functions will be that last mentioned. It is only by the study of vital statistics that we can obtain precise information with reference to the principal areas of prevalence of various preventible diseases, the reasons for increased or diminished prevalence in a given area, the results obtained by sanitary improvements, etc.

If space permitted, numerous instances could be cited showing the value of such information collected by the central health authorities of European nations. Without doubt England has taken the lead in this line of investigation, and it is mainly through the information collected and disseminated by the "Registrar-General" that sanitary improvements have been stimulated and their results definitely determined. In the "decennial report" for the period ending in 1880, made by Dr. Wm. Ogle to the Registrar-General, he says:

"In 1861–70 there was on an average 22,416 deaths annually to a million persons living; in 1871–80 the proportion of deaths was only 21,272, a saving of 1,144 lives annually to each million of persons living."

A similar saving in this country would amount to over 68,000

per annum. Is this a saving worthy of the attention of Congress, or must sanitary legislation still be thrust aside to give time for discussions concerning the tariff and currency? This certainly is not "a local issue," and to many intelligent citizens it seems that the health of the people is entitled to consideration equal to that accorded to economic and educational questions. This view has been repeatedly expressed in resolutions adopted by the American Medical Association, the American Public Health Association, and other organizations interested in sanitary matters. By some it has been urged that the importance of the interests involved calls for the creation of a "Department of the Public Health," with a cabinet minister at its head. The arguments advanced in favor of this proposition have great force, but it is doubtful whether such a measure could be carried through Congress. It therefore appears to us that the bill prepared by the Committee of the New York Academy of Medicine, which proposes "to establish a Bureau of Public Health within the Department of the Interior of the United States," should receive the support of all those who have been in favor of a department of public health, and of intelligent citizens generally. This bill provides for a Commissioner of Public Health and an Advisory Council, the Commissioner to be

"an expert sanitarian appointed by the President, by and with the consent of the Senate. He shall preside at the meetings of the Advisory Council and shall be the responsible head and executive officer of the bureau."

We fully indorse this proposition to place a single commissioner at the head of the Bureau of Public Health. The defunct National Board of Health was weak because it consisted of several members living in various parts of the country, and who devoted their time—with the exception of the secretary—to other pursuits, except when they assembled in Washington for a regular or special meeting of the board. Moreover, this board, not being attached to either of the great departments of the Government service, had no defender in the cabinet and was subject to the attacks of enemies whose ambition it was to supplant it.

We also approve of the proposition to have the "Bureau of Public Health within the Department of the Interior of the United States." The demand for a central health bureau comes largely from the great interior States. It is here that the greatest saving of life can be effected by sanitary improvements, and it is

here that the greatest losses would occur if cholera should be introduced into the country through one of our seaports. That these great interior States shall have no voice with reference to the regulations to be enforced at seaboard cities for the exclusion of exotic pestilential diseases, which when introduced have no respect for State lines, is no more reasonable than to refuse them a voice with reference to the maintenance of a navy and of seaboard defences. They pay their share of the taxes which go to the support of the institutions for the common defence, and they are willing to pay their share of the expense of maintaining a national quarantine service.

This bill provides:

"That whenever the proper authorities of a State shall surrender to the United States the use of the buildings and disinfecting apparatus of a State quarantine station, the Commissioner of Public Health shall cause an examination thereof to be made by a competent person or persons, and if the said station, buildings, and disinfecting apparatus be found adapted to the purposes of a quarantine, and the Commissioner of Public Health approve of their use as such, the Secretary of the Treasury shall be authorized to receive them and to pay a reasonable compensation to the State for their use."

Under this provision our quarantine service, in time, may become what it should be—national and uniform. At present the interior States feel that they are at the mercy of those local authorities who control the appointment of quarantine officials and the enactment of State or municipal laws governing the quarantine establishments. The laws may be satisfactory and their administration may be placed in competent hands, but there is no guarantee that this will continue to be the case. And if the laws are defective or the administration lax at a single seaport of our extended coast-line, the dreaded invasion may occur and the germs of pestilence be widely sown in spite of the intelligent efforts made for their exclusion at other ports.

Although the desirability of a uniform and national system of quarantine administration is apparent, this cannot be effected at once, and the only way of eventually accomplishing it appears to be that proposed in the bill under consideration. But just here lies the danger that the bill may be defeated through the influence of interested parties. Those at present in charge of quarantine establishments see in this clause a threat that they may be displaced by officials of of the General Government. This, however, does not follow even if "the proper authorities of a State

shall surrender to the United States the use of the buildings and disinfecting apparatus of a State quarantine station." The man who has shown his efficiency in the administration of the State establishment would be wanted by the Commissioner of Public Health for similar service in connection with the national quarantine station.

Another important feature in the bill is the provision for an Advisory Council to consist of one member from each State of the United States. "Such member shall be a physician of good repute and standing and shall be appointed by the Governor of the State which he is to represent in the Council." This provision is a wise one from two points of view : The Commissioner will have the advice of a select body of sanitarians from all parts of the country, each one of whom will be able to give him valuable information with reference to sanitary matters in his own State and to put him in touch with the local health authorities for the purpose of obtaining sanitary data, etc. And, on the other hand, the members of the Advisory Council will obtain valuable information from the discussions held at the annual meetings and from a personal knowledge of investigations undertaken by the Commissioner, and will disseminate this useful information upon their return to their homes among the people of their respective States.

GEORGE M. STERNBERG.

LORD ROSEBERY'S ADMINISTRATION.

BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, BART., M. P.

It is very natural that the Editor of The North American Review should desire to place before his readers some account of the present political situation in the United Kingdom, for there has not in recent times been seen one more dramatically interesting. As there is no politician who does not think himself impartial, shall I add that it naturally gave me no surprise to be asked by the Editor, as an impartial person, to supply such a picture?

The situation created by the sudden withdrawal of Mr. Gladstone had long been foreseen, but the change, when it came, occurred under circumstances which falsified all prediction made more than a few months before its date. In an article which I contributed to the *Speaker* in September, 1891, I had suggested that it would be to the interest of the Liberal party that either Lord Rosebery or Lord Spencer should be the next Prime Minister, although I admitted that, while there were certain advantages (both to the Liberal party as a whole and to the leader of the House of Commons in particular) in having the Prime Minister in the House of Lords, the premiership of a peer was not popular in the Commons or in the country. The administrative reason in favor of such a leadership must be clear to all who have held office, but it does not present itself with equal force to other politicians. That the Prime Minister in the Lords has a quiet workroom, instead of having to conduct the affairs of the party at high pressure, and that the leadership of the Lower House gains the advantage of being always able to secure time for the consultation of the opinion of his party, under the guise of taking time to consult his chief colleague, are very real advantages; but they are not so obvious to the public as is the corresponding difficulty

that the Lower House is placed in a position of some indignity when it has to receive orders from "another place." All such considerations are feeble when exposed to the gusts of popular passion, and there can be no doubt that the increase and the change in the nature of the movement against the House of Lords have greatly affected the situation since I wrote upon it in 1891. Mr. Gladstone's resignation speech—the last which he has made within the walls of the House of Commons—was not calculated to render it easier for the majority to accept without hesitation and misgiving the leadership of a peer.

So strong was the outside hostility to the choice of any peer, and the outside feeling in favor of Sir William Harcourt as leader, so general the previous belief that Sir William Harcourt would at least be offered the reversion, should he be thought to desire (contrary, perhaps, to his personal interest) to assume the post, that the sudden selection of Lord Rosebery by the Queen, at the suggestion of Mr. Gladstone after consultation with his Cabinet, came as a surprise to the Liberal party in the country. Those in the House of Commons who know most of what is passing, had, since November, been aware that the sudden substitution of Lord Rosebery for Mr. Gladstone was in contemplation, but those among them who were opposed to this substitution, and who would have preferred the leadership of Sir William Harcourt, were in this difficulty: that the Liberal constituencies would have resented any movement pointing towards the selection of Sir William Harcourt by the party, as being ungenerous towards Mr. Gladstone, who was still at its head, and not admittedly about to quit the lead. Sir William Harcourt himself would also have been placed by any such public movement in the invidious position of appearing to seek, for personal reasons, to put himself at the head of the party prematurely. So general, however, was the feeling that he ought, after his great services, to have been offered the succession that, had the National Liberal Federation been the wholly independent body which it used to be before 1880, there can be no doubt that meetings would have been called throughout the country which would have pronounced in Sir William Harcourt's favor. For some years past the National Liberal Federation has had its headquarters at Parliament street, and has been in close touch with the official management of the party through the Whips. On the other hand, there can be little doubt but

that on reflection a great number of those who would have taken up this position have become satisfied that for electoral purposes the leadership of Lord Rosebery has great advantages.

The new Prime Minister undoubtedly increases the popularity of the Liberal party in Scotland, as compared with that which it could have attained under Sir William Harcourt; and there can also be little doubt but that the same selection decreases the unpopularity of the Liberal party in London. The improvement in London is not only hypothetical or relative, but absolute. Lord Rosebery is a stronger electoral leader of the Liberal party in London than would have been Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Gladstone had no personal popularity in London, and much personal unpopularity in that metropolis, and, although it may be to the discredit of London that this should be so, no one who knows London very well can have much doubt about the fact. It may not be entirely Lord Rosebery's County Council work which makes him popular in London. Lord Rosebery's popularity in London goes outside the ranks of the Liberal party. He has a considerable "music-hall" popularity, as it is contemptuously called,—the popularity with the unpolitical crowd, or the mob itself, of an owner of the Derby favorite. But whatever may be the causes of a popularity, which like all popularities has probably many causes which concur, Scotland and London must be counted as more favorable to Lord Rosebery than to any other possible leader.

The West Riding of Yorkshire and Lancashire, where there are great numbers of Liberal or of doubtful seats, are mined by the operations of the Independent Labor Party. Whatever may be the attacks made by the Socialists upon Lord Rosebery, as representing in a high degree the facts, though not the principles, of plutocracy, he is less unpopular with the Independent Labor Party and their followers than would be Sir William Harcourt, and electorally stronger with the trades unions and the working classes generally in the industrial counties. Moreover, the present leadership, although exercised in the one House by Sir William Harcourt, and in the other by Lord Rosebery, has behind its partnership another powerful force—the personality of Mr. Asquith; and this is counted on Lord Rosebery's side on account of the close alliance which at present unites these two considerable men. Mr. Asquith, as a "strong" Home Secretary, is not in all things popular with the working class; but, as the politician of the first

rank who has entered the most completely into the modern trades-union movement, his intellectual vigor assists the personality of Lord Rosebery in the industrial districts. The most popular of the younger ministers, Mr. Acland, Mr. Buxton, and Sir Edward Grey, belong to the same school; and there is an added force in the joint strength of all of them which fights upon Lord Rosebery's side. Electorally, therefore, there is much reason for the belief that, although the choice would not be the choice which under the circumstances of the moment would have suggested itself to the party as a whole, and was not the choice that until three days before it happened was expected by them, it is, nevertheless, probably the strongest electoral choice which could have been made.

Now for the other side. The movement against the House of Lords which, as has been stated, has grown fast, and has changed its nature very recently, fights strongly against Lord Rosebery, unless he will have the courage to ask the country to send him to the House of Commons in the manner which will be presently described. The Conservative party may possibly be sufficiently alive to the force of the popular movement to choose Mr. Balfour rather than Lord Salisbury as its next Prime Minister, a choice for which the universal popularity and the marvellous House of Commons tact of the former will prepare his party. If Lord Rosebery does not completely throw over his hankerings after Imperial Federation, which is rendered impossible to practical men by the resistance of several important colonies to the idea, he will have much trouble with the Irish supporters of the Liberal party. If he does not absolutely renounce his personal wishes in favor of a reformed, but a strong, and indeed a strengthened, second chamber, he will sooner or later come into conflict with all that is active in the Liberal party.

The week before the editorial invitation reached me, Lord Rosebery had been acclaimed by the whole party at a meeting of its peers and commoners; but just as your Webster, I believe, once received a serenade in a torchlight procession from delegates returned to support him, who then proceeded to vote against him to a man, so Lord Rosebery, on the day after he had been unanimously welcomed, was put in a minority in the House of Commons, and supported virtually only by the faithful janizaries, or mamelukes of the guard, by his own colleagues and by the Tory

party. There had been difficulty in securing for him, for reasons which concerned the Bills and which shall presently be mentioned, both the Irish and the Welsh supporters of the Government; but Mr. Labouchere, who had been told by the whole press that the roof of his cave had fallen in, and who had been assured in the very debate by Mr. Chamberlain that he represented *Truth* alone at the bottom of a well, carried into the Lobby with him, against the Address to the Crown prepared by Lord Rosebery's new Government, every Irish member, every Welsh member, and the majority of the English and Scotch Liberals. The reason was plain. Mr. Gladstone's last message to the party had been one of war with the Lords, and the Queen's Speech, prepared under the auspices of the incoming "Peer-Premier" (to use the vile slang of the moment), contained no reference to the subject. The situation was an impossible one, and could but lead to a defect, which must have been foreseen by Sir William Harcourt and by all who are familiar with the impulses of the House of Commons.

Here lie the strength and the weakness of Lord Rosebery. If he will put himself at the head of the movement against the Peers, he as a Peer—as a man not only of considerable ability and power of speech, but also of great wealth and station—will be a stronger leader against the House of Lords than those who have not all these advantages. But as one proceeding on the old lines of the constitution he will be weak indeed. The choice is before him, but he is a cautious Scotchman who seldom makes up his mind too soon, and who may possibly make it up too late. As a democratic leader, with the support of the men who have been named, with less hostility on the whole aroused against him than would be excited by any other democratic leader who could be suggested, he would be the strongest who could be chosen, but as a continuer merely of Palmerstonian traditions, or of a Whig policy of making the best of existing conditions,—a Whig policy modified of course by the change of time,—he would not be sufficiently differentiated from his Conservative and Liberal Unionist rivals to be able to maintain himself in the position of a great popular force.

Let us now examine briefly,—for that portion of your readers who live to the west of the Atlantic, and who cannot be expected to occupy themselves with the details of our policy,—what are

the special difficulties of the political situation of the immediate future.

As regards the House of Lords, opinion has ripened very much of late. A quarter of a century ago I made at Birmingham Town Hall, with Mr. Chamberlain in the chair, a speech in which I suggested the possibility that a Peer might stand for the House of Commons, and so break down the House of Lords by setting a fashion which would be followed and would deprive it of the services of those able men who constitute its strength. The eldest sons of two Tory peers, and the eldest son of a great Liberal Unionist Peer, who is also the son-in-law of Lord Salisbury, have in the present session introduced bills, for removing the disabilities of Peers and allowing them to be elected to the House of Commons, such as will have my hearty support. It is understood that some of the Tory Peers' eldest sons in the House of Commons have decided that when in the course of nature they are to be "called up" they will refuse to go, and will insist on fighting for the privilege of remaining in the Commons. At the time when I made the speech to which I just alluded, I thought, and I thought till recently, that many of us among the extreme Radicals who prefer the present weak House of Lords to any new "Second Chamber" would have to spend our lives in fighting the Liberal party, resisting "abolition of the hereditary principle" or "reform of the House of Lords." All idea of "mending" of the House of Lords has died out suddenly in the last few months, and the whole Liberal party is now in favor of one of two plans—either "ending" the House of Lords, or else very sharply limiting its veto. Even the Conservatives are beginning to see that "reform of the House of Lords" and maintenance of the House of Lords in its present form are alike impossible; and they seem inclined to meet us on the limitation of the veto, but in a sense which would be fatal to the Liberal party. There is colonial precedent for the suggestion that the decision of the country at a general election ought distinctly and by Act of Parliament, instead of merely in constitutional theory, to override the resistance of the House of Lords. It would suit the Conservative party to have this principle recognized. They would drive us to a dissolution upon every important bill, and the rate of progress would indeed be slow, while the practical effect might not improbably be that the Conservative party would

always be in power for six years at a time, while the limited power of the House of Lords would be so used that the Liberal party would never be in power for more than six months at a time, its reign being invariably cut short by a sudden dissolution on the least popular of its measures. What the Liberals here mean by a limitation of the veto is a restriction of the power of the Lords to obstruction for a single session, and this will probably be the scheme put forward next year (in 1895).

The main difficulty with regard to bills in the way of the present government is that some of us among its independent supporters are pledged to resist Irish land legislation in the present Parliament, and to vote for no Irish measures except that measure of Home Rule upon which we have already spent six months of our time. The Welshmen share this feeling, and will act on it unless their Bill for the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales is made secure. Lord Rosebery has met us as regards some of our much-wished-for labor legislation, and, caring personally as I do very deeply for the Miners' Eight Hours Bill, I feel myself brought over to the cause of the Administration, at all events for a time, by the support which they are giving to that measure—the first of those by which we expect and intend to establish proper conditions for the conduct of the industries of the country. But there is still great risk of the rejection of the second reading of the Evicted Tenants Bill, unless the Welsh can be assured that their bill will certainly be carried ; and the course which the Government will be driven to take if they are able to carry their Budget, and so survive for the next six weeks, will be to pledge themselves to carry both the Evicted Tenants Bill and the Welsh Church Bill, which they can only do by causing Parliament to sit once more right through the year. Then, early in 1895, they will have to introduce a bill for the limitation of the veto of the House of Lords, which, if Lord Rosebery is as wise as we are all inclined to think him, will contain provisions for enabling peers to sit in the House of Commons. On that bill the dissolution will take place ; and, while it seemed probable that Mr. Gladstone would have been defeated had he gone to the country at any time during his fourth administration, it is by no means certain that Lord Rosebery will be defeated if he goes to the country on a democratic programme to the cry of "Down with the veto of the Lords." The country, however, may not com-

pletely credit the promises of the administration unless they undertake to abstain from using the peerage as a reward for party service.

The Independent Labor Party are no doubt destined to weaken the Liberal party at the moment, and to upset it in the long run. Their views are widely held in Lancashire and in great numbers of the industrial towns, and in London the younger electors (though chiefly Tory or Socialist, rather than "I. L. P.") are in few cases party Liberals, but the Independent Labor Party itself will probably not at the next election make a very serious stand against the Liberal Party if it is democratized, which I suggest is possible, not, however, that the "I. L. P." can afford even for a moment to lay aside its arms.

There is a good deal of opposition among the Liberal manufacturers and rich men to the Newcastle item—Payment of Members,—and it is both doubtful whether it can be carried in the present House of Commons and certain that the Government will not attempt it. With all our talk of progress, and in spite of our very rapid real advance on many questions, candidates still have to pay, or their supporters to pay for them, the enormous "Returning officers' Expenses," or, in other words, the official charges of parliamentary elections, which Professor Fawcett nearly succeeded in throwing on to the public before 1880. So long as we have no reform in these two respects the Independent Labor Party cannot be really strong in Parliamentary representation. So long as such reform is not seriously undertaken by the Liberals, they cannot expect to be believed or trusted by the Labor leaders. But the rank and file cannot be expected, in the majority of the constituencies unprovided with a strong Labor candidate, to abstain from voting at the bidding of their leaders whom Lord Rosebery puts before them, Abolition of the Veto, and Labor Legislation.

Such a Liberal-democratic policy will probably not last. Other influences may in the long run assert themselves. Questions of foreign affairs may spring up. War itself may come upon the Empire. But if democratic influences prevail for the moment with the present cabinet, the election of 1895 may give the Liberal party as at present constituted its last triumph, before it has in turn togive way to the rapidly changing conditions of society in this interesting and, as compared with conservative America, very advanced old country.

CHARLES W. DILKE.

HELPING PEOPLE TO HELP THEMSELVES.

BY NATHAN STRAUS.

THERE are no earnings so highly taxed as those of the poor. They pay an exorbitant profit on the necessities of life, and death brings to them the double burden of sorrow and extortionate undertakers' bills. The poor man's coal costs him twice as much as that of the millionaire, and the poor man's loaf is apt to be half the weight it ought to be. He pays two prices for the milk he buys for his children, and generally gets it stale and polluted at that. The rent of his tenement commonly yields its owner about twice the rate of interest that is obtainable on fine residence property, and it is constructed with just as little regard to sanitary regulations as the law allows. Thus it happens that the line dividing the day laborer from the pauper is a very narrow one. To have the daily wage meet the daily wants is at best a struggle, and in hard times it becomes too much even for the strongest. How to lighten that struggle is one of the greatest problems of our time. I willingly respond to the request of the editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW to give an account of some efforts of mine to contribute to its solution.

In January, 1893, I opened a yard for the sale of coal in small quantities at the same rates as are charged by wholesalers for cargo lots. The Dock Commissioners allowed me the use of the wharf at the foot of Third street, East River, free of charge. When the Third Street yard was in good working order, I established another on the wharf at West Fifty-second Street. When I started the coal business, the retail dealers and pedlars were charging from ten to fourteen cents for a small measure—a price equivalent to from twelve to sixteen dollars a ton. I began by giving my customers twenty pounds for five cents, but afterward increased the weight to twenty-five pounds, being at

the rate of four dollars per ton of two thousand pounds. I bought my coal by the long ton of two thousand two hundred and forty pounds, but I found after making due allowance for waste, overweight in the measured baskets, and leakage generally, that a ton did not yield much over 100 baskets of twenty pounds, or eighty baskets of twenty-five pounds. In the early part of the season my coal cost me $4.87\frac{1}{2}$ per ton, and I got $5.00 per ton for it. Later, the coal cost me $4.25, and was sold at the rate of $4.00 per ton. In the one case the proceeds covered the original cost, in the other nearly so. The labor necessary for handling and accounting was left out of the calculation. My customers were, for the most part, thrifty, orderly, and self-respecting laborers and their wives and children. Almost without exception, they were averse to any scrutiny into their condition. They regarded the transaction as a purely mercantile one, from which I was supposed to derive some profit, and they were in no way conscious of any element of charity in the business. The methods employed were those of any well-regulated commercial enterprise conducted for profit, and strict orders were given that extreme consideration should be paid to customers. I was careful to put the business in charge of persons who had a genuine kindly sympathy with its objects, and who could give me that active, zealous assistance which springs from a feeling of pleasure in the discharge of congenial duties. I required no statement that my customers were needy, from pastor, priest, rabbi, or charitable organization. I wished to make them feel that instead of receiving a favor they were really conferring one. The following is a summary of the first season's business:

Number of tickets sold : 200,501 five cent tickets, procuring 20 and 25 lbs.
18,933 ten-cent tickets, procuring 40 and 50 lbs.
7,799 fifteen-cent tickets, procuring 60 and 75 lbs.
2,933 twenty-cent tickets, procuring 80 and 100 lbs.
3,121 twenty-five-cent tickets, procuring 100 and 125 lbs.

No one who knows anything of the condition of the poor of this city can fail to be impressed with the appalling rate of mortality of their children during the hot months of the year. While in the winter months the death rate of children in New York under five years of age may be 230 out of a thousand deaths, in the summer months it will account for 700 out of the thousand. In the summer of 1893 I opened a depot where pure milk, both in its natural and sterilized form, was sold at cost. Extreme

care was taken to procure milk from untainted sources. The Health Board of the city placed at my disposal the services of Dr. S. K. Johnson, their veterinary surgeon. This gentleman, accompanied my secretary, Mr. A. L. Kinkead (who has general supervision of all my charities) to Orange County, New York, and examined over 500 cows. He pronounced them all free from disease ; and a contract was made with the proprietors of this dairy to forward to the depot only milk from the cows which had been examined by this veterinary surgeon. All known processes of sterilization were studied closely and compared, with a view to using the one that would yield the highest average benefit. During my visit to Europe last spring, I devoted much of the time I spent in Paris and Berlin to the subject. After long deliberation it was decided to adopt the process of pasteurization of milk, invented by Dr. R. G. Freeman, of 147 West Fifty-seventh Street, New York City, and by him dedicated to the use of the public. It is a dictum of medical and chemical science that while the properties of milk are of such a character as to endow it, on one hand, with almost ideally perfect qualities for the preservation of health and for nutriment, it may, on the other hand, become a terrific energy for the propagation of disease. Milk is one of the most perfect of "culture fluids"; and the bacteria which get into it from external sources, after it is drawn, increase with the most astonishing rapidity. It was my effort to have the milk sold at my depot so drawn, handled, and transported as to reduce to a minimum the chances of pollution. The milk was delivered at the wharf in the early morning, and that sold in bottles was immediately subjected to the sterilizing process. The purchaser certainly got it in a condition of as nearly perfect purity as money could procure in New York. A modified milk was also sterilized and sold, consisting of one gallon of pure milk, one gallon of filtered water, and twelve ounces of sugar of milk. My sales for the season were 32,000 quarts of pure milk and 34,000 bottles of sterilized milk, both in pure and modified form. More than one thousand sick babies were fed on the sterilized milk during the months of June, July, August, and September. Most of them were ill with cholera infantum, and the benefit due to the improvement in their food was immediate and amazing. The ratio of deaths was very low—not over 10 per cent. at the outside. A great many families (five

hundred a day in extreme hot weather) were supplied with pure milk. Their sick, puny children were provided with healthful food, and the mothers were enlightened as to the value of pure milk, and taught that it could be had at lower rates than are charged by careless grocers for old or diluted or skimmed milk.

The prices were uniform throughout the season:

4 cents a quart for pure milk.
1½ cents a bottle for sterilized pure milk.
1 cent a bottle (6 ounces) modified milk.
1 cent a glass for pure milk.

I consider the furnishing of pure milk the most important benevolent undertaking with which I have been connected. I hope to be able this year to run two or three depots for its sale, instead of one as last year. I shall do what I can to make some impression on the quality of the general supply, and I shall be able to furnish public institutions with all the pure milk which they require. But no single effort can do more than make a slight impression on the appalling sum of infant mortality due to the consumption of impure milk. I cannot impress too strongly on the attention of the benevolent the necessity of devoting their attention to this subject, and their money to the establishing of agencies throughout the city where cows' milk in its normal purity can be purchased by the poor.

The condition of the labor market during the winter through which we have just passed seriously complicated the ordinary problems of the philanthropist. The area of charitable effort was greatly enlarged, and superadded to it there was a new and perplexing sphere to be treated as one of temporary relief. It seems to me that sufficient pains have not been taken to keep the two apart. It may not be possible to do so with absolute strictness, but it is, for many reasons, desirable that the attempt should be made. A workingman temporarily deprived of the means of earning a living, and brought face to face with starvation for himself and his family, should not be treated as if he were a pauper. Any form of charitable organization which defines him as such, and considers his case as it would that of the veriest tramp, is merely an influence to degrade him. Just in proportion as it weakens his pride and lowers his self-respect by an indiscriminate use of its methods of investigation and its attitude of unsympathetic suspicion, does it contribute to the

process of pauperizing him. He may have exhausted his credit, stripped his house of everything he could part with, received all the help he could claim from the relief fund of his union or benefit society, but he remains one of the effective elements of the productive wealth of the country. In the most purely material sense it is desirable that he should be enabled to continue to be what he is, without cultivating habits of dependence or of being brutally reminded that society has no time to make fine distinctions between honest want and shiftless pauperism.

So far as I can judge from my own observation, the people who are most earnestly bent on doing good to their fellow-men are those who like to do it most unobtrusively, and who are most anxious to have the help come in a way which neither degrades nor offends the receiver. And here I must make bold to challenge some of the methods of our organized charities. It has not appeared to me that they are careful enough to employ only such people as have a genuine human sympathy with the objects of their bounty. There is no charity so fine, and there is none so prevalent, as that of the poor to those who are poorer. There are no almoners less likely to make mistakes than those who have known how hard it is to confess want, and have it grudgingly or superciliously relieved. It has always seemed to me that the true rule of conduct in dealing with those of our fellow-beings who need help is *to put ourselves in their place. Let the man who wants to do good ask himself how he would like to be treated if he were the man whom he is trying to help.* It is an old and familiar rule, but it seems as difficult to live up to as when it was first recognized as the foundation of all well-doing and the keystone of the whole fabric of morality.

I have insisted that my own work should not be regarded as among the charities. To preserve alike the independence of my customers and my own freedom of action, I have steadily claimed for it a place as a business enterprise. Others have entered the same field, and have retired discouraged and disappointed, because they took a different point of view. They found it intolerable that the poor people who bought their groceries or cheap coal should be utterly oblivious to the fact that they were receiving a favor. *But this is precisely the mental attitude which I think it most desirable for them to maintain.* I gave the very

strictest orders to all in my employ to listen patiently and respectfully to every complaint made in regard to the weight and quality of the goods purchased. My contract was to deliver to all comers a certain quantity of coal, bread, tea, coffee, sugar, or flour of a certain fixed standard for five cents. If I failed in that, my customers had against me a legitimate ground of complaint, and I expected them to be perfectly free in making their dissatisfaction known, whether it was well-grounded or not.

The coalyards were reopened in November, 1893, for the winter of 1893-94. I found that the customers of the first year were anxiously awaiting the arrival of the coal. News that the carpenters were at work upon the bins spread quickly through the surrounding districts, and the people impatiently looked forward to the day that would see the yards ready for business again. There were four yards this last season: At the foot of East Third Street, at the foot of Rutgers Street, at the foot of West Fifty-second Street, and at 345 Grand Street. The trade on the first day exceeded the most sanguine expectations, and during the progress of the winter grew to amazing proportions. For weeks, the amount of coal sold daily ranged from 250 to 350 tons—from 500,000 to 700,000 pounds; and this great weight was borne away on the shoulders of the customers, of whom women and children were the great majority. Many of them trudged long distances to and from their homes to avail themselves of the opportunity to obtain the best coal at the lowest prices. The price of coal, except in the first three or four weeks, was five cents for twenty-five pounds. At the Third Street coal depot I also sold bread, tea, and coffee, giving for five cents two pounds of wheaten bread or two and one-half pounds of rye, six ounces of tea or six ounces of coffee. The small grocery store was liberally patronized during the winter, and averaged 800 to 1,000 customers per day.

Contrary to the opinion of some experts in charitable work, I hold that the harm done to the character of man or woman in being required to make a public confession of pauperism as a condition of being helped in hard times is infinitely more serious than any harm which can ensue from selling coal and groceries at cost to some people who can afford to pay a profit on them. It may be safely assumed that those who will carry away twenty-five pounds of coal on their backs because

it is cheap, have a very urgent necessity of being careful of their pennies. The battle against starvation is at all times and under all circumstances a bitter one, and I think the majority of people would prefer to be left to fight it in their own way, without advertising their necessities either to their friends or the world at large. To supply them with cheap fuel and food has been my way of trying to help the suffering poor to make their little go as far as possible in keeping the wolf from the door. When that little was exhausted and they had to claim charitable relief, their case might, properly enough, become a subject for investigation, but while they have cash to offer for what they buy, I cannot see that the fact of giving them rather more than their money's worth entitles the seller to ask for any guarantee that the purchaser is in want.

At least one large-hearted man in this community thoroughly agreed with me in this position, and came to me with an earnest desire to duplicate and expand some of my work. The fact that there was in New York no more sympathetic observer of that work than Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan was first conveyed to me by our common friend, Mr. H. Winthrop Gray. A few brief conferences with Mr. Morgan were all that was needed as a preliminary to the equipment and opening of a large central depot for coal and groceries at 345 Grand Street. The building has a frontage of 50 feet, is 75 feet deep, and consists of five stories and a basement. It was rented on Wednesday, December 27th, and was opened on the morning of Saturday, December 30th, with a cargo of coal in the cellar, 6,000 loaves of fresh bread on the shelves, and thousands of packages of tea which had been weighed and wrapped on the Thursday and Friday previous. Later, coffee, sugar and flour were added to the stock, and all the articles were sold in five cent quantities as follows:

Coal	25 pounds
Tea	6 ounces
Bread	2 loaves
Coffee	6 ounces
Sugar	1¼ pounds
Flour	3¼ pounds

The business of the store grew with amazing rapidity, as many as 24,000 five-cent tickets being sold in a day. At the date of writing this, it is still doing a very large business, but it will close on Saturday, April 14th, with the disappearance of many of the conditions which it was intended to mitigate. The

store was organized and equipped under my personal supervision, but all the expenses in connection with it were borne by Mr. Morgan, who experienced very great satisfaction with the results we were able to achieve. Complete returns of sales from the coal depots, from the Third Street grocery, and from Grand Street up to March 31st, present a somewhat imposing array of figures. Massed together they are as follows :

	Quantities.	Value.
Coal	32,716,235 pounds	$65,533
Sugar	375,150 "	15,125
Bread	370,694 "	9,278
Flour	151,508 "	2,450
Coffee	69,812 "	9,200
Tea	48,563 "	5,550
Total		$107,136

One indirect effect of these coal and grocery depots was to reduce the price of the commodities in which they dealt over a considerable part of the neighboring area. In so far as my own coal business was concerned, I had no hesitation in undertaking it from the fear of injuring any one. The large dealers in coal are mostly rich and prosperous men whom no such competition could possibly affect. To the grocery store the sale of coal is merely incidental, and the pedlars who are the chief distributors in the tenement districts, could readily find some other marketable product in which to trade. People who could afford to pay for the cartage of their coal would still buy from them, in any case ; it was only the very poor who were likely to be my customers. But if we are to deal in a large way with the very important problem of the economical distribution of the necessaries of life, it will be impossible to stop to balance the interests of the few against those of the million. As a contribution to organized or individual effort in this direction the experience of my stores has a very direct value. Without going into figures, I can say that an addition of twenty-five per cent. on the price, or a deduction of twenty-five per cent. from the quantity, would about represent the difference between profit and loss on all the articles of daily use which were sold at the yards and stores above enumerated. I do not include in this the expense of fitting up, which was necessarily a disproportionately large addition to the cost of running the business, being done for a short season and a special emergency. In an established business, too, the size of the packages dealt in might be increased with a manifest saving both in the wages of the packer and the waste of material.

But even on the basis of five-cent quantities of everything, and with due allowance for annual interest on the cost of equipment, I am convinced that a decrease of twenty-five per cent. in the weight given could be made to yield a slight margin of profit.

To another branch of the work which I instituted at my own charge and solely on my own responsibility, these considerations do not apply. I refer to the lodging-house system, which grew under my hands as the pressure of the winter increased, till it attained dimensions on which I had not at all calculated when I undertook it. I was painfully impressed with the number of men out of employment who were condemned to spend the night walking the streets, and I resolved that, while this state of things continued, no man who could scrape together five cents should be deprived of a clean bed and a sufficient breakfast. In January, 1894, I fitted up a building at 54 West Fifteenth Street, for a lodging-house, and placed it in the charge of the Rev. C. H. Yatman, who consented to undertake its management. To each lodger was furnished a comfortable cot, which was provided with a leather cover, a pillow and pillow case, a pair of sheets, and a pair of warm blankets. In addition to this bed, a breakfast of as much bread as a man could eat, and as much coffee as he could drink, was given to each lodger. The price for the lodging, including breakfast, was five cents. This house accommodated 254 lodgers, and grew so rapidly in the favor of the unemployed that within a short time a second building at 108 West Eighteenth Street was engaged. It was quickly fitted up, and although it accommodated 311 men, it was soon filled, and there was left a large overflow of applicants for a night's shelter. As Mr. Yatman was willing to superintend the accommodation of more than a thousand men, another large building was engaged at 143 Bleeker Street. This building accommodated 450 men, but it did not provide sufficient accommodations for all of those who sought shelter, so a fourth lodging-house, accommodating 200 men, was opened at 101 and 103 Wooster Street. This latter place was furnished to me, free of rent, by a friend, Mr. Leon Tanenbaum, and his aid is the only contribution I have accepted, though many have been tendered, toward the expense of the various lodging-houses, which are now accommodating more than 1,200 men and women nightly. After the third lodging-house was opened, a portion of the first one, at 54 West Fifteenth Street,

was given over to women, and from 50 to 75 have been housed there every night. During the eleven weeks ending with March 31st, 52,776 men had shelter and breakfast at my lodging-houses. Of these 52,303 paid five cents each, and 473 were admitted free. For the eight weeks in which accommodations were provided for women, 3,286 claimed the benefit of them, of which 3,149 paid the five cents admission charge, and 137 were lodged free. For the breakfast of these lodgers, 4,160 pounds of coffee were consumed, and 50,304 loaves of wheaten bread. Mr. Yatman superintended and selected all the help necessary for keeping the lodging-houses in order, and attended to the preparation and serving of the breakfast for the lodgers. To his energy and zeal the success of this part of my enterprise is largely due. I have only two rules for the government of the lodging-houses—no intoxicated persons are admitted, and all disorderly persons are promptly ejected. No distinction is made because of race, creed, or color, and I find no jar arising from either the mixing of nationalities or the juxtaposition of white men and negroes. No questions are asked of any applicants for admission, and no investigation made of their character or antecedents. If there be room for them they get in on the payment of five cents, and so by no agency of mine is there any diminution of their sense of independence or self-respect. Those admitted free are strictly exceptional cases. Seven o'clock is the hour fixed for opening the doors, and within half an hour everybody is expected to be in bed. No talking is permitted after that, and every one is made to feel that it is for his own personal interest to have order strictly maintained. Tramps and professional beggars are not likely to submit to discipline like this, and it may safely be asserted that my lodgers have come mainly from the ranks of workingmen out of a job, or so reduced by hard times as to have no permanent home. My confidence in the honor and law-abiding instincts of my lodgers has been fully justified. As these lines are sent to the printer, over 60,000 men and women have enjoyed the advantages of a night's shelter and breakfast for five cents, but not once has it been necessary to call in a policeman to maintain order. The services of a detective or "bouncer" have been dispensed with. This is a record which cannot be excelled by the best hotel in the city.

That such men as I lodged at night should not be compelled

to go hungry by day, I opened on March 9 on the first floor of the Bleecker Street lodging-house, a lunch counter at which all applicants might have a large sandwich of corned beef and bread and a bowl of coffee for two cents, or the coffee and bread without the meat for one cent. From the date of opening to April 4—26 days—32,545 persons were fed here, and there were used for their lunches 8,656 pounds of meat, 1,200 cans of condensed milk, 1,600 pounds of coffee, 1,400 pounds of sugar, and 11,000 loaves of bread. The experience here has been in no sense different from that of the other enterprises. Everybody who had two cents was made welcome, and, however great the crowd might be at certain hours of the day, there was always enough for everybody to eat. The customers were as orderly and well-behaved as those at the most pretentious lunch counter, and they went away with as little feeling of having been the recipients of charity as the men who a few blocks away paid 30 cents for a smaller ration of bread, meat, and coffee.

NATHAN STRAUS.

THIS TICKET IS GOOD FOR { LODGING AND BREAKFAST if presented before SEVEN O'CLOCK in the evening at 54 West Fifteenth Street, at 108 West Eighteenth Street, at 143 Bleecker Street, and at 103 Wooster Street.

OR IT IS GOOD FOR { SIX OUNCES OF TEA OR COFFEE, or 2 pounds of BREAD, or 25 pounds of COAL on the Pier at foot of East Third Street.

OR IT IS GOOD FOR { TWENTY-FIVE POUNDS OF COAL { On the Pier at foot of Rutgers Street. / Or on the Pier at foot of West Fifty-second street.

OR IT IS GOOD FOR { SIX OUNCES OF TEA OR COFFEE, or 2 pounds of BREAD, or 1¼ pounds of SUGAR, or 25 pounds of COAL, or 3¼ pounds of FLOUR at 345 Grand Street.

OR IT IS GOOD FOR { A LUNCH (consisting of ⅛ lb. Cornbeef, 1 lb. Bread, and a Bowl of Coffee) at 143 Bleecker Street.

This Ticket is good for one thing only.

I have laid more emphasis than may, perhaps, be deemed necessary on the fact that in all these enterprises, with the exception of the Grand Street store and the renting of the Wooster Street lodging-house, the expense was borne solely by myself. I must disclaim any personal credit on this score, for there is no lack of people in New York willing to spend their money in doing good. I could have had all the aid I wanted for the asking. But it has seemed to me that no slight part of the value of my work consists in the demonstration that it affords of the superior effectiveness of the individual initiative and superintendence, to any other way of administering benevolence. I had no com-

mittee to consult before carrying out a project, and no delay was caused by waiting for their approval. I furnished the funds, selected my lieutenants, and gave my instructions. These were carried out promptly; and in a much shorter time than would have been required to discuss it, the scheme was in perfect working order. Had I stopped to take the advice of others, some of these enterprises would never have been carried out at all. The lodging-house project was, especially, the subject of the most discouraging predictions. I hold that the further the individual becomes separated from the objects of his benevolence, the less will be the moral effect of his well-doing. I have sought, as far as I could, to hold out a helping hand to my unfortunate fellow-men in a spirit of sympathy and confidence, instead of one of prying suspicion and distrust. I have tried to assist the very poor to tide over a hard time by making it easier for them to obtain the simple necessities of life. In doing so I have fondly hoped that I was diminishing the incentives to crime, as well as lessening the hatred which those who feel the pinch of poverty are apt to entertain for their more fortunate fellow-men. I am free to say that no pastime, however rare and costly, to which my tastes may incline, would have yielded me so much unalloyed pleasure as the work whose progress and results I have outlined. I put it to the wealthy, among whom I shall hardly be ranked, that there is at all times a field open for them to show by their personal efforts and influence that they have a genuine fellow-feeling for the poor. It seems to me that this cannot be more effectually done than by a well-regulated series of enterprises that, on the face of them, are profit-sharing with the wage-earners. Were this field fully occupied, the shriek of the anarchist, if heard, would not be heeded, and society would be at least one step nearer to the time when inequality of fortune shall be no more a reason for envious attack, than inequality of the gifts of nature, and when all projects of destructive levelling shall have passed into oblivion.

NATHAN STRAUS.

THE HOPES OF FREE SILVER.

BY THE HON. R. P. BLAND, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON COINAGE, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES, OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THE word seigniorage as applied to the coinage means in the original or true sense the *toll* or *charge* exacted at the mints for the coinage of bullion into money. This toll or charge is always, as a matter of right, exercised by governments. It may be so great as to practically exclude all deposits for coinage, or may be so small as to invite the deposit of bullion for coinage. Our mint laws as to the coinage of gold bullion for private holders are exceedingly liberal. The only charge exacted for the mintage of gold is the payment on the part of the depositor of the expense of the alloy that goes into the gold coin.

The alloy of our gold and silver coins, as fixed by the Act of February 12th, 1873, and now in force, is as follows:

Sec. 13. "That the standard for both gold and silver coins of the United States shall be such that of one thousand parts by weight nine hundred shall be of pure metal and one hundred of alloy; and the alloy of the silver coins shall be of copper, and the alloy of the gold coins shall be of copper or of copper and silver; but the silver shall in no case exceed one-tenth of the whole alloy."

The act of January, 1837, which provided for the unlimited coinage of both gold and silver, fixed the mint charges in section 18 of the act as follows:

Sec. 18. "And be it further enacted, That the only subjects of charge by the mint to the depositor shall be the following: For refining when the bullion is below standard; for toughening when metals are contained in it which render it unfit for coinage; for copper used for alloy when the bullion is above standard; for silver introduced into the alloy of gold, and for separating the gold and silver when these metals exist together in the bullion; and that the rate of these charges shall be fixed from time to time, by the Director, with the concurrence of the Secretary of the Treasury, so as not to exceed, in their judgment, the actual expense to the mint of the

materials and labor employed in each of the cases aforementioned, and that the amount received from these charges shall be accounted for, and appropriated for defraying the contingent expenses of the mint."

It will be observed that the seigniorage or mint charges for the coinage of gold and silver was very slight.

The act of February 12th, 1873, known as the Demonetization Act, prohibited the coinage of the standard silver dollar. Since that time all the silver dollars coined have been coined on government account. That is to say, the government has purchased the bullion and coined it as prescribed by law. After the demonetization statute of 1873 no standard dollars were coined until after the passage of the act of February 28th, 1878. The first section of that act provides as follows:

Sec. 1. "That there shall be coined at the several mints of the United States silver dollars of the weight of 412½ grains troy of standard silver, as provided in the act of January the 18th, 1837, on which shall be the devices and superscriptions provided by said act; which coins together with all silver dollars heretofore coined by the United States, of like weight and fineness, shall be a legal tender at their nominal value, for all debts and dues public and private, except where otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract. And the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to purchase, from time to time, silver bullion at the market price thereof, not less than two million dollars' worth per month, nor more than four million dollars' worth per month, and cause the same to be coined monthly as fast as so purchased into such dollars; and a sum sufficient to carry out the foregoing provisions of this act is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated. And any *gain* or *seigniorage* arising from this coinage shall be accounted for and paid into the Treasury as provided for under existing laws relative to the subsidiary coinage; provided that the amount of money at any one time invested in such silver bullion, exclusive of such resulting coin, shall not exceed five million dollars. And provided further, that nothing in this act shall be construed to authorize the payment in silver of certificates of deposit issued under the provisions of Section 254 of the Revised Statutes."

This act provides for the *gain* or *seigniorage* that may accrue in the purchase and coinage of the bullion. The profit or seigniorage is fixed, as is provided by law, for subsidiary coinage. This gain is the difference between the cost of the bullion in the market and the value or ratio fixed by law for its coinage. The difference therefore between the cost of the bullion and the amount of dollars the bullion will coin at the mints is denominated the seigniorage.

The act of July 14th, 1890, commonly called the Sherman law, provides in section three as follows:

Sec. 3. "The Secretary of the Treasury shall each month coin two million ounces of the silver bullion, purchased under the provisions of this act, into standard silver dollars until the first day of July, eighteen hundred and ninety-one, and after that time he shall coin the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act, as much as may be necessary to provide for the redemption of the Treasury notes herein provided for, and any *gain* or *seigniorage* arising from such coinage shall be accounted for and paid into the Treasury."

This law contained the same provisions substantially as regards the gain or seigniorage as is found in the act of 1878 before quoted. According to the last annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury, there is now in the Treasury 140,699,760 fine ounces of silver bullion purchased under the Sherman act. The cost of this bullion was $126,758,218. This bullion will coin 181,914,899 silver dollars. The difference between the cost of the bullion and the amount of dollars it will coin is $55,156,681. This is the gain or seigniorage that was proposed to be coined by the Seigniorage bill and to be used in the payment of the public expenditures. The first section of the bill provides substantially that the Secretary of the Treasury shall cause to be coined as fast as possible the silver bullion purchased in pursuance of the act of July 14th, 1890, to the amount of the gain or seigniorage of such bullion; to wit, the sum of $55,156,681, and to use such coin or the silver certificates issued thereon in the payment of public expenditures.

The second section provides that after the coinage of the seigniorage the remainder of the bullion shall be coined, and the coin held in the Treasury for the redemption of the Treasury notes issued in the purchase of the bullion; that the act should not be construed to change existing law as to the legal-tender character or mode of redemption of the Treasury notes. The act does not take from the Secretary of the Treasury his power to redeem the notes in gold at his discretion, but it does provide that the notes shall not be reissued, but shall be cancelled and destroyed as fast as the bullion shall be coined into a redemption fund; that is when there should be a sufficient amount of standard silver dollars coined from the bullion to take the place of the notes in the currency, the notes from time to time should be destroyed in amounts equal to the coin held in the Treasury for their redemption and silver certificates should be issued on such coin.

The contention that there is no seigniorage to be coined does

not hold good in the face of the law to the contrary. The Sherman law before referred to, in section three, dedicates the bullion purchased to the redemption of the notes issued in the purchase of the bullion by the *coinage* of the bullion for that purpose. It is true that the bullion is set apart to redeem the notes, but this redemption is to be had by the coinage of the bullion into standard silver dollars. The bullion is to be coined, and the standard dollars coined from it is the redemption fund set apart. The gain or seigniorage arising from the coinage is to be paid into the Treasury. Nothing can be plainer than this law. The Seigniorage bill provides for the coining of this gain. This gain is well known, and can be determined as well before the coinage as afterwards; in fact the Secretary of the Treasury in his last annual report states precisely what this gain is; to wit, the sum of $55,156,681.

The fact that silver bullion has fallen in the markets since the passage of the Sherman law has nothing to do with the question. At the time of the passage of the Sherman law the amount of bullion in the silver dollar was worth in the markets, as bullion, at the gold valuation, only about 72 cents. But the law of the Senator, whose name it bears, provided this bullion should be coined into such dollars and held for the redemption of the notes. It does not lie in his mouth to declaim against his own enactments. The Sherman bill required this bullion to be coined into the standard silver dollar, and the coin to be used for the redemption of the notes, and any gain or seigniorage to be paid into the Treasury. This bullion was purchased to be coined, not to be hoarded as bullion. As bullion it cannot be used for any purpose whatever. No one proposes to sell it as bullion. This would be in bad faith. All the friends of silver contend for is, obedience to the law. The Seigniorage bill compels the execution of the Sherman law. The state of the Treasury at this time justifies the coinage of the Seigniorage first, and the use of the money in the payment of public expenditures. This is a lawful and feasible mode of providing revenue. It is not lawful, nor is it good public policy, for the Secretary of the Treasury to issue bonds for the ostensible purpose of maintaining specie payment as provided for in the resumption act of 1875, and after thus obtaining the money for such an alleged purpose illegally use it for another.

The veto of the Seigniorage bill, for the reasons stated in the President's message—that is to say, that no further silver coinage is practicable, unless the coinage is safeguarded by an issue of bonds to procure gold to put behind the silver dollar—makes the issue plain and direct between the advocates of the single gold standard and the friends of bimetallism. No such thing as bimetallism exists where one metal is made the sole standard.

The standard of money, or the money of ultimate redemption, must rest on both metals, or there is no meaning to the word bimetallism. Yet bimetallism does not mean two standards, but rather an alternative standard. Indeed its logical analysis is that the standard rests upon the combined mass of both gold and silver money. The President's veto, however, states the condition of the gold standard, which tacitly admits there is not sufficiency of gold to go round, or to supply the needs of the currency, either in the coin itself or the paper representative issued thereon, dollar for dollar. To make tolerable the gold standard, there must be a very large over-issue of paper money, which, to keep the parity, must be redeemed in gold. But there can be no increase of this representative money without a corresponding increase of the gold reserve, which requires increased bonded debt. This bonded debt must necessarily increase from time to time, in order to supply the demand for gold by the holders of the credit notes, as well as to secure any further increase of the circulating medium. Any one at a glance must see that here is an endless chain of gold drainage from the Treasury, and the resulting effect more bond issues. Bonded debt can thus be piled on the taxpayers without any limit. Such a system is preposterous and ought not to be tolerated. Nor can the answer be made to this fatal objection by relegating the currency issue to national banks, for at last the government is responsible for the gold to redeem the bank notes. The ultimate redemption of the bank note is fixed as a burden upon the bonds deposited for the security of the noteholders. This bond is a government bond. The government must redeem it and thus pay the noteholders. The following excerpt from the Washington *Evening Star*, of March 20th, is significant of the power sought to be exercised by the owners of gold in controlling legislation on the financial question :

NEW YORK, March 20.—A meeting of bankers has been called for tomorrow to protest against the signing of the Seigniorage bill. Bankers

claim that when they subscribed for the bonds it was stated that there would be no inflation legislation.

A meeting of the subscribers to the new United States five per cent. loan will be held to-morrow at the Union Trust Company for the purpose of preparing a memorial to the President against his signing the Seigniorage bill. The call for the meeting is signed by George G. Williams, President of the Chemical National Bank; John A. Stewart, President of the United States Trust Company; and Edward King, President of the Union Trust Company.

At the special meeting of the Chamber of Commerce held to-day to protest against the Bland Seigniorage bill, now in the hands of the President, it was decided to send a committee of fifteen to Washington to personally protest against the President affixing his signature to the bill. They will carry with them an address prepared by the Executive Committee and adopted by the chamber.

Charles Stewart Smith called the chamber to order at 12:30 to-day. There was a full attendance of members.

Henry Hentz, Chairman of the Executive Committee, read the address that is to be presented to the President. Brayton Ives said the President must be urged to veto the bill. If he did not do so it would be a violation of a stipulation made between the Administration and the bankers of New York. Mr. Ives also said that if the bill became law it would cause an immediate withdrawal of gold from the Treasury.

Cornelius N. Bliss moved the adoption of the report, which was carried.

The Committee appointed to go to Washington are: A. E. Orr, Brayton Ives, Henry W. Cannon, Morris K. Jessup, George Wilson, Louis Windmüller, Edward O. Leech, Hugh N. Camp, Charles Stewart Smith, John Crosby Brown, W. W. Sherman, J. Edward Simmons, Solon B. Humphreys, and Henry Hentz.

A telegram was sent to the President asking an audience and stating that a committee would wait on him to-morrow morning.

The plain meaning of all this is that the people's money, under the operation of the gold standard, is wholly at the mercy of the few who by their great wealth are enabled to own and control the scanty gold supply. They practically dictate terms to the people on the money question. No financial legislation can be possible without first consulting the wishes of this great and powerful interest in Lombard and Wall streets. If their demands are refused and legislation is enacted over their protest, dire consequences must follow, for they have it in their power to loot the Treasury of its gold at any time and compel bond issues to replenish it. This operation can be carried on *ad infinitum*.

It is here pointed out that notwithstanding the Treasury needs money to pay the ordinary expenses of the government, and notwithstanding the government has assets of its own dedicated by law to the coinage, yet without the consent of the great and powerful owners of gold the Treasury assets cannot be used

in the payment of government demands. What a pitiable confession—Lombard and Wall streets are the complete masters of the people! The government is wholly paralyzed, as it stands in financial awe and dread of these gold gamblers. This state of things is simply scandalous. A silver standard or any other system that would free the people from such abject slavery would be preferable.

The free coinage of silver and gold, with notes issued on the coins, dollar for dollar, would relieve all this strain on the Treasury. Indeed, the Treasury would simply be the custodian of the deposited coin, and would have no other burden than to keep the coin in safe vaults, to be paid out when demanded and to receive back the coin again and issue coin notes against the coin.

This system would occasion no bond issues; no doubt of the ability of the government to return the coin the citizen had deposited for a government note. The expense to the government this system would involve would be more than compensated by the loss and destruction of the notes issued, the coin on which the notes were issued remaining the property of the government.

In the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for April, 1893, the writer hereof made the following statement:

"It would be well for the Democratic party, and for the country, could the questions of taxation and reduction of pensions, as well as a reduction of expenditures all along the line, be settled before entering the bitter struggle over the money question. The money question must, however, be met some time. When it is forced as the issue it may develop a necessity for a reorganization of political parties. The battle of the standard is the coming battle the world over, when it is pushed to the front for final settlement—the question as to whether silver shall be placed at its old status as the equal, if not the superior, of gold in our financial system, or totally demonetized. It will be a battle-royal.

"The time is not to be long deferred when this battle of the standards will be fought to a finish. On the one side will be arrayed the rich and powerful banks of the Old World and of the New; on the other, the mass of our people, especially those west of the Alleghany Mountains, loaded down as they are with debts and mortgages, with a vast country yet to be touched by the hand of industry and enterprise, demanding money without limit, except as to its supply from nature.

"The money question when brought forward for final solution must of necessity involve the question of the standard; whether it shall be a standard resting upon both metals, gold and silver, or the single gold standard. Compromises and makeshifts have heretofore only checked the fighting. When pressed forward, as it seems may be done ahead of tariff, and all other reforms, by the Democratic party, the peril of defeat for tariff reductions, pension reforms, and other reforms in our expenditures is great. It

may be that those who wish to postpone and defeat tariff reform are more than willing to press other great measures ahead of it. The Democratic party will make a great mistake if such should be the policy adopted."

The unfortunate condition in which the Democratic party was placed at the meeting of Congress in extra session, in August last, called as it was for the sole purpose of repealing the purchasing clause of the Sherman Act, resulted in an open rupture between the friends of silver and the Administration. That breach might have been, at least, partially closed by the signing of the Seigniorage bill by the President, but his veto of that measure has widened the difference between the Executive and the Democrats of the West and South. It has caused a feeling of resentment that will probably culminate in hostile resolutions in all Western and Southern platforms on the currency question and practical reorganization of the Democracy in those sections, in emphatic antagonism to the Administration.

In the event of the disruption of the Democratic party, the Republican party will find itself arrayed in hostile camps, resulting in the final overthrow of this organization. Indeed the seeds of unrest and discontent among the rank and file of the Republican party are plainly visible. It is very doubtful, even with the vantage ground the leaders now have, if they can hold their followers in the South and West. The silver question will, in the coming elections, be vastly paramount to all other issues. On this issue the Republican party has no right, from its record, to claim the support or sympathy of the free-coinage people of the country. The result of the elections next fall cannot with any degree of certainty be forecast. Unless there is a radical change from present political conditions, the Presidential contest in 1896 will bring the silver issue to a final settlement. The outlook now portends a united Democracy of the West and South on a platform for *freer trade and free coinage of both metals.* The body of the rank and file of the Democracy of the East will go with the party on this platform and leave the Tory leaders to finish what may be at that time left of the job they now have on hand—of cutting each other's throats.

Against this reorganized and popular Democracy will be arrayed the Republican party, around whose banner will rally the Tories of gold monometallism and the plutocracy of the tariff barons. It will be a battle-royal for freedom. The power of the

cohorts of gold monopoly, tariff and consequent *trusts*, as well as plutocracy in all its forms, will be challenged to mortal combat by the outraged commonalty of this country. The discontent throughout the world, consequent upon the restriction of the standard of money, is fast concentrating and massing the people for a fight that will make the closing years of the nineteenth century momentous in history. This condition is apparent in all gold-standard countries. These results were predicted by the opponents of gold monometallism from the beginning of the anti-silver crusade in 1872–1873. The action of England in suspending the free coinage of silver in India last summer, done, doubtless, for the purpose of aiding the overthrow of silver here, thus securing the unconditional repeal of the Sherman act, and the recent veto of the Seigniorage bill, has brought our people face to face with the alternative of submitting to the dictation of a few people who control the gold of the world, and who are determined, by means of the single gold standard, to dictate and control the financial affairs of the people, or of making war uncompromisingly against the inevitable degradation and slavery such arrogance of power implies.

R. P. BLAND.

HOSTILITY TO ROMAN CATHOLICS.

BY GEORGE PARSONS LATHROP, LL. D., AND THE RIGHT REV. WILLIAM CROSWELL DOANE, BISHOP OF ALBANY.

MR. LATHROP:

THE Hon. Thomas M. Waller, ex-Governor of Connecticut, tells me that some thirty or forty years ago, when the Catholics of New London were but a handful, a violent windstorm one night blew the cross on their tiny church half-way around, so that in the morning it was seen standing oblique. At once a rumor spread through the town that this was the signal for a "rising" of Catholics. No one knew what they were to "rise" for; but a panic notion prevailed that they somehow intended to overpower their non-Catholic fellow-citizens, who *outnumbered* them about a hundred to one.

This notion and the puny fear indulged by the majority were unworthy of Americans, who ought to be not only patriotic, but also intelligent, reasonable, and brave. Yet precisely the same weak and foolish alarm to-day actuates those who are loudest in claiming to be "Americans," but tremble with dread of being overcome by some ten million of their fellow-citizens, to whom they inferentially deny the national name. The cause of their alarm and of the virulent hostility shown by them toward Catholics is the same as in the case just cited; namely, wind. Only, now, it is the wind of their own breath that blows the cross into some strange position, whereat they fall into spasms of terror, like children who play at frightening themselves.

One of the organizations which have taken part in this ghost-dance, supposed to be prophetic of imaginary "risings," is the American Mechanics. They profess that there is nothing in their constitution opposed to Catholics; but, being a secret

society, they do not disclose what there is behind or above their constitution. It is certain that Catholics are rarely, if ever, admitted to their rolls; and that they have thrown their votes against candidates for public office, not because of unfitness, but simply because these candidates were Catholics. Lately they have taken to attending services, uniformed and with sword and banner, in Protestant churches—always those whose ministers are acrid toward Rome and throw out mysterious warnings against dangers of foreign domination. Many of their members are but recently naturalized, yet all assume to be superlatively American. They have been active in presenting national flags to public schools, a thing excellent in itself; but they have accompanied it with speeches at times grossly insulting and threatening toward Catholics. Indeed they seem to trail "Old Glory" in the dust, according to the Donnybrook coat-tail manner, with an invitation to us to step on it; so that they may prove—with fist or sword, with ballot or bullet (a word they are fond of)—how much they love it. This invitation has been politely but firmly unheeded; because no Catholic American will be a party to such degradation of the national ensign.

Another more pretentious affair is that secret, oath-bound clan, the American Protective Association—now generally known as "the A. P. A."—which, though working darkly, yet through the declared newspaper organs established by it (eighty in number), and its public speakers, has urged the political and commercial proscription of Catholics, and has hinted a cordial willingness to use deadly weapons against them. Although professing intense Americanism, it is known to have been prompted largely by Canadian Orangemen and to be in close sympathy with Orange lodges; thus importing into our national life a feud pertaining wholly to a foreign princedom. It has spread reports widely that arms are being secretly gathered in Catholic churches; apparently suffering from a Chinese confusion of the letters "r" and "l." *Alms* are collected in Catholic churches, but not *arms*. In every case where this insane or malicious charge was made specifically, its falsity has been exposed by an open inspection of the premises; for a little sacrifice of dignity was better than to allow these maligners to imperil the public peace and mutual confidence among citizens. On the other hand, a recent lawsuit to recover a balance on an unpaid bill for rifles

disclosed that the A. P. A.s of Toledo, Ohio, have themselves been purchasing firearms and forming thus a secret military troop, against the laws of the land! The A. P. A. oath binds members never to employ a Roman Catholic in any capacity if they can get a Protestant's service; to help "retard and break down the power of the Pope"; to oppose Roman Catholics for "any office in the gift of the American people"; and to "endeavor at all times to place the political positions of this government in the hands of Protestants." This oath is a self-confessed act of treason against the Republic, since it aims at disposing of offices "in the gift of the people" by a secret and lawless body of conspirators, who are but a small fraction of the people. The A. P. A. also sends out sonorous remonstrance against any "union of church and state." Yet its oath has in view the achievement of such union, for it proposes to place the government solely in the hands of Protestants; and Protestants, with all their subdivisions, constantly refer to themselves as "the church." Moreover, the general secretary of the A. P. A., Mr. Charles T. Beatty,* assures the public that the order "is composed of men who occupy high positions not only in commercial and professional life, but *also in State and Church.*"

The A. P. A. has gained some influence in Iowa, Wisconsin; in Detroit, Mich.; in Columbus and Toledo. O.; in Kansas City, Mo., and various other places. It has circulated, broadcast, bogus "encyclicals" attributed to the Pope, or instructions fraudulently signed with the names of Cardinal Gibbons and other prelates, ordering the Catholics of the United States to exterminate non-Catholics at a specified time last autumn. It has driven a good many Catholics out of office, elective or appointive, and effected the discharge of numerous Catholic employees, thus lessening or depriving them of their means of livelihood—a course which has led to retaliation by Catholics, in refusing to give their custom to business men known to be A. P. A.s. It has encouraged and paid anti-Catholic lecturers—chiefly fraudulent or dissolute and unfrocked "ex-priests" or "escaped nuns"—to travel the country and pour forth a flood of false, obscene, incendiary abuse upon this great body of our sincere, pure-minded men and women and their devoted spiritual guides and pastors.

* See his statement in *The Independent*, Jan. 18, 1894.

Would such a procedure, if directed against Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, or Episcopalians be tolerated for a month or a week by the public opinion of Protestants? Certainly it would not be tolerated by either the public or the private opinion of Catholics, if any one ventured so to assault their Protestant brothers and companions in citizenship. Why, then, has there been no general and decisive reproof by our non-Catholic neighbors of this indecent and un-American campaign against Catholics?

The A. P. A. has already contrived to bring about several riots, with the result of killing a number of persons. Some weeks ago, one of its lecturers, a J. V. McNamara, entered a hall in Kansas City where he was to lecture, carrying a loaded Winchester rifle, and called for twelve stout Protestants to gather round him as a bodyguard. He then proceeded to utter foul slanders against a venerable and saintly nun. But the Catholics who heard him, although intensely indignant, denied him the coveted opportunity of firing his rifle and bringing on a fight. They had him arrested for his defamatory speech, and the authorities jailed him for carrying weapons unlawfully and inciting to riot. Again, in Columbus, Ohio, this "patriotic" society raised a clamor against a local convent there; threatened to break into the house; a thing which it had about as much right to do as it would have to forcibly invade a Congregational minister's dwelling or an Episcopal old ladies' home. The Church authorities, acting in the interest of the public peace, thereupon opened the doors to a committee of citizens and officials, who went through the convent and ascertained that there were no dungeons or tortures or other of the alleged iniquities there.

From whom has the country most to fear—from Catholics who, as lay folk or religious devotees, mind their own business, abide by the laws, and make every effort to preserve the peace; or from these singular "protectors," who treat one-sixth of the nation as though they were aliens, foment mutual suspicion and bitterness, threaten religious liberty, break the laws, and stir up armed strife? A few public men, unprejudiced and patriotic non-Catholics, have denounced this incendiary movement with vigor. Many fair-minded Protestant ministers, with clear moral sight, have scored it as cowardly, as opposed to the American idea, and un-Christian. But by far the greater number have remained

silent, and so has the majority of the daily press; thus indicating tacit approval of a religious proscription which, were it attempted against any Protestant denomination, would arouse a din of remonstrance from every leading journal. Even the Rev. Washington Gladden, though loyally outspoken in condemning the A. P. A., is uneasy at "the attitude of some of the Roman Catholic leaders toward the public schools, and their attempts, in cities where they have the power, to use the municipal machinery for their own purposes." * Would he not feel justified in taking part in politics, with his own co-religionists, for good objects; just as the (Protestant) Evangelical Temperance organization publicly declares that "the Church" has a right "to engage in politics and government for moral and legislative ends"? Why should not Catholics enjoy equal freedom, as citizens, to hold opinions on morals or education, to engage in politics or government, to advance them? The Protestant religious press, further, largely abets the unpatriotic aim of the secret societies by making such wholly untrue utterances as these:

"[Mgr. Satolli] is clothed with papal powers in civil matters. . . His definite mission is to manipulate our political affairs until all branches of government are under control."—*The Christian at Work* (Methodist).

"No foe have we so much to fear as the Church of Rome. *She is the grand enemy of the Republic.*"—*The Christian Inquirer* (Baptist).

This kind of cry has also been taken up by another association, the League for the Protection of American Institutions, which is composed chiefly of very respectable men, some of whom have great wealth and influence. The mere conception of such a league is preposterous. Why, the whole American people are a "league for the protection of American institutions"! Can it be possible that we are reduced to the necessity of handing over the protection of our government and of our public affairs generally to a self-appointed society, however respectable? This League—the L. P. A. I.—is really a more discouraging sign of the times, and more dangerous to the welfare of the Republic, than secret alliances of the ignorant and the stupidly malicious, like the A. P. A. and its congeners; because it embraces so many of the intelligent, who have allowed themselves to be deluded by false catch-words. Its object, as proclaimed, is to secure an

* "The Anti-Catholic Crusade," *The Century Magazine*, March, 1894. There seems to be some confusion of ideas in calling the attack of a secret society upon upholders of the Cross a "crusade."

amendment to the constitution of every State, and to the Constitution of the United States, prohibiting the use of public property, credit, or money raised by tax, for aiding any institution which is wholly or in part under *sectarian or ecclesiastical control.* This is precisely what the Evangelical Alliance has, for years, attempted to achieve; and the corresponding secretary of that body now appears as the general secretary of this League. The real purpose is to prevent, permanently, any possible appropriation toward the support of Catholic parochial schools; as may be seen by its published documents, which refer to "a single religious denomination" which has "been assaulting the public-school system." Catholics have not assaulted that system, but they are the only religious body accused of doing so; hence the meaning is plain. One of the gentlest members of the L. P. A. I., a personal friend of mine, while expressing to me an earnest desire for a real "Christian union" of all Catholics and Protestants, told me that if he could have his way he would destroy every convent in the country! *Ab uno disce omnes.* The L. P. A. I. (consisting of Protestants) would join with us in sweetest harmony if we would abandon the religious education of parochial schools and incidentally destroy our convents and forsake the faith transmitted to us from Christ and the Apostles.

The L. P. A. I. says (Doc. No. 1):

"We want no *foreign schools,* with doctrines, ideas, and methods *at variance with our constitutional principles,* . . . and controlled by those who seek, *by perverting the infant mind of America,* to use the American suffrage *for the overthrow of American institutions* [!!]."

It also intimates that any sharing of school funds (for maintaining liberty of conscience) would come under the head of "acts of *licentiousness* or practices inconsistent with the peace and safety of the state," mentioned by the constitution of New York, or of "*crime* . . . sanctioned by any partisan sect which may designate it as religion." And it demands that elementary schools be *freed* from "denominational control." This is nothing less than an attack on the very existence of schools in which religion is taught, whether supported by individuals or the state. The L. P. A. I. further says (Doc. No. 19):

"We are not looking to monarchies for instruction concerning the best training of youth to fit them for citizenship in this republic. . . . Shall the common schools be disintegrated and destroyed by the dispersion and

use of their funds for sectarian ends? . . . Are our citizens in favor of the union of church and state? . . . These questions must be permanently settled for weal or woe."

I sincerely hope they will not be settled for "woe"; although what the A. P. A. and the L. P. A. I. seem to yearn for is precisely woe and uproar and a general shindy among citizens. The two bodies have several points in common. Both assume to regard Catholics as enemies of popular free education and as disloyal, or incapable of loyalty, to the United States. Now, these ideas are radically mistaken: they are without basis in either principle or fact, in the teachings of the Church, or the practice of her faithful children. Those wilful or misguided detractors who insist to the contrary blot out from memory such Catholic patriots as General Sheridan and that great Chief Justice of the United States, Roger Taney, who were eminent types of thousands of humbler citizens and soldiers who share their religion. In their general hatred of our doctrine, or their suspicion and dislike of one and another among the various race-stocks represented in the universal Church, they seem to forget that it includes a large number of people whose families have been settled in this country from the earliest colonial times, who are quite as well qualified to pronounce upon patriotism as any one else. To give an instance, my American ancestry runs back through a line of Yankee blood for 260 years, and numbers a long list of Puritans who were among the active and efficient founders of Massachusetts and Connecticut, as ministers, lawyers, governors, business men, farmers, builders. Honoring their good citizenship and their piety (according to their light), and with a love of broadening popular liberty inborn, I think I know what it is to be an American and to feel as an American. For one, then, I unhesitatingly declare that Catholic Christian faith and teaching deepen and strengthen even a long-inherited loyalty to my country; and that they must inevitably intensify the sentiment and principle of patriotism in all who accept them.

But such assurance does not rest on any one man's word. The Church, teaching us that all life, thought, and action depend on God and must be obedient to him, also incessantly impresses upon us the rule that we must obey the state, the constituted human government, as representing in so far the divine law. "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God

the things that are God's." The Church's commands are based on that commandment of Christ, in which there is no abnormal division or conflict of loyal duties, but simply a coördination of them. Neither is the loyalty of Catholics divided. They obey God and the Church in faith and morals, and the state in other matters.

"It is the duty of all, for conscience' sake, to obey the civil law and state authorities. . . . We are bound to obey the laws of the state when they are not contrary to the law of God. Should the law be unjust or in contempt of religion, we are not bound to obey it. . . . The motive of obedience should be, not merely fear of penalties, but *a conscientious sense of duty.*" *

Could there be anything more in accord with the American idea? Our nation is founded on obedience to just laws, with liberty to resist unjust ones. Catholics everywhere have the same right of self-government and of opposing tyranny which the founders of the Republic upheld—no more and no less. De Harbe, in his approved catechism, says we are bound to assist our temporal rulers

"in their necessities and dangers, and even to sacrifice our property and life for their defence against the enemies of our country;"

and that we SIN AGAINST THEM

"by *any sort of treason, or conspiracy against our government and country.*"

The Church counsels always moderation and peaceable, loyal methods in opposing unjust laws; yet St. Thomas Aquinas, whose teachings are ratified by it, held that *unjust taxation* is a sufficient cause for revolution by the people—the precise maxim on which our American revolution was based. Four centuries before our Puritan fathers landed here he also asserted that, for good government in any city or state, it is essential that "all should have a share in the government, for by this means peace is preserved and the constitution is loved and observed by all." The Church (as attested by the Protestant historian Guizot) has encouraged and coöperated with free popular government in many towns and states, since even before the eleventh century. The Papacy neither exerts nor claims any power to dictate the political action of Catholics, here or elsewhere. If religion itself or the political rights of Catholics be threatened, the Pope may

* *The Catholic Doctrine of Faith and Morals.* By Very Rev. William Byrne, D. D. With the sanction of His Eminence the Cardinal and other Church Authorities. Boston, 1892.

advise defensive action, either by abstention from voting or by the formation of a party ; but even then it is open to individual Catholics to follow that advice or not. They are very loth to take such steps, and are driven to them only by anti-religious or tyrannical secular powers. For Catholics are especially jealous and proud of their individual freedom as citizens, and do not like to limit their political independence even for the sake of protecting their faith. Their enemies sometimes force them into such limits, as a matter of self-preservation. But there is no power anywhere in the church that can compel the vote or action of a single Catholic against the secular government to which he has given allegiance, or against his conscience as a citizen. Leo XIII., denying indignantly, of late, the accusation that he had incited or aided revolt in Sicily against that Italian government which is so hostile to him, declared that "The man who does not love his fatherland is unworthy of the blessing of God." The Church has not, and from its nature cannot have, a fixed political policy ; its one object being to maintain Christian principle, morals, enlightenment, and spiritual life everywhere; whether in republican, monarchical, patriarchal, or tribal communities. It instills good citizenship, good morals, obedience in and to and for the state. On political questions, our Catholic citizens—as those who know them best must admit—are the most independent of all, and even the most divided among themselves.

As for free schools, the Protestant Hallam praises the Catholics of the sixth century for their zeal in founding them and promoting popular education. Catholics have maintained and multiplied such schools ever since, and set them up on this continent long before the Puritans erected their sectarian pay-schools, which were not free. Neither the Church nor its American members are trying to break down the public-school system. They wish to maintain the free schools which they themselves pay for, in which religion is taught; because to them religion is just as much a primary element in life and thought as arithmetic, and even more important than arithmetic or life itself. As to the sharing of public funds for part support of denominational schools, Catholics themselves are not at all agreed.* But even if they were a unit on the plan, there would be nothing

* See statements of twenty-nine archbishops and bishops, *The Independent*, January 11, 1894, only two of whom approved such a plan.

heinous or treasonable in it. "We are not looking to monarchies for instruction," says the L. P. A. I. Very well; then look to the republic of Switzerland, which is some three hundred years older than ours. In Switzerland, children are educated almost wholly in the public schools; but the state itself, in all but one canton, provides for their religious education, either in or out of the schoolhouse. It scrupulously arranges that neither Catholics, Protestants, nor Jews shall be subjected to any religious instruction other than that of their own belief.

The late George Washington, first President of the United States (whom the A. P. A. Orangemen, and the imported patriots of other secret societies seem to have forgotten), emphatically assured us that national morality could not exist without religious principles. The American schools of his day taught those principles. The schools of Switzerland instill them now. Is there, then, anything unpatriotic or unrepublican in the suggestion that our modern public schools in America should teach them, with due regard for the prepossessions of each pupil? Or is our Republic so feeble that it could not endure a sharing of funds with denominational schools, *per capita*, as in England, where the system has neither produced discord nor disloyalty nor disturbed the other public schools, but, on the contrary, has had peaceful and satisfactory results?

At least this question ought to remain open for fair and temperate discussion by all Americans, free from "shot-gun" oratory and threats of intimidation, violence, and ostracism, such as are now made publicly and privately against American Catholics. The A. P. A.-ists are leading the way to the actual slaughter of Catholics, as in 1840–45. They are the Sim Tappertits* of the body politic, apparently aching for a new Lord George Gordon riot. The L. P. A. I., less bloodthirsty, still proposes to fetter the whole people with amendments that will rob future generations of all freedom in the conduct of secular and religious education—chiefly to abridge, just now, the liberty and welfare of Catholic citizens. These people brandish the national ensign at us as though it were something hostile to us Americans. They seem to think that the *stars* of the flag belong to Protestants or agnostics, while Catholics are to receive only the *stripes*. The day will come when the whole people will regret that the Ameri-

* See Dickens's *Barnaby Rudge*.

can flag was ever lowered to the disgrace of being used as an emblem of bigotry, shameful narrowness and anti-Christian tyranny.

GEORGE PARSONS LATHROP.

BISHOP DOANE:

IF I put any heading to the reply to Mr. Lathrop's paper on Hostility to Roman Catholics, I should call this paper Friendly Counsel to American Roman Catholics. These are too serious times to deal with so vital a question, either with words and acts that stir up violence, or with words which, by belittling, tend to increase the danger. Looking at any subject of anxiety with a magnifying glass is no worse than looking at it, as Nelson did, with a blind eye against the telescope. And ridiculing the idea of the existence of danger is as unwise as exaggerating its amount. The first motive of Mr. Lathrop's paper commands my sympathy. It is meant to be, and to a degree it is, an appeal to the sound and sober judgment of American citizens of every national descent and of every religious denomination; but it is unfortunately a one-sided and partial appeal. When St. Paul had two contentious women to deal with in Philippi, he was not content with appealing only to one of them, but he said, "I beseech Euodias *and I beseech Syntyche.*" And any all-around dealing with this question of the admixture of religious convictions or feelings with political issues or interests, of the relation between ecclesiastical bodies and the State, must have a word of warning to *all* the people who are concerned. The methods which Mr. Lathrop denounces are most un-American and most unmanly methods, no matter by whom resorted to. Prosecution either *by* or *against* religion is odious in the sight of God and man. Protection against even the appearance of religious interference in public American affairs is a different thing. Every religious body ought to be on guard against it, and every citizen ought to protect the State against it. The language of Mr. Lathrop's paper is not only one-sided, but it is more contemptuous than conciliatory; more the plea of an advocate than the presentation of a judge.

I am most cordially in accord with Mr. Lathrop, in condemning any secret society which is organized to control political affairs. I know nothing whatever about the organization called the American Protective Association, except by rumor. If it un-

dertakes to proscribe men from political office, for which they are fit, or to prevent men from obtaining employment, which they could get, on the ground that they are Roman Catholics, I should deprecate and despise its action as strongly as he can. And I need hardly say that I should absolutely condemn the circulation of falsehoods; and *as* absolutely the stirring up of violence, arming against *alarms*, or provoking to violence, by preparation to resist it. But I must protest against the attempt to condemn, on the same grounds, the League for the Protection of American Institutions, of which I have the honor to be a member. That society has no secrets to keep from anybody. It proposes, in open day, to deal by constitutional methods with the principle which it maintains. It has no alliterative alternatives of "ballot and bullet." It is not responsible for the personal opinions of even "its gentlest member." It has no affiliation with the Evangelical Alliance. The *real* purpose is the *avowed* purpose, in its organization, and in all its utterances. And that real purpose is to secure in the Constitution of the United States a fuller statement of the principles* which the Constitution already asserts, namely, the entire separation of Church and State; each equally free from, each equally respecting, the other. And it seeks to insert this amendment in the precise language in which it already exists in several of the State constitutions.

I take it for granted that Mr. Lathrop is a Roman Catholic, because of his statement "that this League consisting of Protestants would join with *us* (that is, with Roman Catholics) in sweetest harmony, *if*," etc. I beg to assure him that he is utterly mistaken in every one of the three purposes which he imports into the object of the League. We have no desire to ask the Roman Church to *abandon* the religious education of parochial schools, but only to *support* the parochial schools in which, greatly to their honor, they give religious education. We have no wish that they should "incidentally" or intentionally "destroy convents." On the contrary, we thoroughly honor the devoted lives of the Sisters of Charity and the Orders of religious teachers. And far from asking them to "abandon the faith transmitted to them from Christ and the Apostles," our only prayer is that they will *return to it*, and maintain that faith as it has been held "always, everywhere, and by all."

* "Congress shall make no law *respecting* an establishment of religion." Art. 1.

It is no attack on "the very existence of schools in which religion is taught, whether supported by individuals *or the state*, to demand that 'elementary schools' be not '*freed*,' but kept '*free*' from denominational control." This language begs the whole question, by the calm insertion of the words "or the State." The State supports no such school, and our contention is that it has no right to. And the words "elementary schools" are used in a like misleading way. "Elementary school" is the technical term by which what used to be called the "common school" is distinguished from the high school, academy, or college. And these elementary schools are *already free* and, therefore, need not to be "freed from denominational control." Mr. Lathrop's line of reasoning has another still more serious defect in it. Nothing is more unfair or more unfortunate, in argument, than to introduce confusion, by taking it for granted that there are *only* two opinions upon a given subject (both being the extreme opinions), one of which the reasoner proves to be wrong, and then draws the easy conclusion that the other equally extreme opinion is, therefore, right. Intelligent men prefer on the whole something better than this Hobson's choice. It does not follow that because the "American Mechanics," in unpardonable violence, have a "ghost dance" "prophetic of imaginary risings," or because the American Protective Association "circulates bogus encyclicals" and "instructions fraudulently signed" "ordering the Catholics to exterminate non-Catholics last autumn": it does not follow from either of these that, therefore, there is no need to guard against the intrusion of distinctively Roman Catholic influence, as such, into our public affairs; and no danger from the overwhelming numerical weight of the gathered populations in our large cities, of American citizens, recently and often suddenly naturalized, who are to a very large extent under the almost blind control of the Roman Catholic Church. Two wrongs never made a right in the world, and they do not in this case.

Nothing is more impossible and nothing much more idle than to bandy words as to who threw the first stone in a quarrel, who provoked a fight, who began a controversy: and I dismiss the effort to discuss this question; except to say that manliness means self-restraint, alike in the matter of attack or in the method of resisting. But one thing is perfectly plain, in part of this con-

tention at any rate, that the so-called common-school system of the United States of America, neither Protestant nor Roman but undenominational, has been founded and maintained in America for nearly a century ; and the proposition to change that system in any way comes from Rome. In this question, if there is to be a quarrel, Rome is certainly the attacking party. Free schools, so called, have perhaps been established for years by Roman Catholics ; but their freedom is embarrassed by the condition that the children must take their peculiar system of religious teaching in, along with the rest. That certainly cannot be called a free school, for anybody but Roman Catholics, with such a condition imposed. It may not perhaps be known that the so-called Faribault plan of Archbishop Ireland has been for years practised and is to-day tolerated in Poughkeepsie, where theRoman parochial school buildings are owned by the city department of public instruction; while the Roman Catholic Sisters and teachers in those schools are paid by the public money raised for the support of public schools. Mr. Lathrop must pardon plain men who have no subtle gift of second sight, if they are unable to see how even the assertion of twenty-nine bishops in the *Independent* can be made to agree with the text of the Baltimore encyclical on the subject of public as against parochial schools; *or* with various attempts made since then to get parochial schools under state support ; *or* with the utterances of Monsignor Satolli ; *or* with the oracular yet *somewhat* intelligible decision, on the question between the two parties in the Roman Church on this subject, in the letter of the Pope. Say what one will, Rome does not love the public-school system nor the theory of universal education. The countries where she controls entirely the education of the children are the countries in which the largest percentage of illiteracy prevails. She has a wonderful power of adapting herself to circumstances, with a view to shape and control those circumstances ; and she bides her time. But what she wants is Roman Catholic Americans. What we want is American Roman Catholics. And we shall never get these, by supporting her parochial schools or by letting her control our public schools. This is a kind of thing which the non-Roman citizens of America do not believe in, and propose by all lawful and constitutional methods to prevent. Mr. Lathrop naturally sees no objection to it. Indeed, while he denies the intention of Rome to meddle with the

school fund, he asserts that it is perfectly right for her to do it if she can. But it seems impossible for any fair-minded person to deny that, to all intents and purposes, this means supporting a peculiar form of religious teaching, out of the funds raised by taxes from the State. And whether any new amendment to the constitution be inserted or not, this is a plain violation of the spirit and letter of the constitution, which forbids, not *establishing* any religion, but "making any law *respecting* the establishment of religion." We have had a standing contention in the New York Legislature for years upon a similar subject, under the well-known "freedom of worship bill." In the unamended form in which that bill was introduced, it would have compelled the State to pay the salaries of the Roman chaplains of these institutions out of the public funds. It was not passed and it was not signed, until the language was altered so as to make this impossible. Freedom of worship, of course, was granted, as it ought to be, but compulsory support by the State of any particular kind of worship was prevented. I am not as fond of the "*ex uno disce omnes*" principle as Mr. Lathrop seems to be, either in judging of the L. P. A. I. from the views of "its gentlest member," or in considering General Sheridan and Chief Justice Taney types of the Roman Catholic in politics; or in taking Mr. Lathrop as a specimen of the loyalty to American principles of what he is pleased to call (by an exclusion of all other Christians quite as contemptuous as any utterances of the A. P. A.) "the universal Church." Perhaps in his case heredity has overcome environment. Possibly some of his Americanism is due to the two hundred and sixty years' distillation of Yankee blood which courses in his veins. But the fact is that neither individual character, individual utterances, nor individual actions are the test. The question is, What are the pronounced principles and what is the historic record of the great body of people whom the writer of the article represents? And it is not raising a war-cry, nor sounding a useless alarm, to call attention to these two matters.

The contention which I think must be made and maintained is, that the pronounced principles of the Roman Church give the Church the right to control the political action of its members; and that the historic record of the Church for centuries shows that the Church exercises that right. The quotation from Dr.

Byrne's book on the *Catholic Doctrine of Faith and Morals* states the whole case : "We are bound to obey the laws of the state *when* they are not contrary to the law of God." But who is to decide this question ? The theory of the higher law, always a most dangerous thing to put in practice, has been the fertile source of anarchy and rebellion, even when it was exercised by individuals, or by citizens banding themselves together as citizens. But when such a decision is possible to be made, not by individuals on their own consciences, nor by citizens of a state formed into a political party or a secular organization, but by an ecclesiastical organization, nay by a single ecclesiastic claiming sovereignty, temporal as well as spiritual, and accepted and recognized as infallible, the case is enormously aggravated. And this is the plain principle of the Church of Rome, according to her own official utterances, of which in regard to this matter of education, for instance, a single one avails against any individual assertion or opinion. I have already quoted it in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. It is from the famous Encyclical of Pius IX. anathematizing in terms "the proposition to instruct youth *apart* from the Catholic faith."

I should like to put here in capital letters one sentence from Mr. Lathrop's article as worthy of imitation of all non-Roman Christians, and expressing exactly my own view of the due relation of that Church to education. "They (that is the Roman Catholics) wish to maintain the free schools which *they themselves pay for,* in which religion is taught, because to them religion is just as much and more the primary element in life and thought as arithmetic, and even more important than arithmetic or life itself." But the side argument of the paper from beginning to end is not for this. It is making the State use the taxes to which all contribute, to maintain and pay for schools in which their form of religion is taught. Denying the intention of Roman Catholics to meddle with public schools, the writer claims the perfect right to do this when it can be done. And I may say, in passing, that the attempt to argue, from the condition of things in England, in favor of dividing funds between public and denominational schools, must be a failure; because the conditions are utterly different. Even in England to-day there is no more burning question than the establishment of an understanding between the two kinds of

schools, and the decision as to what the amount of religious teaching in the Board schools shall be.

So much for the Roman principle. Now, when one reads into this principle the experience of the past, it becomes even more emphatic. English history, from the days of King John, is full of instances of the exercise of the claim of the Roman Pontiff to interfere in political affairs. The realm of England was under the papal ban for years, because the King would not submit to the control of the Pope. And the reluctant wringing of Magna Charta from the King, in the meadow of Runnymede, was but the precursor of the final uprising of the English people which brought about the Reformation. Not religious liberty only, but civil liberty as well, was the contest and the conquest of that movement. The banishment of the Jesuits from various European countries, and the revolution which destroyed the Christian missions in Japan, cannot be forgotten, as evidence of the attempt, and the result of the attempt, to exercise ecclesiastical control over national politics and civil affairs. Little as there seems likely to be any *successful* effort to bring back such a condition of things in this nineteenth century in America, it is easier and wiser to prevent beginnings than to avoid their results. The wise man will be warned in time, not to attack, but to defend ; not to destroy, but to prevent. The principle of Rome is unchanging. The claim of Rome is unmodified. The policy of Rome is simply an adaptation of methods to secure its unmodified claims and its unchanging purpose. And the bishop who wears the triple crown to-day, in the decayed capital of a politically unimportant kingdom, is as unqualified in his assertion of his right to temporal sovereignty and imperial domination and universal control, as when his predecessor was the ecclesiastical head of the Patriarchate which contained the dominant and imperial city of the world.

By all means let the discussion be by "all Americans," and let it be "temperate and fair." Never was fairer or more temperate statement made than by the Roman Catholic editor of the Baltimore *Sun* in regard to the attempt which was undoubtedly proposed (although for some reason unknown to me the proposal was not at that time pushed) to claim, in Maryland, as well as in New York, a share of public moneys for parochial schools. I should be glad to substitute, for Mr. Lathrop's *ex uno disce omnes,* the other Latin formula *O-si sic omnes!* Is it beyond

all hope that both the parties to this controversy may get themselves into that same temper and spirit? The land is surely large enough for Abraham and Lot to live together in. There are points enough, thank God, in common, both in religion and in morals, to make it possible for us to agree lovingly and work together in our agreements; to agree to disagree where disagreement must come in; and to confine ourselves, churchmen *as* churchmen no matter what their name, in the advancement of their own religious interests and work, and citizens *as* citizens, in their own line of civic duties. This is the place where the injunction of the Master best comes in, to "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." And if this blessed state of things may only be brought about, we may come to what the heading of the chapter in the English Bible calls "the peaceable kingdom of the branch out of the root of Jesse," when "Ephraim shall not envy Judah and Judah shall not vex Ephraim." It is really only an accident of the case that this question assumes the appearance of a rivalry between what are called Protestants and Roman Catholics. It merely means that no other religious body except the Roman Church has made the claim, or ever appears in any corporate capacity, to interfere in questions which concern secular, political, or civic affairs. If I am rightly informed as to the results of the last census, the Roman communion is by no means "one-sixth of the population of America." But whatever its proportion may be, its corporate action becomes serious because it is a compact body, while the other Christian peoples are broken up into various denominations. It wields, in this way, a power which cannot but be infinitely valuable, in its legitimate sphere of religious and moral control over its own people; and infinitely dangerous when it is exercised in matters that lie beyond its sphere. Mr. Lathrop objects to the application of the word "alien." It is eminently unfair, of course, to classify as aliens, meaning thereby un-American, the members of the Roman Catholic communion, *en masse*. They are a part of the bone and sinew of the body politic. That they have been infinitely valuable in the development of this new country, that they were loyal patriots in our civil war, that they have the right to all the liberties of citizenship and to all the honor in their faithful discharge of its duties,

one gladly recognizes. And yet it is hard to find any other word which describes the whole communion of a Church which owns its highest allegiance to a single head, who is a foreigner across the sea. All the more, therefore, is it important that the members of that body should avoid the appearance of introducing foreign methods into domestic affairs. And every now and then something occurs which suggests the maintenance of a separate and unassimilated spirit, and which it is difficult to characterize by any other name. On the last Roman feast of St. Patrick, this old Dutch town of Albany was taken possession of by the Irish, separating themselves as Irishmen, floating an Irish flag, and making a distinction even among the Irish, because it was Roman Catholic Irishmen who painted the town green. It is a curious fact that the next Monday morning, when for the first time after St. Patrick's day, the flag floated from the top of the Capitol of the State, it was torn lengthwise in two; the stars wrapped around the top of the pole, and the stripes floating starless in the wind. If I had any disposition to deal with this subject lightly, as Mr. Lathrop sometimes does, I might perhaps have received an impression, something like that which the New London windstorm produced on the minds of Mr. Lathrop's timid Yankee progenitors; or that distribution might have occurred to me, which Mr. Lathrop suggests, namely, a division of the stripes from the stars. But as it happened, I only felt glad that no foreign flag floated from the central public building of the Empire State, but only the old flag of the one country which declines to allow foreign quarrels to be perpetuated on its soil; or to accept any citizenship that is not assimilated to the American principles of absolute separation between church and state, and that kind of freedom in religious liberty which means liberty from all religious dictation, interference, or control. I am glad to find this expression quoted in an Albany newspaper from an address by Archbishop Ireland:

"Catholics of Irish descent must be on their guard not to harm religion by linking with the church Irish national ideas or customs, or seeking to give a supremacy to Irish control, or so acting in any manner as to induce the belief among Americans that the Catholic Church is not thoroughly American. The Church has suffered from lack of Americanism. One nationalism is and must be supreme in our civil and social matters, and that is American nationalism. On this condition has America admitted foreigners to citizenship. No political segregation of citizens on foreign lines can be allowed. It is wrong to have a so-called Irish-American vote. No one

should vote as an Irishman and seek an office as an Irishman. It is wrong in private life to cultivate the spirit of a foreign nationalism at the expense of American nationalism."

This is a politic utterance of a sound principle. It touches one spot of the danger of alienism in civil affairs. It does not go far enough, I think, in suggesting the dangers of the religious lines, publicly drawn as they have been in Canada, between Roman and Protestant Irishmen. And it seems to me only carrying out the principles of this timely caution to go on to the point which I am arguing, "that no political segregation of citizens on '*ecclesiastical*' lines can be allowed."

WM. CROSWELL DOANE.

ENGLAND IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

BY ADMIRAL P. H. COLOMB, ROYAL NAVY.

To one who has been watching it, the change in the public view of her naval position and policy which has taken place in Great Britain during the last twenty years is surely one of the most remarkable signs of the times. It seems almost impossible to believe that only four and twenty years ago the reduction of British naval force to the lowest possible terms was the favorite plank in the political platform of a popular ministry. But it was so. The government of Mr. Gladstone which came into office in 1869, with Mr. Childers as its instrument at the head of the Admiralty, was cheered to the echo in its design of cutting down naval force to a mere shred, with the sole *per contra* of a reduced budget. The voices that were then raised in protest were feeble and far between; and they were drowned in the roar of applause which welcomed each stroke as it fell upon our ships, upon our men, and upon our officers. Mr. Childers was present, far in the rear, and almost hidden in the crowd, at the great meeting which took place in the city of London towards the close of last year, and one could not avoid speculating on the nature of his thoughts as he listened to the denunciations of his bygone policy by stanch Radicals, and the cheers with which his condemnation was inferentially greeted.

But in those days of the "Know-Nothings" the naval position of Great Britain was the last consideration that entered ministers' heads. It was not one to have germinated there, and the navy, which might have spoken, had neglected the study which could have given it voice, and was either silent or trumpeted with an uncertain sound. It has been common since to say that in 1870 the folds of the Peninsula and Waterloo had wrapped away the meaning and memory of Trafalgar. Men did not rouse them-

selves sufficiently to remember that the greatness and beauty of those historical structures were due to the solid naval pillars which supported them. The apathy of the navy is also ingeniously accounted for by the daily life of its officers when afloat. Long sea cruises, and longer stays in remote ports, cut the communications of naturally reflective officers with their fellows, and withered, like a want of rain, the buds of thought. I rather incline to add to these causes of naval failure to realize and enforce the situation the internecine wars that raged in the bosom of the service. Steam was fighting sail; iron and steel were fighting wood; rifled guns were fighting smoothbores; breech-loading was fighting muzzle-loading; the torpedo was rousing itself, and armor-plating was fighting everything. The naval mind was so engaged in watching the contests of these combatants, and in backing, now one and now another, that it had no leisure to look around and to see to what lengths the eager and ignorant politicians might be carried.

But the mischief of 1870 was like a sudden shower-bath to the navy, and recalled it from the fever of internal questionings to the consideration that all might be broken up together by the waves of a public opinion which rolled on without aim or method. After this we may see a gradual revival of the study of naval history from the philosophical side; and out of the study we can see gradually arising rooted convictions on the subject of our naval condition and status. Naval men have been impelled to write and speak because they themselves, on looking back, have reached a knowledge of their former blindness. Their words, flowing from reasoned sources, have gradually made their way. Laymen of all positions have been awakened. Many have searched the naval scriptures daily whether these things were so; and the whole flood of an accumulating knowledge has, in a sense, piled itself in the great works of an American naval officer. We cannot lose sight of the weight Captain Mahan's books have had with the British public. It is not alone the beauty of their style, their admirable lucidity, their logical sequence, and their depth of thought which have givem them power. Great weight belongs to all these elements, but the greatest weight of all is the sense of confirmation from an independent, and certainly impartial, authority, of all that the possibly prejudiced English naval officer has been for twenty years struggling to impress on his countrymen.

For some five and thirty years, until eight or ten years ago, the panic of the English mind was a lost battle with the French —or, it might be, with the Germans—on the Sussex Downs. In 1859 a royal commission sat, which laid it down, amid general approval, and with scarcely a naval voice raised in opposition, that it was not to be expected that England would ever bear the cost of keeping her command of the Channel in war. It was distinctly inferred that the true defence of the British islands was a perfected system of coast defence; and a great group of ships, suitable for no other purpose, was put upon the stocks. "To keep our shores inviolate" by something which was attached to them was the completion of the idea of the patriotic Englishman; and few minds grasped the fact that such an aim would secure their ultimate desecration, just as the aim of the Parisian *enceinte* ended in the march of the Prussians through her streets.

It was not until 1867 that Sir John Colomb, in a remarkable pamphlet, under the title of *The Protection of Our Commerce in War*, scattered all such theories to the winds, and showed that water territory was only different from land territory in degree, not in kind; and that as the only real protection of Paris was the defence of France, so the only real defence of the British islands was the command of the sea. And this was for an identical reason: because neither Paris nor the British islands were self-sustaining. Because the conquering of the communications of Paris with France was the conquest of France and Paris within it; and because the conquest of the sea by the enemy was the conquest of all non-self-contained islands within its boundaries. The growing sense of this very simple position has been now, for several years, working like leaven in the British mind, and we can see it fermenting and developing as the months go on. The Minister in 1870 was content—and the acquiescence of Parliament showed that it also was content—to draw the numerical comparison between the naval forces of France and England, and to assume that the position was a safe one when British naval forces were not inferior. Preparation for the calm reception of such an idea had certainly been made by the Royal Commissioners of 1859, which allowed witnesses to sketch, and accepted their sketches of, hypothetical war positions which now read like the inconsequent arguments of a child. It was gravely laid down that we should be prepared,

in war time, to see an enemy's fleet blockading or attacking Portsmouth or Plymouth, while our own fleet remained fifty or one hundred miles to the westward, "protecting our commerce." When even expert thought was in such a condition, it was no wonder that simple political thought was incapable of observing that a mere equality with the naval forces of France would leave the British Empire at her mercy, because of the impossibility of defending an extensive water territory by merely equal forces against the necessarily unexpected attacks of an enemy whose hands were free.

It was an advance when we saw that we must at least have a naval force considerably superior to that of France; and on such a basis began the era of the counting of noses. It was always the easiest task to count ship against ship in each nation; and when the balance was shown to be against us, a simple and forcible appeal to the public was made. But in reality we might have gone on counting noses till the end of time, and yet have made no advance. It was the appeal to history and the putting of hypothetical cases of war which gradually undermined, and then destroyed, let us hope forever, the theories of the Gladstone-Childers *régime*. Nothing indeed was capable of thinning the density of that block of un-thought but the putting of cases. What amount of property had we *always on the sea?* Scores of millions of pounds. What was the inflow and outflow of our foreign trade? Seven to eight hundred millions of pounds in value, and from ninety to a hundred millions of tons in bulk. How did we stand as shipowners? Half the tonnage of the whole world carried the British flag. Such facts, when pondered over, sank the value of the mere territorial possession of the United Kingdom, and showed that the greatness and power of that which we call "England" was the activity of all the peoples which bowed to the sovereignty of the Queen and Empress. In the check which war might impose upon that activity, the real danger was to be seen; and there could be no doubt but that enemies with heads on their shoulders would never dream of facing the risks of violating the land of thirty-eight millions of people, until they had first succeeded in reducing them to a state of coma.

Then came the question, How much of the import into the British islands was food? And, Was it possible for the islanders to subsist with that supply cut or even seriously checked? Half

the bulk of the imports—between 11,000,000 and 12,000,000 tons—was food, and it was a supply of nine pounds per day for each family in the kingdom. Counter-propositions were, however, put forward by those who had as yet failed to see that there was no essential difference between land roads and water roads, and that the twenty thousand ships which were required to bring in the food could scarcely pass through the enemy's, lines.

Such broad considerations as these were assimilated in the course of time and led to the "Northbrook programme" of 1884. Of course there was here a counting of noses. There always must be this, but it is the deeper sense of our strategical position which led to it, and gave the figures their force. Study went on after the launch of the Northbrook programme, and the views of "the man in the street" grew more and more into accordance with plain fact. The counting of noses became possessed of a graver significance, and in 1888 began the strong movement which led to the Hamilton programme of 1889.

But there was here a most remarkable change. Hitherto whatever might have been the growing sense of reality which was attached to naval affairs, programmes, when they came out, were more based on the question of noses than are the real strategic requirements. Even naval men of reflection and experience were found—and not in small numbers—whose ultimate decision took the form of demanding ship for ship, and two for one of the French Navy. The fallacy of placing the British and the French in identical strategical positions was far from being exploded. The gist of thought which developed into act was similar to that which makes all "temperance" societies "teetotal" societies in the end. As methods of inducing temperance—or moderate use—require thought, consideration, and explanation before adoption, a certain weariness creeps in and the total abstainer, with decision which requires less thought, has it all his own way, so the classes, sizes, and numbers of war ships which the strategist proposes to build presuppose a scheme of strategy; a certain definite course of action on the outbreak of war. But the adoption of such a scheme requires great precedent labor and thought, and long, intricate explanation to follow. The weariness creeps in, and the definite rule which may or may not have thought behind it carries the day.

In the Hamilton programme, however, a strategical base was plain! Three classes of ships were built. The battleship, as the representative of defence, the imperturbable holder of occupied waters; the cruiser, as the protector of commerce in waters held by the battleships, but liable to be raided by the flying "commerce-destroyer"; and lastly the "anti-torpedo-boat-vessel," specially designed as the in-shore watcher of the enemy's war ports. It was not alone, therefore, the number of ships—though 70 was a substantial addition—laid down in the Hamilton programme which gave repose to the reflective naval mind: it was more the revelation of definite strategical policy at the Admiralty, and the sense that principle, well thought out, was dominating the provision of naval force even as it had dominated a hundred years before. The pause which showed itself as the Hamilton ships approached completion was in part due, no doubt, to mere satiety. But amongst the bulk of naval officers it was deliberate. Silence was for long preserved by them in fear of a possible reaction. There was less cry for shipbuilding, and more for an examination, closer, and ever more close, into our real position in the event of war. But the Hamilton programme, while really resting on deep principles, was not above defending itself by the methods of the total abstainer. Some measure or standard was necessary to appeal to the bulk of a parliament and a people which had perhaps as little inclination as they had leisure to investigate the reasoning upon which the classification in the Hamilton programme was based. Advantage was taken of the *rapprochement* between France and Russia, and the standard set up was that the naval forces of Great Britain should always be kept equal to those of any two other powers. This standard is, of course, as ineffective as that of equality to France was in 1870. If we then supposed a war with France alone, we were—with only equal naval forces—already beaten, for we could not defend ourselves against a foe the whole of whose energies were embarked in attack. If we supposed an alliance between France and Russia against us, we were no better off if we could only equal their combined naval forces. But the parliamentary standard has served its turn. The peg had been advanced one hole, and a table such as the following, when submitted to the public, makes its mark.

RELATIVE STRENGTH OF THE BRITISH, FRENCH, AND RUSSIAN NAVIES BUILT AND BUILDING AT THE CLOSE OF 1893.

	Battleships.	Coast-defence vessels.	Cruisers.	Torpedo-boats destroyers.
British	45	17	130	45
French	34	9	65	13
Russian	15	14	28	9
French and Russian combined	49	23	93	22

In the mere counting of noses, we always find discrepancies, and the above table, which is that published by Lord Hood of Avalon at the end of last year, was amended by Mr. Laird Clowes so as to show 45 French and Russian battleships to 45 British; 51 French and Russian coast-defence ships to 100 British; 101 French and Russian cruisers to 132 British. But evidently the danger or the safety of the British naval position is not involved in niceties. It is either safe or dangerous on broad issues, and the broad issue now raised is the advance which the public view has made since 1888. It is now clearly seen, and as clearly said by men of such high authority as Lord George Hamilton, that in reality the standard of an equal strength to those of France and Russia combined was a mere necessary stop-gap. We must face the real conditions of a war with France and Russia combined against us, and prepare for them. The French are in great strength in the Mediterranean; the Russians in great strength in the Baltic; it cannot be declared for certain that Russian naval strength in the Black Sea may not be joined to the French strength in the great inland sea. Apart from her trade with France, Great Britain has a direct trade with Mediterranean ports of £54,000,000, and she sends £60,000,000 more through the canal. Over one-sixth of her commerce depends on free Mediterranean waters, unless the canal trade can be diverted round the Cape of Good Hope without loss. With German, Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian ports, which must include great traffic within the Baltic, she has a trade of £84,000,000.

Setting aside, therefore, any check upon our general trade which might be inflicted by France in consequence of the position she holds at Brest and in her Channel and Atlantic ports, nearly a third of our total trade hangs upon our power to carry it on

through the Mediterranean and the Baltic seas. Suppose we lost that power, and combined the loss with that which is inevitable from our belligerency with France and Russia : there would be a fall in our foreign commerce from £715,000,000 to £491,000,000.

Clearly the operation of such a check as this, even for a few weeks, might be disastrous to us ; and yet the question is deeper. Supposing we had not the power in the Baltic and the Mediterranean which we so easily held in the Russian war of 1854-6, and were obliged to withdraw from those seas, or either of them : what guarantee could we possibly have that we could close the Straits of Gibraltar, the Sound, and the Belts against the exit of our enemies ? A certain section—not a large one—of naval opinion holds the doctrine, first distinctly put forward by the Royal Commission of 1859, that the exigencies of modern warfare compel the abandonment of the blockade of ports. I suppose that in the United States, after their experience, it must be generally held, as I myself hold, that if there is power to carry it out, the closest blockade ever seen will characterize the next great naval wars. But if the small section of opinion is right, and it is henceforth impossible to blockade—that is, to mask—warships in Cherbourg, Brest, and Toulon, in Cronstadt and Sweaborg, how can it be held possible to close the entrances to the Mediterranean and the Baltic? No doubt Gibraltar gives certain facilities for the blockade of the Mediterranean. But having facilities and executing the task are hardly the same things. Naval forces aspiring to let nothing pass westward out of the Mediterranean that is not followed up, have simply the task before them of guarding a much wider passage than they would have to guard if it were the entrance to any of the ports named. If we suppose the British blockading forces at anchor in Gibraltar Bay, we only see them offering themselves to the most modern form of torpedo attack, and at the same time leaving the waters free for the enemy to rush through on any suitable cloudy night. Otherwise, if we suppose them at sea, we still observe them offering opportunities for evasion, or, at best, for a pitched battle. If these difficulties exist for masking the enemy in the Mediterranean, where we have distinct facilities, what is to be said of the chances at the entrance to the Baltic, where we have none ?

And now, if the masking of the whole bodies of Russian and

French forces, and warning them off our main trade routes, is not really made easier by our abandonment of the two seas, or either of them, with all our interests therein, where is the gain in such a policy? How can we deliberately contemplate it?

It is comparatively common to hear the opinion expressed in the British Navy that the blowing up of the Suez Canal, and the complete or partial abandonment of the Mediterranean by our naval forces, or at the very least the entire abandonment of the commercial canal route in war, would be a sound policy, and one that would greatly ease the situation. I am quite unable to accept the view, and I do not know what arguments exist to refute the considerations I have put forward above. I can see how much we should lose by ceasing to hold the Mediterranean as the dominant naval force there; how we should lose so many millions of our trade; how we might sacrifice Malta; leave Egypt and India open; facilitate the junction of the Russian Black Sea fleet with that of the French; leave Italy and Austria open to pressure for joining an alliance against us. But I entirely fail to see the *per contra* of advantage. Except, indeed, in one matter which I have never seen alluded to by other writers. If we look at the table of comparative force, we see that France and Russia have twenty-three coast-defence vessels, which are prepared to act within a certain radius of their ports. The British coast-defence ships are not available in the Mediterranean, perhaps not in the Baltic; and it may be equally assumed that French coast-defence ships would not accompany any French fleet sailing from Toulon to pass the Straits; hence it might be said that, in the possible pitched battle off Gibraltar, the British force would be in a better position than it could be within a hundred miles of Toulon. The same might, but yet with less plausibility, be said of a pitched battle in the Skager Rack.

But does not such reasoning only amount to a timorous defence of apathy and idleness? Surely if that is all we can say, the conclusion is to prepare such seagoing forces as may fearlessly show themselves superior to all the forces—seagoing and coast-defence—which France and Russia together can offer in the immediate proximity of their Mediterranean, Atlantic, and Baltic ports.

If we look at the table of comparative force, we see that France and Russia have 23 coast-defence vessels. These are only prepared to act within a limited area round their ports. The

British coast-defence vessels are of similar quality, certainly useless for Mediterranean service, and probably so for Baltic service. A battle fought in the vicinity of Gibraltar would not involve the coast-defence vessels on either side. Consequently, the possible force of the French there is not so great as the possible force within fifty miles of Toulon. Hence it might be said that a strategic advantage would be gained by our keeping out of the radius of the action of coast-defence vessels, and limiting thereby the power of enemies to their seagoing fleets. But we can scarcely say that any advantage of this sort could counterbalance the loss of the £224,000,000 of trade mentioned above. It requires close thinking to estimate with any degree of truth what such a loss might mean, but if we recall the terrible calamity of the cotton famine we may get an idea about it.

The cotton famine was a check to the import of a single raw material. It came at a time of great prosperity, when there was great activity in trade and great increase in shipping; when the revenue was rising and taxes were being struck off at the rate of millions a year, which reduction was carried on all through the famine. The check to cotton import was only 9 per cent. in 1861, 62 per cent. in 1862, 52 per cent. in 1863, 35 per cent. in 1864, and 29 per cent. in 1865. This was nothing in the general trade of the country, yet it pauperized a number of persons, rising from 39,000 in 1861 to 301,000 in 1863, and it forced into banishment 365,000.

A matter of £20,000,000 or £30,000,000 of imports was thus disastrous when everything else flourished. The failure of our Baltic and Mediterranean trade consequent on our inability to hold the waters of those seas in war would be from seven to eleven times as great a loss, and would, on the basis of the above figures, pauperize two or three millions of persons and emigrate a like number. Yet must we add that, if there should be failure, as we have the best reason to expect, in confining the enemy to the far side of the Belts and the Straits of Gibraltar, it would be impossible to measure our loss. It was a well-proved axiom in our wars with France that the mercantile flag of a belligerent will not pass through waters which its war flag does not float in without challenge. When we were driven out of the Mediterranean in 1797, but a single British ship cleared for a Mediterranean port. The shrinkage of the Fed-

eral mercantile marine in 1861–64 was only confirmation of a before-established fact. It is impossible to measure the shrinkage of the British mercantile marine in a case such as we are considering.

Before this article sees the light we shall know what the English government proposes to do to meet the case which is here set out. It is plain that there is nothing hypothetical in it, except the chances of war. We have not force enough, or nearly enough, to hold the Mediterranean and the Baltic in such force as would enable our trade to flow there if France and Russia were allied against us. Parliament must accept the risk of war, and the certainty of what will follow it, if it does not insist on the creation of sufficient force to hold the Northern and the Southern seas and the waters connecting them. There is, so far as we can see, no middle course between creating such a force and running all risks. The question before it is to judge whether, in the event of an insufficient naval programme, the temporary convenience of the budget is a due set-off against the possibilities of war and the consequential collapse.

It is from this point of view that the comparative table speaks with strongest voice. If we could send every battleship we could put our hands on to the Mediterranean, to the Baltic, and off the French Atlantic ports, and keep them there—which we certainly could not do—we should have but 45, against 72 battle and coast-defence ships which the allied enemies would certainly have on the spot. Clearly we should not dare the task. We should certainly abandon all idea of entering either the Baltic or the Mediterranean sea; and we should hope—our only hope—that we might fight one or two pitched battles in such situation as, if they precluded the use of our own coast-defence ships, would also forbid the enemy to use his.

Such appears to me the general situation so far as we can set it out within the limits of an article. The effort we shall make to meet the situation is, we may conclude, no product of a vain imagination, stirred by incipient panic, but a simple piece of business determined by the necessities of the case.

P. H. Colomb.

THE UNKNOWN LIFE OF CHRIST.*

BY EDWARD EVERETT HALE.

It used to be said, a generation ago, that no German theologian was fairly equipped in his career till he had written a new Life of Christ. Mr. Beecher is on record as saying that he did not think we should improve on the Four Gospels. But, when M. Renan came along and said that he found a fifth Gospel in the hills and valleys of Palestine, and when he compelled millions of people to read the Life of Jesus in his version, who had never read it in any, a new zest was given to the passion for biographies. Every one till now, however, has had to handle the old material. But now Mr. Notovitch comes to the front, and remembers that he has an excellent life of Christ, which he found in a somewhat mythical convent in Thibet some years ago, and which has no connection with any other biography. This is all interesting, before one can take the book in hand, and it seems that the novelty and boldness of the announcement have roused a lively interest in the book on the other side of the ocean.

M. Nicolas Notovitch, who calls himself the editor of the "Unknown Life of Jesus Christ," but who may as well be frankly called the author, has published, it seems, in earlier years, a life of Alexander III. He tells us that after the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78, he passed through the Balkans, crossed the Caucasus, and visited Central Asia, Persia, and India. He travelled without plan; but the curious reader is apt to remember that the Emperor of Russia is interested in the travels of Russian gentlemen in those directions. In times of peace he has to prepare for war. Travelling thus without plan, Mr. Notovitch came to the Punjaub, visited Lahore, and then went to the vale of Cashmere. He

* *La Vie Inconnue de Jesus-Christ.* Par Nicholas Notovitch. Paris: Paul Ollendorf, Editeur, 1894.

continued his journey to Ladak, intending to return to Russia by the Karakoroum and Turkestan caravans.

All this accidental itinerary proves to have a peculiar interest afterwards, when we find that, in the whim of accidental travel, this Russian gentleman of the nineteenth century thus passed over the very same lines which, as he afterwards learned, the Saviour of the World had travelled over in the early years of the Christian era, between A. D. 13 and 26.

Mr. Notovitch, as he journeyed, was in the habit of visiting Buddhist convents. One day an abbot, or "Lama in chief," happened to mention the fact,—which oddly enough had never been mentioned to other travellers,—that at Lassa there are ancient memoirs of the life of Jesus Christ and of the Western nations, —and that some of the great monasteries own copies and translations of these invaluable chronicles. Mr. Notovitch determined, if he could, to obtain a sight of them, perhaps to go as far as Lassa for that purpose. He says the journey to that place is by no means so difficult as we are told. He was not able, however, to go to Lassa. He had visited the convent of Himis, which we do not find on our own calendar of Buddhist ecclesiastical establishments near Leh, the capital of Ladak. There the abbot told him that they had copies of these old rolls, which he had already heard of. Not wishing the authorities to suspect his curiosity on the subject Mr. Notovitch did not press his inquiries. But, a few days after, an accident, fortunate or unfortunate, as the reader may determine, threw him from his horse and broke his leg. He was obliged to seek the hospitality of the convent of Himis again, and, while the broken parts were knitting together he skilfully led conversation round to the old manuscripts. It was as if a Buddhist delegate to the Parliament of Religions had been wounded in watching a Princeton foot-ball match, and Dr. McCosh had received him to his hospitality. What more natural than that Dr. McCosh should give his guest a New Testament? So, naturally, the Buddhist Lama, when he was asked, went to the library and brought "two bound books, of which the large pages were of paper made yellow by time. He then read me the biography of Issa, and I carefully noted on my travelling memorandum book the version which my interpreter made to me."

Fortunately for the Western reader, this narrative was broken

into chapters and even verses which precisely resemble those made by Stephanus in the modern Bibles.

On the third day Mr. Notovitch's leg was doing so well that he was enabled to resume his journey, and he passed, not by the Saviour's route this time, but by the English roads through Cashmere and Afghanistan, to Bombay.

The precious narrative he bore—more interesting to Christendom than any conceivable bit of paper could be—rested forgotten in his notebook. But when he returned to Russia he says he consulted Monseigneur Platow, "the celebrated Metropolitan of Kiew." The Metropolitan thought it of great importance. "But why publish it?" As he could prohibit the publication, as censor of the press, M. Notovitch of course refrained. A man does not do what he cannot. At Rome, afterwards, he showed it to a cardinal. He said, "Why, no one will think it important, and you will make a crowd of enemies." Then he offered to buy the notes, but M. Notovitch "naturally refused."

He then came to France and showed them to Jules Simon, who advised that they should be shown to Renan. Renan was interested, and here is a stroke of humor. Renan said he would make a report on them to the Academy. "I foresaw that I should only have the honor of finding the chronicle, while the illustrious author of the *Life of Jesus* would have all the glory of the publication and the commentaries." So Mr. Notovitch waited—and the world waited for the new life of its Saviour—until M. Renan died. Then the field was clear, and last fall we heard rumors of the book, which has now appeared.

The intelligent reader will see that the editor himself does not expect that this introductory narrative can be received as fact. It is the frame of the picture, a story *ben trovato* or not, as the reader may choose. Such as it is, it makes an introduction twice as long as the New Gospel itself, which is followed by a *résumé* and appendix as long.

The curious similarity between the forms of Buddhism and Christianity challenged attention from the time when Vasco da Gama struck India. Earlier than that time, indeed, the Catholic romance of Barlaam and Josaphat had introduced Buddha and his exploits to innocent readers in European monasteries. It was, perhaps, the most popular romance of the Middle Ages before Amadis appeared. The Josaphat was an accidental misnomer for

Bodisat—that is, for a manifestation of Buddha. As the Roman Church afterward made him a saint, and as he exists as Saint Josaphat still,* this is a pity. For it would be better to have Saint Buddha frankly on the calendar. The curious reader will find, in the life of Saint Josaphat, in the Latin language of eight centuries ago, almost all the pretty stories of Buddha, with which Sir Edwin Arnold has acquainted our world in the "sweet" poetry of *The Light of Asia.*

When Xavier and his companions found Buddhism regnant in Ceylon, they observed at once the resemblance between its rites and those of the Catholic Church in Europe. To translate their language into that of the end of our century, they said: "All right. We are of your religion, only we know more of it than you do. We are of higher grade." They kept all the Buddhist fasts, and kept more; they wore the "highest" costumes, and "went one or two better," so that the poor native Buddhist priests found themselves quite subordinate. It was in such success that it became necessary to baptize the throngs of converts with fire-engines.

From that time to this, one and another effort has been made to account for such resemblances. According as one believed in "The Light of Asia" or "The Light of Europe," he made one or another explanation. St. Thomas, the apostle, in his first preaching in India, has been made to carry a good deal of ceremonial there, such as St. Thomas never saw. On the other hand, ingenious critics have supposed that Buddha had his followers in Palestine in Christ's time. The fig-tree which the apostle Nathanael sat under has been guessed to imply a reference to the sacred Bodhi tree of Buddha; and the accident that the English call the Bod-tree a fig-tree, which it is not, has helped that view. So it has been suggested that the Saviour cursed Buddhism when he cursed that fig-tree, which, like Buddhism, has such fine leaves and so little fruit.

In this generation, since the East and the West could telegraph to each other, scholars have taken up all this early connection of the Buddhist and Christian churches with new zeal. Cousin, in the first half of the century, had the impudence to say to a class, and to print in his lectures: "At this point I should

* In the Martyrologium, authorized by Sixtus V., November 27 is the saints' day of "the holy saints Barlaam and Josaphat of India, on the borders of Persia, whose wonderful acts Saint John of Damascus has described."

speak of Buddhism. I do not, however, because I know nothing about it."

Schopenhauer * expressed great curiosity about the connection, but does not hazard a guess. Rudolf Seyder has studied it with great care, and if anybody is curious he had better study his volumes. Our own American readers will perhaps remember Mr. Felix Oswald's Cossack attack on both systems, published last year, under the name of *The Secrets of the East*. He dedicated his book to the memory of Bruno, and despatches Buddhism and Christianity together, in his second chapter, in the name of "Buddha and his Galilean successor."

Sublimely and happily indifferent to all the literature to which we have simply alluded, Mr. Notovitch gives us what is meant to be a pure Buddhist view. The date of his rolls is very early. They are supposed to have been brought by caravans from Palestine soon after the death of Jesus, whom they called Issa. We copy the lines most essential to the new history :

". . . In this extreme distress the people remembered their great God. They begged his grace, and asked him to pardon them. And our Father, in his inexhaustible mercy, heard their prayer.

"At this time came the moment which the all-merciful Judge had chosen to incarnate himself in a human being

"And the Eternal Spirit, who was remaining in a state of complete inaction and supreme beatitude, awoke, and detached himself for an indefinite period from the Eternal Being,

"That by taking a human form he might show the means by which men identify themselves with the Godhead, and come to eternal felicity. . . .

"Soon after, a wonderful child was born in the land of Israel. God himself spoke by the mouth of this child regarding bodily misery and the greatness of the soul.

"The parents of the new-born child were poor people. By their birth they belonged to a family distinguished for piety, who had forgotten their ancient grandeur on the earth as they celebrated the name of the Creator, and thanked him for the suffering with which he had been pleased to try them.

"To make amends to them, that they had not turned from the way of truth, God blessed the first-born of this family. He chose him for his elect, and sent him to lift up those who had fallen into evil, and to cure those who suffered.

"The divine child, to whom they gave the name of ISSA, from his most tender years began to speak of the one indivisible God, and to exhort those who had wandered to repent and purify themselves from the sins of which they had been guilty.

"To hear him, people came from all sides, and they wondered at the

* *Die Welt als Wille*, Vol. 2, p. 716. Cited by Mr. Oswald, who expands it into a conjecture that the Prophet of Nazareth was a Buddhistic emissary, and preached his gospel in the name of Budda Sakya-Muni.

wisdom which proceeded from his childish mouth. All Israel agreed in saying that the Eternal Spirit lived in this child.

"When Issa had attained the age of thirteen years, the epoch when an Israelite should take his wife,

"The house where his parents earned their living, by carrying on a modest trade, began to be a place of meeting for rich and noble people who wished to have the young Issa for a son-in-law. So celebrated was he already for his edifying speeches in the name of the Almighty;

"Then Issa secretly left the parental house, departed from Jerusalem, and with the merchants went towards Sindh,

"That he might obtain perfection in the divine word, and study the laws of the great Buddhas."

[Here a new chapter begins.]

"In the course of his fourteenth year, the young Issa, blessed of God, came on this side of Sindh, and established himself among the Aryas, in the country beloved of God.

"The name of the wonderful child was renowned through the length of Northern Sindh. When he crossed the country of the Punjaub and Radjipoutan, the devotees of the god Djaine begged him to remain with them.

"But he left the eager worshippers of Djaine, and went to Djagguernat, in the country of Orsis. Here rests the mortal shell of Viassa-Krishna, and here the white priests of Brahma received him joyfully. . . .

"He passed six years at Djagguernat, at Radjigriha, at Benares, and other holy cities. All the world loved him, for Issa lived in peace with the Veises and the Soutras, to whom he taught the holy Scriptures."

[Issa now engages in a controversy with the Brahmins on the subject of caste, and denies the incarnation of Vishnu, Siva, and other gods, adhering to the pure unity of God. The discussion becomes so hot, and his preaching to the lowest caste people is so radical, that the priests and warriors resolve on his death. But he escapes to the country of Gautamides, where he learns the Pali language, and devotes six years to the study of the sacred rolls of the Soutras.]

"Then he quitted Nepal and the Himalaya Mountains, descended into the valley of Radjipoutan, and went toward the West, preaching to various peoples the supreme perfection of man."

[In crossing pagan countries he preaches against idolatry. He comes to the country of the Parsees and shows them the errors of Zoroaster, and forbids them to adore the sun.]

"After having heard him the Magi determine that they would do no harm to him. That night, when all the town was at rest, they led him outside their walls, and abandoned him on the grand routes hoping that he would be the prey of wild beasts."

[He thus comes into Palestine, after an absence of thirteen years. He preaches acceptably to the people of his native coun-

try who have been suffering greatly. He goes from town to town encouraging the Israelites, and the chief rulers of the towns notify Pilate, the Governor of Jerusalem, that there is such a preacher. Pilate charges the priests and elders to judge him in the Temple. Issa goes to Jerusalem for this inquiry.] He says in the Temple :

"The human race is dying of its want of faith. Clouds and tempests have scattered the flock of men, and they have lost their shepherd."

[On the whole, in the controversy which follows, the Jewish leaders stand on ISSA's side, and they report favorably regarding him to Pilate. Pilate is angry, and sends disguised servants as spies upon ISSA, and finally there is a trial before Pilate, in which ISSA appears. It is in this trial that one fancies that he traces what a conscientious Russian might say in presence of the Emperor of Russia.

At the end of three years of such complications, Pilate gives instructions that a formal accusation shall be made against ISSA. As the result of this accusation the saint is taken from his prison and is made to sit before the Governor, between two robbers who are to be judged at the same time. Pilate, addressing ISSA, says to him :]

"Is it true, O Man, that thou art arousing the people against the authorities, to become King of Israel?"

[ISSA replies that the King of Heaven will suppress all the kings of the nations. The witnesses testify that he has said that all temporal power would disappear before the King of Heaven. The witness, addressing himself to ISSA, says :]

"'Did you not make yourself to be the King of Israel when you said that he who reigns in the heavens had sent you to prepare his people?' And ISSA, having blessed him, said, 'Thou shalt be pardoned, for what thou hast said does not come from thee.' Then addressing himself to the governor:

"'Why humiliate thy dignity, why teach thy servants to live in a lie, since you can condemn the innocent without doing so?'"

[The governor is angry at this and orders that ISSA shall be crucified. He is crucified between the two brigands, and at the end of the day his suffering ceases.]

"He loses consciousness, and the soul of this just one parts from his body to go to be annihilated in the divinity.

"Thus ends the terrestrial existence of the reflection of the eternal spirit under the form of the man who had saved hardened sinners, and borne so many sufferings.

[Pilate arranges that his friends shall bury him. But three days after, finding that the tomb is surrounded by the worshippers, he removes the body to have it buried elsewhere. So soon as the crowd finds the tomb open and empty, the rumor is circulated that the Supreme Judge has sent his angels to carry away the mortal body of the saint, in which a part of the Divine Spirit had resided.]

"The disciples of ISSA then left the land of Israel. The pagans, their kings and their warriors, listened to the preachers, abandoned their absurd beliefs, left their priests and their idols to celebrate the praise of the All-Wise Creator of the universe, the King of Kings, whose heart is filled with infinite pity."

It is impossible not to read Mr. Notovitch's sixth gospel with interest. M. Renan's fifth gospel, so different, will be remembered as one reads. But one is almost sorry as he reads, that if this were to be done at all it has not been better done. It is Russo-French, and almost without a trace of Eastern habit—of that dreamy reverie, which in the East takes the place of thought. One even thinks he catches sometimes a trace of Russian politics, as he reads of the discussions between Issa and Pilate. Speaking artistically, the most ingenious feature of the whole is the resolute omission to recognize our four evangelists. Luke's reference to the Saviour as twelve years old, the name of Pilate, and the three days in the grave, are the only points where the new life definitely resembles or recalls the old ones. This was resolute and ingenious. But the reader amuses himself, as he reads the Western invention, by asking what a Buddhist scholar, if indeed there are such, would have made if he had handled a theme so attractive.

EDWARD E. HALE.

ANARCHISM AND THE NAPOLEONIC REVIVAL.

BY KARL BLIND.

Among the more far-seeing French Republicans a great deal of apprehension has recently arisen through the almost simultaneous appearance of the epidemic disease of anarchism and the revival of the Napoleonic cult. Widely apart as the two movements seem to be in spirit and aim, the one yet serves and unwittingly furthers the other.

As a nation, the French have unfortunately a leaning towards the glorious government of a strong man, especially since the Huguenot element was rooted out from them by sanguinary persecution, and since Paris has nearly sucked all strength from the municipal and provincial life of the country. The old Gallic, or rather Kelt-Iberian, spirit, though occasionally very turbulent, is eminently favorable to the one-man system. The Teutonic or Frankish infusion, which, in Montesquieu's words, brought the principles of self-government "from the forests of Germany," has in course of time become more and more obliterated in France. The result has often been a deplorable one. Noble risings, begun in the name of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, have repeatedly collapsed and slid into Cæsarism. By a violent rebound the arbitrary rule of a usurping Emperor had to be overthrown by a combination of foreign invasion and of a revolutionary upheaval. So it was again in 1870. Yet it is a fact of very serious import that, within the short space of time which has elapsed since then, the Republic was thrice menaced in its existence: First, by a planned military state-stroke (happily revealed in time) of Marshal MacMahon; secondly, by the overweening ambition of Gambetta, in whom the vein of Cæsaristic demagogism was strongly developed, and whose premature death has probably saved France from a great peril; thirdly, by General Boulanger.

Add to this that, since the days of the first great revolution down to those of Louis Philippe and Napoleon III., the democracy of France has shown itself deeply tainted with the hankering after *gloire* and conquest. The natural consequence is that in times of commotion "a sword"—*un sabre*—or a name representing traditions of that kind has always a remarkable chance there. That chance is easily strengthened through an unfavorable feature of the French middle class; namely, its political timidity and want of backbone. Now, taking into account the widespread alarm created by a series of Anarchistic outrages, such national characteristics make for a vague desire to see a commanding personality—a "Saviour of Society"—at the head of affairs.

All this, combined with the hankering after revenge for the defeats of 1870–71, and with the shaking given to the authority of the ruling Republican party through the Panama scandal, in which so many of its prominent men were involved, is apt to confer a peculiar significance upon the recent extraordinary revival of the Bonapartean legend. It is true, no impressive pretender of that name is just now in the field. But remembering how narrowly France escaped, a few years ago, from the designs of General Boulanger—who fortunately proved weak enough to be restrained by female hands, even as Gambetta found his death through a wound received in a love intrigue, it cannot be denied that a danger undoubtedly lurks in the present situation. The danger has been enhanced by the sedulous cultivation of the Russian alliance. Republican sentiments and principles were flung to the winds for the sake of lauding the Czar to the skies. The "Three Presidents," that is, the chief magistrate of the Republic and the heads of the two Houses of Parliament, vied with each other in fulsome eulogies. M. Challemel-Lacour forgot himself so far as to declare, in the name of the Senate, the "homage of France" to the Northern Autocrat. It was an expression not fit to be used by the Speaker of any parliamentary body, let alone a Republican one; for "homage," in a political sense, means the submission of a liege to his sovereign.

Is it to be wondered at, in presence of such manifestations in honor of the archetype of despotism, that the civic and democratic spirit should have become weakened, and that, with the extension of the horrors of Anarchism, a sneaking admiration of

Imperialist Napoleonic splendor should have been fostered anew among a people whose constitutions have, within a century, so often changed with kaleidoscopic rapidity? Pretenders of the Cæsarist kind have always, at least, two strings to their bow: whilst aiming at irresponsible power and cultivating the army, they try to ingratiate themselves with the masses by a pretended care for their material interests as against the middle and upper classes. So did Louis Napoleon during his days of proscription and of imprisonment at the fortress of Ham.

"To Louis Blanc, as a token of esteem and friendship on the part of the author:" These were the words which the captive Pretender wrote on the title-page of his treatise on *The Extinction of Pauperism*, handing it to his visitor, who some years afterwards became a member of the Provisional Government of 1848, and who is famed both as a Socialistic writer and as the historian of the "Ten Years" of Louis Philippe's rule, and of the great revolution. With bitter feelings Louis Blanc showed this to me while in exile, in London. The Bonapartean Pretender went even further. Before starting from London for Paris in 1848, he once more sought an interview with Louis Blanc, who had then already been compelled to seek safety on English soil. And on arriving at the French capital his first idea was, to come into contact with Proudhon, the father of the doctrine of Anarchism, or No-Government!

Proudhon's name and reckless agitation had then become a terror to the French *bourgeoisie*. For that very reason the would-be usurper, who in those days still draped himself in the mantle of democratic phraseology, thought he could make advantageous use of Proudhon for frightening the middle class into submission to a dictatorial government. Nor were the hopes of Louis Bonaparte deceived as to Proudhon's activity. Though disagreeing with the Prince President of the Republic for a time, and thereby incurring imprisonment in 1849, Proudhon, from his very prison, wrote articles damaging the Republican cause. Later on, after the criminal deed of 1851, he even went to the length of issuing a work entitled *The Social Revolution, demonstrated by the Coup d'Etat of December 2*. In it, Proudhon glorified that Napoleonic usurpation. For the sake of utterly misleading his own anarchistic followers, he wound up with the assertion that "the last word of socialism is the no-government system!"

In this way, anarchism in France has helped on the cause of a despotism than which there has been nothing viler since the days of the worst Roman Imperators—a despotism under which the country groaned for wellnigh twenty years.

The careful student of contemporary history, who has the personal experience of the last forty-five years before him, cannot but fear that public opinion in France once more exhibits signs of a very unsound growth, and which it would be well for the true friends of the Republican form of government to watch closely. When I look back to the days of Spring, 1848, I vividly recollect from what small germs Napoleonism then sprouted up, with astonishing swiftness, into a upas-tree of oppression. We lived then for a short time in Alsace as exiles from a defeated Republican rising in Germany. I recollect a small print, called *Le Petit Napoléon,* published then at Strasburg in the interest of the Pretender, who resided in London. It was not without reason that he started this journalistic propaganda in the fortified town where, in 1836, he had endeavored to effect a military rising against the Orleans monarchy.

In 1849, when our democratic movement had become victorious in southwestern Germany, and I was at Paris as a member of an embassy, I had many a lively discussion with leading French Republicans as to the character and the aims of the man who had in the mean while become the President of the Republic. To my surprise, they were all imbued with a strange optimism, so far as any danger from a state-stroke was concerned. They wholly underestimated the capability of Louis Bonaparte and his gang. As to the possibility of the success of a *coup d'état,* their remark generally was: "Oh, if ever he dared to do this, his attempt would collapse amidst universal laughter!"

Strange to say, I have found the same optimism amongst French friends of various shades of the Republican party, even among such as had suffered exile or imprisonment in consequence of the deed of December 2, 1851, when, during General Boulanger's earlier career, I entered into correspondence with them, sounding a strong note of warning both in the letters addressed to them and by public writings. It is true, afterwards, when the crisis came and the dark plot was laid bare, the same friends expressed their regret, verbally or in letters I have before me, at having thus misconceived the seriousness of the situation.

Out of curiously small beginnings the present revival of the Napoleonic cult has also come up—even as was the case in 1848. At this moment, the stage, literature, the salons, the fashions, and the industrial art of France are full of the Bonapartean tradition. Everywhere the stamp of the Empire is to be met, and the heroic figure of the Corsican conqueror and tyrant forms the central attraction. It is as if Lanfrey, Jules Barni, Taine, and others had written in vain. Yet who could believe that this resurrection of a legend which, after 1870, seemed to be as dead as Julius Cæsar, actually had its origin in the "Black Cat" coffee-house, that resort of a somewhat Bohemian class of artists? It was here that the new enthusiasm for the apparently extinct Napoleonic cult was born, through the theatrical performance of Caran d'Ache's *L'Epopée*, a series of silhouette tableaux, attractive for the crowd, without any dramatic centre, yet apt to allure the motley crew of gaping on-lookers. Wonderful to say, there soon came, as the report of this show spread, a perfect pilgrimage of people of all classes on a visit to the *Café au Chat Noir*. A Paris correspondent gives the following description:

The first tableau represented the bivouac, where the soldiers were cooking their soup. Suddenly a rolling of thunder, lightning flashes, and a change of scene. The tent of the Emperor appears. The "little man in grey," followed by his spaniel, goes his round, whilst the Grenadier Guard present arms. This idyll ends with the moment of his return. An adjutant arrives and goes to the door of the tent. "Is it thou, Josephine?" Napoleon asks from within. "It is the enemy!" the adjutant reports. "All the better!" is the quiet answer of the Emperor, and forthwith he holds a review of his troops.

Then follows one tableau of a battle upon the other. The sun of Austerlitz is seen, and the Emperor on horseback, surrounded by his staff. The orderlies take his commands; the troops manœuvre in the midst of the smoke of powder; the hussars of the guard charge; the artillery thunders away. The battlefield is covered with corpses. The retreat from Russia casts a dark shadow into this series of pictures, but presently more expanded scenes appear. The Place de la Concorde is filled with a vast multitude eagerly waiting—*le public idolâtre*—the devoutly worshipping public, as the explanation says. Then the *défile* begins. Regiment follows regiment. M. Caran d'Ache had drawn about four thousand figures. Comic intermezzos interrupt the more grandiose and ceremonial parts. The banners of the enemy, captured in battle, are triumphantly shown. Princes, made prisoners, go by in fetters (!); and, at last, Napoleon himself in his gilded coronation carriage. The whole finishes with a resplendent apotheosis, the public crying "*Vive l'Empereur!*"

This rather ridiculous and partly anachronistic play drew im-

mensely. Wealthy people eagerly asked M. Caran d'Ache to be allowed to have the show in their drawing-rooms at evening parties, arranged by the hostess for purposes of benevolence, the guests readily paying a hundred francs for a seat. The somewhat infantine trait which occasionally characterizes Parisians in spite of the otherwise rather different aspect and parfum of society in that gay capital, came out very curiously during the rage for the silhouette pictures of the *Café au Chat Noir.*

As an inevitable sequence, the scene of this sudden resurrection of the Bonapartean cult was laid, last Christmas, in the nurseries of France. *The Great Napoleon for the Little Children,* by J. de Marthold & Job, was published with the date of the present year. In that book the *epopée* commences with the young Bonaparte riding a hobby-horse with a lion's head, until at last he rises to heaven surrounded by a halo of light. The Napoleon drawn by Job's pencil for the little ones is certainly, before all, the great conqueror, the victor of the Pyramids, of Marengo and Austerlitz. At the same time he is the loving father, who takes pleasure in driving a goat-drawn carriage with his son, the King of Rome. He offers his snuffbox to his grenadiers. When his old soldiers have taught their dogs even to salute the Emperor, he on his part salutes also these Bonapartist hounds.

The first attempt at the "Black Cat" Coffee-House was followed by M. Martin- Laya's *Napoleon: a National Epopée in three parts, with six acts and fifty Tableaux.* It was given at the Theatre of the Porte Saint Martin, and it has had an immense success, although this spectacular piece, too, only appeals to the instincts of a crowd assembled at a fair. The whole life of Napoleon is represented in that piece down to the inhumation of his body in the Dome of the Invalides. The personages appearing on the stage only speak a few words, after which, in each case, the curtain comes down, and a new scenery delights the eye of the great and little children. Between the acts a magic lantern does its work by casting pictures on a white curtain.

When Waterloo is shown, the Old Guard is, of course, to the fore under Cambronne, to whom, until lately, the famous so-called historical utterance has been attributed, *"La Garde meurt, mais elle ne se rend pas!"* (The Guard dies, but it does not surrender.) Cambronne never uttered that saying. Victor

Hugo, in *Les Misérables*, has restored the true text. It is composed of a single word, a monosyllable, which is unfit for printing on account of its downright nastiness. This word, not unfrequently in the mouth of a French trooper, is as far removed as possible from the sublime and pathetic, and few will share the enthusiasm which Victor Hugo, in a fit of strange taste, expresses for it. At Paris, the really historical, though abominable, exclamation is now thundered forth by Cambronne in M. Martin Laya's play, and the audience invariably breaks forth into patriotic ecstacy.

As a matter of fact, I may mention here that General Cambronne not only did not utter the grandiloquent saying usually attributed to him, but that he was also very far from dying rather than to surrender. He had the misfortune to be made a prisoner at Waterloo by a Hanoverian officer and was led over the battle-field in a somewhat undignified manner by his shoulder straps. He lived for years afterwards, and even served under the Restoration; but the legend about what he was alleged to have said, and acted upon at Waterloo, lived with him, and indeed for a great many years afterwards.

These theatrical performances at Paris were succeeded by the publication of Marbot's Memoirs, referring to the First Empire; by M. Arthur Lévy's *Napoléon Intime;* by Masson's *Napoléon et les Femmes;* by Sardou's *Mademoiselle Sans Gêne;* by a cheap *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélene;* sold on the boulevards for a sou, and by quite a series of novellistic *feuilletons* in various papers. It is as if a new political saint had all at once been discovered, and as if every one holding a pen or a brush were in hot haste to profit from his astounding popularity.

In *Napoléon Intime* the figure of the tyrannic conqueror is curiously altered into that of a good-natured citizen, with all the virtues and manners of a well-to-do middle-class man. He is an excellent husband, never failing in his careful regard for his two successive spouses, and never creating any scandal by unlawful connections. On the other hand, Masson's book forms an exact contrast in the Decameron style; so that these various publications offer food for all kinds of taste.

Both these latter books scarcely remind one of the real character of Napoleon, who at the Beresina, when seeing the struggling mass of his own soldiers that had fallen from the bridge into the river, sardonically exclaimed, "*Voyez les crapauds,*" and who

one day said to Prince Metternich: "You are not a soldier, and you do not know what moves a soldier's soul. A man of my kind laughs at the loss of the lives of millions of men."

The performances at the "Chat Noir" café came into vogue at the time when General Boulanger still rode on his black Tunisian charger, followed by Arab horsemen in their picturesque costume, and when revolutionary Paris even had become almost mad with enthusiasm for that theatrical upstart. In those days, Boulanger was once saluted by the publican Salis as "the coming Emperor," amidst the applause of a *turba mobilis* of the most shady character, but which yet professed to be the exponent of real Democracy.

Here I may mention that a friend of Gambetta, when questioned by me, in presence of a number of English members of Parliament, on board the steamer which brought us to Greenwich to a club dinner, literally gave his opinion in this way: "If Gambetta had lived longer, and if he had obtained power as President of the Republic, he would certainly have made himself Emperor." It was an opinion I had held long before; Mr. Crawford, whom I had not personally known until then, fully confirmed it before these political notabilities. He had known Gambetta up to the time of his death, as a friend, and he had certainly no interest in giving him a different character from what he believed to be the truth.

Enough has been said to prove that, such as shifting public opinion is constituted in France, this revival of the Napoleonic cult cannot be looked upon with a light heart, when the deep alarm is taken into account which pervades French society in consequence of the ever-growing anarchistic madness—a madness which has spread even over the minds of such eminent scientific men as Elisée Réclus. In many ways, the situation of to-day reminds us of a similar one in 1848, with this difference only: that the incipient germs of the anarchistic doctrine which already then threatened the Democratic cause have developed since into full bloom. The utmost watchfulness is, therefore, recommendable to all sincere and sensible lovers of progress, lest the Republic should once more suffer harm for many years to come.

KARL BLIND.

THE NEW WOMAN.

BY OUIDA.

It can scarcely be disputed, I think, that in the English language there are conspicuous at the present moment two words which designate two unmitigated bores: The Workingman and the Woman. The Workingman and the Woman, the New Woman, be it remembered, meet us at every page of literature written in the English tongue; and each is convinced that on its own especial W hangs the future of the world. Both he and she want to have their values artificially raised and rated, and a status given to them by favor in lieu of desert. In an age in which persistent clamor is generally crowned by success they have both obtained considerable attention; is it offensive to say much more of it than either deserves? Your contributor avers that the Cow-Woman and the Scum-Woman, man understands; but that the New Woman is above him. The elegance of these appellatives is not calculated to recommend them to readers of either sex; and as a specimen of style forces one to hint that the New Woman who, we are told, "has been sitting apart in silent contemplation all these years" might in all these years have studied better models of literary composition. We are farther on told "that the dimmest perception that you may be mistaken, will save you from making an ass of yourself." It appears that even this dimmest perception has never dawned upon the New Woman.

We are farther told that "thinking and thinking" in her solitary sphynx-like contemplation she solved the problem and prescribed the remedy (the remedy to a problem!); but what this remedy was we are not told, nor did the New Woman apparently disclose it to the rest of womankind, since she still hears them in "sudden and violent upheaval" like "children unable to articulate whimpering for they know not what." It is sad to

reflect that they might have been "easily satisfied at that time" (at what time ?), "but society stormed at them until what was a little wail became convulsive shrieks"; and we are not told why the New Woman who had "the remedy for the problem," did not immediately produce it. We are not told either in what country or at what epoch this startling upheaval of volcanic womanhood took place in which "man merely made himself a nuisance with his opinions and advice," but apparently did quell this wailing and gnashing of teeth since it would seem that he has managed still to remain more masterful than he ought to be.

We are further informed that women "have allowed him to arrange the whole social system and manage or mismanage it all these ages without ever seriously examining his work with a view to considering whether his abilities and his methods were sufficiently good to qualify him for the task."

There is something deliciously comical in the idea, thus suggested, that man has only been allowed to "manage or mismanage" the world because woman has graciously refrained from preventing his doing so. But the comic side of this pompous and solemn assertion does not for a moment offer itself to the New Woman sitting aloof and aloft in her solitary meditation on the superiority of her sex. For the New Woman there is no such thing as a joke. She has listened without a smile to her enemy's "preachments"; she has "endured poignant misery for his sins," she has "meekly bowed her head" when he called her bad names; and she has never asked for "any proof of the superiority" which could alone have given him a right to use such naughty expressions. The truth has all along been in the possession of woman; but strange and sad perversity of taste ! she has "cared more for man than for truth, and so the whole human race has suffered ! "

"All that is over, however," we are told, and "while on the one hand man has shrunk to his true proportions" she has, all the time of this shrinkage, been herself expanding, and has in a word come to "fancy herself" extremely. So that he has no longer the slightest chance of imposing upon her by his game-cock airs.

Man, "having no conception of himself as imperfect," will find this difficult to understand at first; but the New Woman "knows his weakness," and will "help him with his lesson." "*Man morally is in his infancy.*" There have been times when there was

a doubt as to whether he was to be raised to her level, or woman to be lowered to his, but we "have turned that corner at last and now woman holds out a strong hand to the child-man and insists upon helping him up." The child-man (Bismarck ? Herbert Spencer ? Edison ? Gladstone ? Alexander III.? Lord Dufferin ? the Duc d'Aumale ?) the child-man must have his tottering baby steps guided by the New Woman, and he must be taught to live up to his ideals. To live up to an ideal, whether our own or somebody else's, is a painful process; but man must be made to do it. For, oddly enough, we are assured that despite "all his assumption he does not make the best of himself," which is not wonderful if he be still only in his infancy; and he has the incredible stupidity to be blind to the fact that "woman has self-respect and good sense," and that "she does not in the least intend to sacrifice the privileges she enjoys on the chance of obtaining others."

I have written amongst other *pensées éparses* which will some day see the light, the following reflection :

L'école nouvelle des femmes libres oublée qu'on ne puisse pas a la fait combattre l'homme sur son propre terrain et attendre de lui des politesses, des tendresses et des galanteries. Il ne faut pas aux même moment prendre de l'homme son chaise à l'Université et sa place dans l'omnibus; si on lui arrâche son gagnepain, on ne peut pas exiger qu'il offre aussi sa parapluie.

The whole kernel of the question lies in this. Your contributor says that the New Woman will not surrender her present privileges; *i. e.*, she will still expect the man to stand that she may sit; the man to get wet through that she may use his umbrella. But if she retain these privileges she can only do so by an appeal to his chivalry, *i. e.*, by a confession that she is weaker than he. But she does not want to do this : she wants to get the comforts and concessions due to feebleness, at the same time as she demands the lion's share of power due to superior force alone. It is this overweening and unreasonable grasping at both positions which will end in making her odious to man and in her being probably kicked back roughly by him into the seclusion of a harem.

Before me lies an engraving in an illustrated journal of a woman's meeting; whereat a woman is demanding in the name of her sovereign sex the right to vote at political elections. The speaker is middle-aged and plain of feature; she

wears an inverted plate on her head tied on with strings under her double-chin ; she has balloon-sleeves, a bodice tight to bursting, a waist of ludicrous dimensions in proportion to her portly person ; she is gesticulating with one hand, of which all the fingers are stuck out in ungraceful defiance of all artistic laws of gesture. Now, why cannot this orator learn to gesticulate and learn to dress, instead of clamoring for a franchise ? She violates in her own person every law, alike of common-sense and artistic fitness, and yet comes forward as a fit and proper person to make laws for others. She is an exact representative of her sex.

Woman, whether new or old, has immense fields of culture untilled, immense areas of influence wholly neglected. She does almost nothing with the resources she possesses, because her whole energy is concentrated on desiring and demanding those she has not. She can write and print anything she chooses ; and she scarcely ever takes the pains to acquire correct grammar or elegance of style before wasting ink and paper. She can paint and model any subjects she chooses, but she imprisons herself in men's *atéliers* to endeavor to steal their technique and their methods, and thus loses any originality she might possess. Her influence on children might be so great that through them she would practically rule the future of the world ; but she delegates her influence to the vile school boards if she be poor, and if she be rich to governesses and tutors ; nor does she in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred ever attempt to educate or control herself into fitness for the personal exercise of such influence. Her precept and example in the treatment of the animal creation might be of infinite use in mitigating the hideous tyranny of humanity over them, but she does little or nothing to this effect; she wears dead birds and the skins of dead creatures ; she hunts the hare and shoots the pheasant, she drives and rides with more brutal recklessness than men ; she watches with delight the struggles of the dying salmon, of the gralloched deer ; she keeps her horses standing in snow and fog for hours with the muscles of their heads and necks tied up in the torture of the bearing rein ; when asked to do anything for a stray dog, a lame horse, a poor man's donkey, she is very sorry, but she has so many claims on her already ; she never attempts by orders to her household, to her *fournisseurs,* to her dependents, to obtain some degree of

mercy in the treatment of sentient creatures and in the methods of their slaughter.

The immense area which lies open to her in private life is almost entirely uncultivated, yet she wants to be admitted into public life. Public life is already overcrowded, verbose, incompetent, fussy, and foolish enough without the addition of her in her sealskin coat with the dead humming bird on her hat. Woman in public life would exaggerate the failings of men, and would not have even their few excellencies. Their legislation would be, as that of men is too often, the offspring of panic or prejudice; and she would not put on the drag of common-sense as man frequently does in public assemblies. There would be little to hope from her humanity, nothing from her liberality; for when she is frightened she is more ferocious than he, and when she has power more merciless.

"Men," says your contributor, "deprived us of all proper education and then jeered at us because we had no knowledge." How far is this based on facts? Could not Lady Jane Grey learn Greek and Latin as she chose? Could not Hypatia lecture? Were George Sand or Mrs. Somerville withheld from study? Could not in every age every woman choose a Corinna or Cordelia as her type? become either Helen or Penelope? If the vast majority have not either the mental or physical gifts to become either, that was Nature's fault, not man's. Aspasia and Adelina Patti were born, not made. In all eras and all climes a woman of great genius or of great beauty has done what she chose; and if the majority of women have led obscure lives, so have the majority of men. The chief part of humanity is insignificant, whether it be male or female. In most people there is very little character indeed, and as little mind. Those who have much never fail to make their marks, be they of which sex they may.

The unfortunate idea that there is no good education without a college curriculum is as injurious as it is erroneous. The college education may have excellencies for men in its *frottement*, its preparation for the world, its rough destruction of personal conceit; but for women it can only be hardening and deforming. If study be delightful to a woman, she will find her way to it as the hart to water brooks. The author of *Aurora Leigh* was not only always at home, but she was an invalid; yet she became

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a fine classic, and found her path to fame. A college curriculum would have done nothing to improve her rich and beautiful mind; it might have done much to debase it.

The perpetual contact of men with other men may be good for them, but the perpetual contact of women with other women is very far from good. The publicity of a college must be odious to a young girl of refined and delicate feeling.

The "Scum-woman" and the "Cow-woman," to quote the elegant phraseology of your contributor, are both of them less of a menace to humankind than the New Woman with her fierce vanity, her undigested knowledge, her over-weening estimate of her own value and her fatal want of all sense of the ridiculous.

When scum comes to the surface it renders a great service to the substance which it leaves behind it; when the cow yields pure nourishment to the young and the suffering, her place is blessed in the realm of nature; but when the New Woman splutters blistering wrath on mankind she is merely odious and baneful.

The error of the New Woman (as of many an old one) lies in speaking of women as the victims of men, and entirely ignoring the frequency with which men are the victims of women. In nine cases out of ten the first to corrupt the youth is the woman. In nine cases out of ten also she becomes corrupt herself because she likes it.

It is all very well to say that prostitutes were at the beginning of their career victims of seduction; but it is not probable and it is not provable. Love of drink and of finery, and a dislike to work, are the more likely motives and origin. It never seems to occur to the accusers of man that women are just as vicious and as lazy as he is in nine cases out of ten, and need no invitation from him to become so.

A worse prostitution than that of the streets, *i. e.*, that of loveless marriages of convenience, are brought about by women, not by men. In such unions the man always gives much more than he gains, and the woman in almost every instance is persuaded or driven into it by women—her mother, her sisters, her acquaintances. It is rarely that the father interferes to bring about such a marriage.

In even what is called a well-assorted marriage, the man is frequently sacrificed to the woman. As I wrote long ago,

Andrea del Sarte's wife has many sisters. Correggio dying of the burden of the family, has many brothers. Men of genius are often dragged to earth by their wives. In our own day a famous statesman is made very ridiculous by his wife; frequently the female influences brought to bear on him render a man of great and original powers and disinterested character, a time-server, a conventionalist, a mere seeker of place. Woman may help man sometimes, but she certainly more often hinders him. Her self-esteem is immense and her self-knowledge very small. I view with dread for the future of the world the power which modern inventions place in the hands of woman. Hitherto her physical weakness has restrained her in a great measure from violent action; but a woman can make a bomb and throw it, can fling vitriol, and fire a repeating revolver as well as any man can. These are precisely the deadly, secret, easily handled modes of warfare and revenge, which will commend themselves to her ferocious feebleness.

Jules Ruchard has written:

"J'ai professé de l'anatomie pendant des longues années, j'ai passé une bonne partie de ma vie dans les amphithéâtres, mais je n'en ai pas moins éprouvé un sentiment penible en trouvant dans toutes les maisons d'education des squilettes d'animaux et des mannequins anatomiques entre les mains des fillettes."

I suppose this passage will be considered as an effort "to withhold knowledge from women," but it is one which is full of true wisdom and honorable feeling. When you have taken her into the physiological and chemical laboratories, when you have extinguished pity in her, and given weapons to her dormant cruelty which she can use in secret, you will be hoist with your own petard—your pupil will be your tyrant, and then she will meet with the ultimate fate of all tyrants.

In the pages of this REVIEW a physician has lamented the continually increasing unwillingness of women of the world to bear children, and the consequent increase of ill-health, whilst to avoid child-bearing is being continually preached to the working classes by those who call themselves their friends.

The elegant epithet of Cow-woman implies the contempt with which maternity is viewed by the New Woman who thinks it something fine to vote at vestries, and shout at meetings, and lay bare the spines of living animals, and haul the gasping salmon

from the river pool, and hustle male students off the benches of amphitheatres.

Modesty is no doubt a thing of education or prejudice, a conventionality artificially stimulated ; but it is an exquisite grace, and womanhood without it loses its most subtle charm. Nothing tends so to destroy modesty as the publicity and promiscuity of schools, of hotels, of railway trains and sea voyages. True modesty shrinks from the curious gaze of other women as from the coarser gaze of man.

Men, moreover, are in all except the very lowest classes more careful of their talk before young girls than women are. It is very rarely that a man does not respect real innocence ; but women frequently do not. The jest, the allusion, the story which sullies her mind and awakes her inquisitiveness, will much oftener be spoken by women than men. It is not from her brothers, nor her brother's friends, but from her female companions that she will understand what the grosser laugh of those around her suggests. The biological and pathological curricula complete the loveless disflowering of her maiden soul.

Everything which tends to obliterate the contrast of the sexes, like your mixture of boys and girls in your American common schools, tends also to destroy the charm of intercourse, the savor and sweetness of life. Seclusion lends an infinite seduction to the girl, as the rude and bustling publicity of modern life robs woman of her grace. Packed like herrings in a railway carriage, sleeping in odious vicinity to strangers on a shelf, going days and nights without a bath, exchanging decency and privacy for publicity and observation, the women who travel, save those rich enough to still purchase seclusion, are forced to cast aside all refinement and delicacy.

It is said that travel enlarges the mind. There are many minds which can no more be enlarged, by any means whatever, than a nut or a stone. The fool remains a fool, though you carry him or her about over the whole surface of the globe, and it is certain that the promiscuous contact and incessant publicity of travel, which may not hurt the man, do injure the woman.

Neither men nor women of genius are, I repeat, any criterion for the rest of their sex; nay, they belong, as Plato placed them, to a third sex which is above the laws of the multitude. But even whilst they do so they are always the foremost to recognize that

it is the difference, not the likeness, of sex which makes the charm of human life. Barry Cornwall wrote long ago:

"As the man beholds the woman,
As the woman sees the man;
Curiously they note each other,
As each other only can.

"Never can the man divest her
Of that mystic charm of sex;
Ever must she, gazing on him,
That same mystic charm annex."

That mystic charm will long endure despite the efforts to destroy it of orators in tight stays and balloon sleeves, who scream from platforms, and the beings so justly abhorred of Mrs. Lynn Lynton, who smoke in public carriages and from the waist upward are indistinguishable from the men they profess to despise.

But every word, whether written or spoken, which urges the woman to antagonism against the man, every word which is written or spoken to try and make of her a hybrid, self-contained, opponent of men, makes a rift in the lute to which the world looks for its sweetest music.

The New Woman reminds me of an agriculturist who, discarding a fine farm of his own, and leaving it to nettles, stones, thistles, and wire-worms, should spend his whole time in demanding neighboring fields which are not his. The New Woman will not even look at the extent of ground indisputably her own, which she leaves unweeded and untilled.

Not to speak of the entire guidance of childhood, which is certainly already chiefly in the hands of woman (and of which her use does not do her much honor), so long as she goes to see one of her own sex dancing in a lion's den, the lions being meanwhile terrorized by a male brute; so long as she wears dead birds as millinery and dead seals as coats; so long as she goes to races, steeplechases, coursing and pigeon matches; so long as she "walks with the guns"; so long as she goes to see an American lashing horses to death in idiotic contest with velocipedes; so long as she courtesies before princes and emperors who reward the winners of distance-rides; so long as she receives physiologists in her drawing-rooms, and trusts to them in her maladies; so long as she invades literature without culture and art without talent; so long as she orders her court-dress in a hurry; so long as she makes

no attempt to interest herself in her servants, in her animals, in the poor slaves of her tradespeople ; so long as she shows herself as she does at present without scruple at every brutal and debasing spectacle which is considered fashionable ; so long as she understands nothing of the beauty of meditation, of solitude, of Nature ; so long as she is utterly incapable of keeping her sons out of the shambles of modern sport, and lifting her daughters above the pestilent miasma of modern society—so long as she does not, can not, or will not either do, or cause to do, any of these things, she has no possible title or capacity to demand the place or the privilege of man.

OUIDA.

THE MAN OF THE MOMENT.

BY SARAH GRAND, AUTHOR OF "THE HEAVENLY TWINS."

MAN is an exceedingly difficult and delicate subject to approach. If a woman have anything to say about him that is not altogether flattering, it is necessary to begin by an emphatic qualification of each assertion separately,—such as that it never did and never could apply to men generally, only to individuals; otherwise the greater number will take it to themselves and be irritated—a curious fact. The dear-old-lady-men of all ages are up in epithets directly if a type is presented without the saving clause, which, in order to prevent heartburning and bitterness, must be as cautiously worded as a legal document.

We do not think of accusing men of supposing that all women are Becky Sharps, but men think it necessary to warn us repeatedly that all men are not Roderick Randoms. When man is put out his sense of humor is suspended, and then he becomes exceedingly amusing. Many a man who read *The Heavenly Twins* would have shot the book if he had a pistol in his hand at the moment. And there is one threatening old gentleman just now who turns purple at his club, shakes his stick at the whole sex through the window, and bawls that "Women had better let men alone!" It has never occurred to this old gentleman that woman would be only too glad to let man alone if he would return the compliment.

When woman ceases to suffer degradation at the hands of man, she will be satisfied, and let him alone. But there will be no peace from now on in the human household until that happy day arrives. We are bound to defend our own sex, especially when we find them suffering injustice, injury, poverty, and disgrace, until men are manly and chivalrous enough to relieve us of the horrid necessity. There is happily nowadays an ever-increasing number of

men on whom we can rely; but there are more who are not to be relied upon in this matter; and if you happen to have the wrong one to deal with, of what avail is it that the right one exists? Laws are not made because we are all criminals. But nevertheless, be careful of the saving clause; and if you are dealing with man's morals, do not be surprised if there are complaints because you have not also mentioned his taste in dress.

The man of the moment, so called because he cannot continue unchanged on into the brighter and the better day which we are approaching, is he against whom woman has a just cause of complaint. If the modern maiden in her transition stage is an interesting person in view of the Woman Question, so also, and for the same reason, is the man of the moment. As a candidate for marriage he is the more interesting of the two perhaps, because he is not so well known. Woman is always being exhibited as maid, wife, widow, and mother-in-law; but man for the most part is taken for granted. If there is anything to be gained by it he puffs himself out, but he comes quietly as a candidate for marriage. Least said, soonest mended. When there is any question of altering the position of women, or educating them better, the dear-old-lady-men of all ages are full of fears. They write reams to prove to each other's satisfaction that motherhood is incompatible with mathematics, and the higher education of women would lead to the physical impoverishment and final extinction of the human race. And, having relieved their minds on the subject, they devote themselves to the establishment of the schoolboard system for the teaching to death of half-starved growing children; and the competitive examination test which is warranted to sap the nerve-power at a critical age of all who go in for it. The brains of the dear-old-lady-men appear to be divided into separate little compartments which have no communication with each other. When they come out from one of these compartments the door shuts with a spring, and then they forget what is in it until they go back again: which convenient arrangement enables them to air the most opposite theories without being conscious of any inconsistency. So we see them in terror one day because some few women are entering the professions and making an income for themselves; this means empty nurseries, they maintain, which is something too disastrous to anticipate. They play in this compartment so long as

the interest lasts, then bang goes the door, another is opened, and they find themselves out of the region of theory into the region of fact; and now what to do with the superfluous population is the difficulty. In the midst of this a cry is heard that the physique of the race is deteriorating. Bang goes the population-difficulty door, and now there is some really beautiful talk about health and virtue. The care of the constitution is a duty which parents owe to their children, therefore women must really be made to order their lives on the most approved method. We have learnt to understand why men bawl at preaching women, and to sympathize with their exasperation when they are preached at, for do they not preach us into preaching in self-defence? We feel ourselves entitled to some little pleasure in life, so we preach back, for the preacher at least enjoys himself. It is a wise provision of nature, however, which sets man talking while woman is putting her own ideas to the test of practical experiment. She does not talk much when she means business; and he does not meddle once she settles him to cackle comfortably over his cigar about her, "don't you know, and all she is fit for, by Jove, I tell you, sir!"

During one of these phases, when the girl is being sermonized to distraction, little or nothing is said about the growing boy: his training in the matter of responsibility towards his possible children, and duty to the nation generally. Nothing used to be expected of him in the way of virtue and self-denial. It is shameful to think how he was neglected and allowed to act on his own worst impulses until the new woman came to correct him. If his education had been carefully planned to make him morally a weak-willed, inconsistent creature, and lower him altogether in our estimation, it could not have succeeded better. And that is what the modern woman complains of when the man of the moment comes as a candidate for marriage. Her ideal of a husband is a man whom she can reverence and respect from end to end of his career, especially in regard to his relations with her own sex.

Philosophers show that the stability of nations depends practically upon ethics. When they do not aspire to be as perfect as they know how to be, they collapse. As a low tone about women is a sign of a degenerated gentleman, so is it also the sign of a decaying nation. The man of the moment does anything but

aspire, and it is the low moral tone which he cultivates that threatens to enervate the race. In fact, were it not for the hard fight women will make to prevent it, there would be small hope of saving us from flickering out like all the older peoples. Woman, however, by being dissatisfied with the inferior moral qualities of her suitors, is coming to the rescue. The unerring sex-instinct informed her that a man's whole system deteriorates for want of moral principle. Feeling was her guide at first. Something about the man repelled her, and she would not have him; that was all. Now she knows. But all along there have been indications which confirmed the conclusions of her senses. One finds wise men in all ages and in many unexpected places holding as an opinion what we now accept as knowledge of the subject. Count von Moltke drew his conclusions with regard to the strength of the French army, not from its numbers, but from its condition morally. When asked, after a visit to France before the Franco-German war, what he thought Germany would have to fear in the event of an encounter with France, he answered contemptuously, "Nothing!" Because there was scarcely an officer in the French army who hadn't an indecent picture of women in his room. And something analogous has been noticed in the British service. The regiments which turn out the finest men, and do the best service on occasion, are those in which a low tone about women is voted bad form. When invitations were being sent out the other day for a great public function, there was a question as to which regiments should be asked in order to secure the best set of officers, and it was found afterwards that in every instance the regiment chosen was distinguished for the chivalrous loyalty of its tone in regard to women. In some regiments there is a by-law still in force forbidding the mention of a lady's name in mess. This is doubtless a survival of the day when a man who spoke disrespectfully of a woman was liable to be called upon to answer for the insult with his life. And, perhaps, considering the kind of conversation rife in clubs and messes of to-day, it would be well to introduce some such regulation, if it were only to save the members from making themselves ridiculous. All the worst gossip comes from these places, the silliest as well as the most slanderous. Take as an instance of both, that story which is just now causing convulsions of laughter amongst women. The ladies of

the Pioneer Club have been accused of being so exceedingly fast that men, not otherwise devoid of intelligence, have actually remonstrated with their sisters for belonging to it, and warned their friends not to "allow" their wives to go there. The club consists of women engaged in philanthropic pursuits, moral and religious, among its members being Lady Henry Somerset, Adeline Duchess of Bedford, Viscountess Harberton, Miss Willard, Lady Elizabeth Cust and three of her daughters, Mrs. Wynford Philipps, Mrs. Eva Maclaren, Mrs. Massingberd, President and Foundress, and about four hundred other women, as well known for the most part both in public and private as the Archbishop of Canterbury. This is the riotous crew whom grave and potent seniors have helped to attack, of such peculiar quality has the gentlehood of the clubs come to consist in this centre of civilization. But that it is possible for them either to be so blinded by spite or so evil minded as to have lost the wholesome sense of humor, which would have kept them from making themselves ridiculous, by asserting that there can be anything morally wrong in the conduct of such a collection of women is lamentable. Let us pray for them. There may be moral courage latent among them still; who knows? Physical courage is mere brute force; to make it a manly quality it must have moral courage to complete it. The latter argues intellectual capacity also, without which courage is an edged tool in the clumsy hands of a child. Man's own undisputed assertion used to be sufficient for himself as to the kind of conduct which would make him agreeable to women. It was he who described her as adoring "a regular dog, don't you know." Women had not asked at that time what being "a regular dog" implied. But when they became acquainted with the qualifications and improving details of the career of the creature, and found the most rascally degradation of their own sex involved in his habits, they expressed their opinion of him. "A regular dog" is not at all to the taste of the modern woman, and when he comes upon the stage expecting to find that he has wiped out the misdeeds of a life by facing the enemy for a week, and will be acknowledged as rehabilitated, she laughs at him. He has to face the enemy, of course. War is the dirty work of a nation, and he cannot expect her to do it; but even when he does it well, it is only one of the necessary qualifications that go to the making of man. What

is he like when not fighting—at home, for instance? Many a man would face a cannon who cannot deny himself a dish at dinner that disagrees with him. The dish is a daily occurrence, and women do well to remember that it is with the unreasonableness which results from it that they have to deal, waging unedifying war with it to guard their children if possible from the evil and misery of an exasperating example, long after the heroism of the cannon exploit is over.

Mere brute courage will not do at the present time. It is not peculiar to either sex. Every woman that marries risks her life, and does not expect a medal for it, either. Physical courage is a physical condition proper to healthy people, and too common to be of any account at this period of our progress without moral courage to dignify it. Without moral courage, there is no such thing as manliness. And nowadays it is difficult to read a paper without wondering where the men are. In this mismanaged world it looks as if we should soon be obliged to do their work as well as our own, or nothing will be done. We are forced forward at a cost of suffering to ourselves which probably only we ourselves can appreciate, because there are not men enough to defend the women of any class. "Where are the gentlemen?" a lady asked on her way through the hall to mount her horse the other morning. "Please, my lady," the footman answered, "the gentlemen are in bed." It was a country house, and only the middle-aged men were ever down at a reasonable hour in the morning. They had twice the stamina as well as twice the wit of the men-of-the-moment kind; and if a lady wanted a companion who would be up and fresh to accompany her, and would not be a bore, it was a middle-aged man she chose.

If "Where are the men?" is asked in the boudoir, the contemptuous answer is, "In mischief—or else in bed," and it sounds like a note of national deterioration. Girls can be busy from morning till night, in doors and out. They attend to their duties and their pleasures, too; work, walk, ride, drive, and dance to-day, and come down as fresh as ever to work, walk, ride, drive, and dance to-morrow without support from any stimulant but their own good spirits, good appetites, and unimpaired digestions. But with regard to the young men, after any extra exertion, it is always the same story: "Please, my lady, the gentlemen are in bed." And not only after extraordinary exertion. In hun-

dreds of households, wherever it is possible, it is the rule. The girls are up and doing in the morning, while the young men, indolent and nerveless, lie long in bed.

Idleness and luxury are making men flabby, and the man at the head of affairs is beginning to ask seriously if a great war might not help them to pull themselves together. It shows the unfitness of his unaided intellect for the office when he has to go back to that clumsy old method for a remedy. He would make certain to clear off the strongest men of the nation in the hope of getting rid of the weakly ones as well—an effectual arrangement on a par with the Chinese principle of roasting the pig by burning down the house. The best thing to cure men of their effeminacy would be to deprive all the idle and luxurious ones of their incomes. Give them the choice of starvation or work; either would answer the purpose.

From the modern girl's point of view, the man of the moment is not of much account. The instinct of natural selection which inclined her first of all to set him aside, for his flabbiness, is strengthened now by her knowledge of his character. She knows him much better than her parents do, and in proportion as she knows him she finds less and less reason to respect him. The girls discuss him with each other and with the younger married women, and out of their discussions is arising a strong distaste for him. "I'm not going to marry a man I can't respect," "I shan't marry unless I find a man of honor with no horrid past," and "Don't offer me the mutilated remains of a man," coupled with the names of Tom Jones and Roderick Random, are the commonest expressions of it. And it is in vain for the man of the moment when he marries to hope to conceal the consequences of the past from his wife by assuming a highly refined objection to "allowing" her to read any book that would open her eyes. The manners of the new woman are perfect. She is never aggressive, never argumentative; but she understands the art of self-defence, and reads what she pleases.

The men with whom a girl is brought up have the habit of respecting her, but it is impossible to be sure of polite consideration from any she does not know, and this sets them both at a disadvantage. The girl dare not be natural for fear of being misunderstood, and, worse still, misrepresented. She can never be sure that the apparently chivalrous gentleman with whom she

has been talking unguardedly, drawn out by his seemingly sympathetic interest, will not repeat and ridicule every ill-chosen word she has blundered upon in her efforts to express herself. The first principle of honor in social intercourse is never to repeat a private conversation; but this is so little observed one would think it was scarcely known. To the modern girl the man of the moment, when she begins to know his habits of mind, appears as a common creature, of no ideals, deficient in breadth and depth, and only of a boundless assurance. She makes merry over him, and thinks him a subject both for contempt and pity. We are now at the swing of the pendulum in the Woman Question. Ideas are all at extremes. And it is not ideas only that are at extremes. Where woman have been unjustly treated they are inclined to retaliate, as if an eye for an eye ever mended matters! In the nursery the little boy used to have it all his own way. He was the first to be considered, the others were "only little girls." To this tune his life was set at the outset, and he sang it himself to the end. Now, however, the pendulum swings back. In many nurseries Master Bob is no longer allowed to lord it over the little ladies. He must be taught to wait on them, and behave like a gentleman; but, still, equality, the true ideal, is not reached. It is oftenest only the opposite of the old extreme. He is made to do the fetching and carrying and to understand also that he is altogether an inferior sort of person: "Bob's such a brute," "If you don't look after Bob, he'll over-eat himself," "You'll have to thump him if you want to make him understand," and so on from the little girls in a strain that is not good for anybody. Until he goes to school he may be loved as of old, but also ridiculed; and when he grows up the position is unaltered. Women may like him, but they will neither fear nor respect him just because he tells them they must. When he deserves respect, the balance between the sexes will be properly adjusted. He is not yet sufficiently aware of his own imperfections to do much for himself; but women need not be disheartened. Now is the time to cultivate a cheerful frame of mind, and remember that if there is little hope for the present generation, they can spank proper principles into the next in the nursery.

SARAH GRAND.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

SPANISH THEATRES AND ACTORS.

In no other country is the theatre as popular as in Spain. After the bull-fight, a Spaniard loves the theatre best. A true Spanish home is so dull that men and women alike scarcely ever spend a quiet evening in their inner circle. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that they should prefer to leave their uncomfortable rooms to get warmed and dazzled for a few hours in the glare of a *teatro*. It is there also they see their friends, and continue their habitual *tertulia* or gossip. Even the children love the drama, play, or *sainete*, and on Sunday afternoons and feast days their mammas deck them up in finery and take them to see the latest sensational play. It is curious indeed to watch a box full of baby faces keenly interested and devouring a terrible drama full of harrowing scenes, or laughing at a short play full of wit and piquant jokes. It does not seem at all natural to see children taken to these spectacles, but Spanish children are little old men and women, and a fairy pantomime would be too dull for them.

In Madrid there are almost as many theatres as churches. They are very commodious, splendidly decorated, and all built after the same model. A large stage, a pit full of cozy red velvet *butacas* or stalls where ladies and gentlemen sit together, and round the house the *palcos* or boxes, large and airy, with looking glasses, chairs, and carpets. Above the tiers of boxes is the *paraiso*, paradise or cheap gallery, which derives its name from its vicinity to the sky.

The Madrid Opera House is perhaps smaller than the Grand Opera or Covent Garden, but is by far more convenient. It reminds one of a dainty ladies' boudoir; it is so fresh and bright with its red and gold decorations, its soft electric lights, its velvet carpets and pretty frescoes. The royal box itself is a gem with pink *capetonnee* walls and the arms of Spain above the red and gold curtain. This is only the small royal box, as the Queen never uses the immense one that occupies the centre of the house except on very grand occasions. Behind the Queen's box is a pretty saloon, where she can retire to take refreshments between the acts. There is a telephone there, and it was through it that her Majesty received the news of Montpensier's death one night when the opera was going on.

In Madrid it is the custom for ladies to dress very much for the theatres or opera. They wear bonnets in the stalls, but nothing on their heads in the boxes. The greater part of the public keep chattering the whole time. It is difficult indeed for them to keep their attention fixed on the stage for any length of time, as they go so often to the theatre that they soon know the pieces by heart. However, at the Madrid opera there are a few who do go for the music. Such people always go to the Paraiso. Nothing can be

more select than this "paradise" where musicians, artists, and real lovers of the opera sit on hard benches, and endure the heat, so as to be able to hear the great singers at a reduced price. These *aficionados* or *connoisseurs* have their own way. They hiss the chattering aristocrats. They applaud every good note. They shout "*Fuera!*" when not pleased. It is to the Paraiso the artists sing, and for it they do their best. They tremble at the sight of some faces there high above in the clouds, as they know their real judges sit there.

These people hissed Gayarre when he began to sing, and only applauded him when his silvery voice became perfect. As for Patti she was once treated in a very slighting way by those who now throw flowers at her feet. The Madrileños have their favorites. They love the great orchestra director Manchinelli. They could not do without the comic singer Baldelli. They never tire of Stagno, but they are not over-enthusiastic with any lady singers of the day. When Nevada came to Madrid for the first time, she was loudly applauded. She returned once more, but a girl of seventeen called Pacini had learnt to imitate her so well that she even sang her favorite *Sonnambula* as well as the great American singer. When Nevada reappeared on the Madrid stage, she was so coldly welcomed that a sore throat was most timely invoked as a pretext for her giving up the rest of her engagement.

Nearly all the opera singers in Madrid live in the house of an Italian called Cataldi. It is a cozy old place, with large rooms looking out on the square before the Royal Palace. After the opera, the artists often have splendid suppers together. Many years ago the writer was present at one of those suppers. Tamberlich presided at the long table, and he sang also. His voice was so lovely then! It is a pity he did not retire before he grew old, and had to sing in provincial theatres for his living, because an unfortunate marriage helped to ruin him.

The *Teatro Espanol* is where all the great Spanish classical plays have always been produced. One must be a Spaniard or fully understand the language to be able to appreciate these grand old dramas of Cervantes, Calderon de la Barca, Duque de Rivas, etc. Even the *Juan Tenorio* of the still living aged poet Zarilla is so thoroughly Spanish that foreigners could hardly appreciate it. José Echegarray is the dramatic author of the day in Spain, and his plays are the most popular now in the *Teatro Espanol*. José Echegarray is a civil engineer by profession, but he loves to leave his more active profession to take his pen and in a few weeks can produce a splendid thrilling drama in verse which sends half Madrid wild. His personages are generally of the nineteenth century, and he depicts their vices, passions, and virtues to a degree that keeps you spellbound, as if in a hideous dream. He has one defect. He can only write good parts for men; his heroines are weak and not at all up to the standard of his heroes. Can it be that there are few women in Spain who could act as he would wish them to do? He has written dramas of such fame that even in America and in Germany his *Gran Galeote* was translated. José Echegarray is a rich man now. He is over fifty, with a fine intelligent forehead, keen eyes, and gray mustache. He is a favorite in most salons, but the ladies of Madrid cannot easily surpass in beauty his lovely wife. Looking even younger than her daughter, La Señora de Echegarray is still a splendid woman, with her graceful figure and jet black hair, a true Castilian type of sculptural beauty.

For years and years the *Teatro Espanol* had the same company. The clever energetic actor Vico, always takes the thrilling rôles of Echegarray's old men. The more youthful rôles used to be assigned to Calvo, but, alas! he died when he was in the prime of life. Calvo was a splendid actor, and the Madrileños were terribly sad when they lost him, though his younger brother tries to replace him on the stage. Ricardo and Rafael Calvo were sons of a great actor; and above all things they prized a wreath of laurels thrown to their father years and years ago in the Teatro Español. The writer visited Calvo's home before his death. He was fond of showing visitors his children, of whom he was very proud. Twice a widower, he had five children. His eldest girl was only ten years old and was so clever that she received the same education as her brothers and has won her B. A. degree at the University. Calvo's sister and her husband, a clever Spanish writer, lived with him. Their home was a little detached house in the Castellana drive. The library and sitting-room were furnished and decorated with presents given to the great actor. He had so many gifts that they had even put them on shelves round the rooms. Statues, bronzes, pictures, books, arms, lined the walls and gave the apartment something of the aspect of an exhibition. Calvo was also very fond of birds, and he had a large cage full of rare species, and their singing could be heard from outside. Poor Rafael died in Andalucia of black smallpox, without any of his family near him.

The great actress of the *Teatro Espanol* has also disappeared, but not by death. Elisa Mendoza Tenorio was one of the youngest and best of Spanish actresses, and the Madrileños still hope she will some day appear once more on the stage of their classical theatre. She is not a beauty, but has large black eyes, a white skin, and possesses a splendid figure. She is a perfect lady, and comes of a good stock. She could easily assume the most difficult parts in all the great Spanish dramas, and could play equally well in the rôle of an *ingenue* or that of an old woman. Her one defect was her voice; that often became whining and monotonous. She often seemed to sing her parts instead of speaking them. However, Elisa was a favorite, and she deserved to be one. She was a loving daughter, and her greatest grief was when she lost her mother a year or two ago. Virtue has its reward, and a thriving young doctor loved, wooed, and won her, and now she is a happy wife and mother. Her friends beg Doctor Talosa Latour to allow his young wife to come even for once before the public, but he always refuses, and in their coquettish, bright little home the stage is never mentioned, and Elisa never goes to see a play all the year round.

The favorite Madrid theatre is called *La Comedia*. The owner of the house, Mario, is also the principal actor, and he spares no trouble and no expense in making his theatre attractive. He places on his stage good translations of French plays, or the very best of Spanish origin. He is wonderfully careful of details. He never allows the slightest mistake to be made on the stage, in the scenery, or in the makeup of the actors, etc. If his play is in Goya's time, for instance, the very pictures on the walls are of that epoch, the *cornucopias*, or rare looking-glasses; the quaint old oil lamps light up the scene. The actors warm themselves by the real *brasero* of those days; their dresses seem exact copies of Goya's pictures in the gallery, down to the tiny fans of the belles and the snuffboxes of the uglier sex. One seems to be looking at a lovely tapestry in the Escorial or

in the Pardo palace and it is difficult to believe one's self in a theatre. Mario is a perfect gentleman. He takes the most difficult rôles. His old men are splendid with cracked voice, hesitating gait, and trembling hands. He has always stuck to old friends and scarcely ever changes his company. His principal actor is Cepillo, a curious type, tall, ugly, but with a wonderfully fascinating way about him. I never saw a better *Maître de Forges* than Cepillo—so cold and severe, at the same time so loving and noble, the very type after the heart of the French novelist.

Sanchez de Leon is Mario's young man actor. He is a Catalan, and his harsh accent is against him, but he does well enough when he likes. His wife, the Guerrero, is a great favorite, an actress to the backbone, and she enjoys her rôles as much as the public who applaud her. She is very stout, but as active and free in her movements as a young girl. Her cross old women, ugly *duenas*, funny servants, naughty market women, are splendid, and she keeps the public laughing the whole time.

The young lady in Mario's company is the Señorita Martinez, a real beauty and the clubmen keep their glasses on her the whole time. She is a brunette with jet black locks, eyes of a true Spanish woman and a magnificent neck, as white as snow and beautifully shaped.

The last but not least of Mario's company is the comic actor Rossel. He is the funniest actor in the world; even his face makes one smile. He never learns his parts at all, he gets an idea of what he must be and he adds the words himself. He never does the same thing twice over and still he does not put the other actors out. When he and the Guerrero are acting together, they keep the house in a roar. He has so much natural wit and ingenuity that he is invaluable and of course a great favorite.

There are many other good theatres in Madrid such as the coquettish *Princesa*, which belongs to the Queen's late lady in waiting, the Duquesa de Medina de las Torres. The Duchess lets out her theatre, and thus every season the company changes. Another little theatre that the Madrileños love to frequent is *Lara*—such a funny little place, in the old part of the town. Here the real good Spanish *sainetes* or little comedies are played in one act and the public need only take seats for one *sainete* at a time or two. Four are played the same evening, and it is so curious to see a different public each time! It is a capital arrangement and often when a man about town finds it too early to go to his club he dashes off to *Lara* and for one hour enjoys a splendid little farce or play. The actors are always good and as for the pieces they are of the best repertoire. In *Lara* every year there is a new farce that only reproduces the events of the year. They are very well done and you see on the stage the last political crisis; the new government even appears and is splendidly taken off. The latest sensational murder, robbery, is mentioned. The newest inventions are turned into farces, and all this is accompanied with lovely quaint Spanish music written especially for the piece. These tunes are very pretty and soon become popular, and often go over Europe as real Spanish airs.

DULCINEA DEL TOBOSO.

BARGAINS IN PARLIAMENT.

IT would be an easy matter to name off-hand half a dozen or more features about the House of Commons elected in 1892 which will make it

memorable in English parliamentary history. Some of these are new developments in English political life. They manifested themselves for the first time last session, and marked most distinctly the retrograde movement from statesmanship to politics, or from statecraft to mere electioneering, which is now going on in England. Prominent among these new developments is the system of group pressure and bargains with groups, which came into a strong and lively existence almost as soon as the Liberal Ministry was formed. The working of this new system was exceedingly obvious in the long-drawn-out session of 1893-94, and it seems to be becoming even more obvious in the new session which commenced in March. The upshot of it is that a Liberal Ministry seems no longer to have at its command the arrangement of the legislative programme, or even of the time of Parliament in the sense that a Ministry up to a few years ago was able to secure for its business the time of the House of Commons.

There are half a dozen groups in the Ministerial following, and their leaders practically dictate to the Cabinet what measures shall be submitted to Parliament, and the order in which they shall be proceeded with. This is not statesmanship, as statesmanship has hitherto been understood in England; it is what Lord Salisbury would describe as politics from the whip's point of view; and it would seem that the whip's point of view is the point of view, and the only point of view, of the Cabinet. No one now asserts that the Gladstone Cabinet had any other alternative in 1893 than to make Home Rule the first measure of the session. It had either to do so or to see its majority of thirty-eight turned into a minority at the will of the Irish members. Nor was this pressure from groups eased off with the arrangement of the Ministerial programme, which gave Ireland nearly the whole of the time of the ordinary session of Parliament. There are Welsh and English groups in the Ministerial following, particularly a numerous and compact Welsh group; and as an outcome of the existence of these groups the Government were compelled to bring forward a measure looking to the immediate disestablishment of the English Church in Wales, and also a local veto bill. These measures, in view of the time likely to be occupied by the Home Rule bill, and later on by the Parish Councils bill and the Employers' Liability bill, had not the remotest chance of getting beyond their initial stages. Neither of them went beyond first reading; but their introduction served for a time to ease off pressure from two demanding groups, and to keep their members in an outwardly hopeful mood, and, what was more important, in regular attendance during the wearisome discussions and divisions on the Home Rule bill.

The policy of the Government in regard to the Employers' Liability bill was trimmed and fashioned completely from the whip's point of view, and in response to pressure from groups. The Labor group had supported the Government in its Home Rule policy, and in return for this support the Irish members almost mechanically supported the Government in its policy on the Employers' Liability bill so long as that policy was shaped to the liking of the Labor members. The measure for the amendment of the Employers' Liability law, on which a grand committee and the House of Commons itself spent considerable time last session, was an immense improvement on the Act passed in 1880. Nine important particulars could be cited in which that measure, as it stood when it came back from the Lords to the Commons, was an improvement on the measure of 1880, and all these improvements were in the interest of the wage-earning classes. The

House of Lords, however, introduced a clause under which men in the service of employers who gave them an equivalent to the Act in the form of insurance, could contract themselves outside its provisions. This contracting-out clause, as drawn up by Lord Dudley, provided safeguards for the interests of the men in connection with these alternative insurance schemes. But the Labor leaders desired that there should be an end to any mutual arrangements of this kind; that a workman who was injured should be compelled to call in a lawyer almost as soon as his friends called in a surgeon; and with the whip's point of view in mind the Government accepted the conditions of the Labor group and threw up the bill. An otherwise excellent and liberal measure was thus sacrificed, and the time the two Houses had given to the bill went for naught. But the Government conciliated the Labor group, and have sought to persuade their supporters that they have at the same time greatly strengthened the popular feeling against the House of Lords.

Group-pressure has been applied on all sides at a very early period in the present session. Three instances of it will serve to show how this bargaining for votes in the group is worked. The most daring application of the new system, so far this session, was by the Welsh members. Twenty-eight out of the thirty members from Wales are Radicals. All of these are pledged to disestablishment. It was an intense disappointment to them that, last session, the Suspensory bill did not get beyond first reading. This session they evidently intend that the Government shall manage things better. To this end they met soon after the Queen's Speech had been read, and after Lord Rosebery's speech at the Foreign Office, and passed a remarkable resolution. It sets forth "That this meeting, while fully and thankfully appreciating the Prime Minister's statement of the Government's intentions to introduce a measure for the disestablishment of the Church in Wales, and of their desire to press it to a successful issue, observe that the order in which the Government measures are to be proceeded with is left to the decision of the leader of the House of Commons, and that accordingly the Welsh Liberal members do wait upon Sir William Harcourt on the earliest day convenient to him, for the purpose of representing to him the absolute necessity of preserving for the Welsh Disestablishment bill the second place among the Government measures, and of obtaining his personal assurance that it shall be pushed through the House of Commons during the present session, and that the present session shall not be terminated until this bill, if approved by a majority of the House of Commons, has been read a third time."

In accordance with this extraordinary resolution, passed by a group of members of the House of Commons, which is strong enough to turn out the Government at any time, a deputation waited upon Sir William Harcourt. Shorthand reporters were not in attendance; but, next morning, one of the Liberal papers put it on record that "the outcome of the deputation to Sir William Harcourt has been thought to satisfy the Welsh party in regard to the intentions of the Government. Sir William not merely promised that a Welsh Disestablishment bill shall, if possible, be carried to a third reading, but he expressed a strong opinion that it will be practicable to achieve this." The Welsh members demand another Autumn session, in order that the bill may be carried. "On the subject of an Autumn session," continues the report of the conference, "the Chancellor of the Exchequer was guarded; but what he did say was enough to obviate the threatened diffi-

culties." "Threatened difficulties" is an excellent euphemism. It would have been almost impossible to hit on a better phrase for explaining the troubles in the way of a Parliamentary leader whose majority is now only thirty-five or thirty-six, confronted with the representatives of twenty-eight determined members who are seriously threatening a bolt, if he does not at once, and without equivocation, concede their demands.

The next instance of this group pressure is that of the Labor men and Socialistic Radicals, who demand that the Government shall support the bill for legalizing an eight-hours day for miners. Last year the Government treated the advocates of a legal eight-hours day very much as they did the Welsh members over disestablishment. Practically they carried the Eight-Hours bill over second reading; but although it was a short bill, the committee stage of which might have been taken in two or three days, they so manœuvred that the bill made no further progress. This year the Labor group intend to follow the Welsh members, and insist on a better arrangement. They also waited on the Leader of the House of Commons, almost as soon as Parliament met, to ask whether, in the event of the promoters of the Miners' Eight-Hours bill being successful in the ballot for private members' days, the Government would afford facilities for carrying the bill through committee, and whether, if the friends of the bill were unsuccessful in the ballot, the Government would set apart a day for the consideration of the measure. Sir William Harcourt's reply, it was reported, was satisfactory on both points. The promoters of the bill were successful in the ballot which followed this interview, and the Government will soon have to fulfil their pledges of helping the bill through committee, or they will find themselves sharply in conflict with the Labor group.

The Irish members of both divisions furnish the third instance in the present session of this group pressure upon the Government. Parnellites and anti-Parnellites are all agreed on the need of a bill for reinstating or otherwise relieving the tenants who were defeated in the conflicts waged from 1886 to 1889 in connection with the Plan of Campaign. The plan was utterly antagonistic to all ideas of fair dealing and honesty. In the long run, as was inevitable, it failed on many of the estates on which it was tried. The landlords had right and justice on their side. They were more than a match for the politicians, and, as a consequence of the breakdown of the plan, for several years past the funds of the Irish parties have been heavily drawn upon to maintain the wretched tenants who were beaten in the struggle into which most of them had entered at the instance of the politicians. These tenants have been a source of serious embarrassment to both groups of Nationalists, and, as a result of the pressure they can bring to bear on the Government, in the words of the Queen's Speech to the two Houses of Parliament, "a measure will be submitted to you with a view to a reasonable settlement of a question deeply affecting the well-being of Ireland." The Irish politicians deeply pledged themselves to the campaigners under the Plan; they undertook to see the tenants successfully through with the struggles on which they had entered with the landlords, or to take care of them afterwards, and this is how they are seeking to fulfil their pledges.

None but a Government living a veritable hand-to-mouth existence, and perpetually sorely pressed by group after group, would ever have given even a sympathetic mention of the defeated campaigners in a Speech from the Throne. But when once this game of politics, exclusively from the Govern-

ment Whip's point of view, has been entered upon, it is almost impossible to stop. Pledges have to be renewed, and re-renewed; for, if renewals are not forthcoming and satisfactory, a complete breakdown may occur any day. Even Tammany could get a few points by the study of electioneering politics as they have been practised and developed since the group pressure and the bargain system came into vogue at Westminster eighteen months ago.

EDWARD PORRITT.

KOSSUTH'S PREDICTIONS.

SINCE the days of Benvenuto Cellini no man of superlative talents ever talked more slightingly of his own most popular gifts than the Hungarian patriot whose eloquence made him the marvel of three continents.

"Their deplorable æsthetics tempt them to sacrifice the substance to the form," said he, after his return from a mass meeting of British admirers; "they enjoy my speeches as works of art, and would applaud just as much if I was talking about Japanese fans or a fashionable novel. When Peter the Hermit tried to rouse Europe against the enemies of our faith, they would have complimented him on the elegance of his Latin syntax."

"We are dependent on others more than we think, even for our self-respect," said he on another occasion; "or I would gladly dispense with this sort of popularity. It might subserve my private ambition, but does not seem to promote the interest of our cause."

Our great Florentine sculptor pleased himself in the rôle of a military fire-eater, and Louis Kossuth would have exchanged all the laurels of Demosthenes for the honors of a political prophet. As early as 1844 he urged his countrymen to leave the House of Hapsburg as they would flee from a fallen temple, and to the last day of his life he maintained that the predicted catastrophe had been postponed, rather than prevented, by artificial props, which would only add to the weight of the final collapse. Conflicting interests, he held, would dissolve the work of mediæval empire builders as they had cancelled the conquests of the Cæsars, and would one day divorce the emancipated masses from every dynasty of the civilized world. "After the hood of ignorance is once removed from the eyes of a nation," he said, "all other fetters will drop in quick succession; only we should remember that the decisive circumstance in such matters is the level of general intelligence—not the eminence of isolated scholars. A few of your North European savants, no doubt, tower head and shoulders above Rousseau and Voltaire, but the mental emancipation of the average French citizen at the end of the eighteenth century has never been paralleled outside of North America: hence the phenomenon of a Republican revolt preceding that of other European nations by more than a hundred years. Hence, also, the miraculous victories of the first Napoleon, whose army held the trump cards in brains as well as in courage and national enthusiasm."

"For our so-called civilized monarchies," he adds, "the control of public schools has become an affair of self-preservation; still the sunrise of reason will proceed faster than they expect, because the ability to read implies all sorts of things, nowadays, and calamity, too, is apt to operate as a sudden eye-opener." Kossuth seems to have expected a great European war as a prelude to a general insurrection, followed by a confederation of Old World republics, on the model of the United States.

"The rise of that revolt," he says, "will proceed from west to east, and the rulers of far-eastern autocracies will then suddenly become liberal and benign, but they will have to make their reckoning with the laws of moral contagion. The example set by the prosperity of neighboring freedmen will make the most indolent nation rebel against the mildest of monarchs, *vide* the case of D. P." (Dom Pedro?) "and of the Spanish West Indies."

"Redeemable Europe" (*das rettbare Europa*) is a term that often occurs in Kossuth's political pamphlets, and seems to imply a distinction between the progressive and effete, or even retrogressive nations of the Caucasian continent. Among the first-named class the Magyar patriot emphatically ranks his native land, as well as Bulgaria, Roumania, and Servia —countries which identity of interest will unite in a "Danubian Federation," while some of the Mediterranean peninsula will follow Asia Minor into the limbo of worn-out lands.

The bitter mementos of Vilagos did not prevent Kossuth from auguring a great future for the Russian Empire,—"a colossus," he says, "which for centuries has been kept in a state of moral hibernation, from which it will one day rouse itself, hungry, fierce, and decidedly wide-awake."

Nihilism, however, he repudiated so emphatically that he often declared his inability to imagine the process by which a sane human being could get himself to expect any salutary results from experiments of that sort: "Anarchy is a correlation of disorganization, and we might as well try to remedy a toothache with a dose of dynamite."

Nor was his faith in Socialism much stronger, but he admits the probability that it will be practically tested not only with great persistence, but on a very large scale. "The real tendencies of the system," he predicts, "will then reveal themselves in a manner not apt to be forgotten by the next few generations of Utopia-hunters."

The twentieth century, withal, "will be an era of strange experiments, in religion as well as in social and educational reform." In commenting upon the monstrous aberration of the Skopzis he remarks: "There was a time when I had begun to hope that the age of moral epidemics was gone by forever, but the capacity of the Slavonic races for obstinate fanaticism is a fact, ominous enough to make a candid observer somewhat thoughtful. If such doctrines are persecution proof, it is worse than useless to attempt the suppression of comparatively plausible creeds, like Mormonism and the gospel of the Wahabees."

"Have you ever been in Albania?" Kossuth asked a French traveller, who visited him in his Turkish exile. "A good many years before the birth of Napoleon, Jean Jacques Rousseau recorded a presentiment that 'the island of Corsica would some day produce a man destined to astonish the world,' and I have a similar presentiment in regard to the Albanian highlands. The natives of those out-of-the-way mountains have thus far had no chance to appear on the stage of great historical events, and have preserved their primitive energy, together with a terrible strength of passion and a heroic tenacity of purpose."

In 1850 the Turks saved Kossuth's life by refusing to surrender him to the victors of Vilagos, and that proof of generosity may have helped to modify his horoscope of their political prospects. "The race of the old Turkoman shepherds," he says, "could hardly have stood their ground on this side of the Dardanelles, but that in the veins of their ruling classes there is by this time quite as much Circassian blood as there is an alloy of Norman

enterprise in the constitution of the conservative Anglo-Saxon, and that inheritance will be sure to tell in the coming life-and-death struggle against the power of the encroaching Muscovites."

His second ally, the victorious army of the North German Empire, was the subject of his frequent encomiums, but he scouted the idea that its conquests could ever enforce a permanent peace on the Rhine. "France," he said, "may be stunned by a knockdown blow, but enduring acquiescence is not in the nature of the Gallic race. The descendants of the restless Gauls run no risk from dry-rot. They will perish fighting."

"Keep your eye on Chile," he once advised an American visitor; "there, if anywhere, the lost prestige of the Spanish race will reassert itself under the auspices of favorable political and climatic conditions. Modern civilization is a plant that will not thrive under the equator."

"Don't you think that the name of the *United* States will eventually become a misnomer?" asked the same interviewer.

"Likely enough," said Kossuth, "but what does it matter? That will not change the fact that North America is destined to be a land of prosperous republics. America, in many important senses of the word, is the land of the future. Its geographical facilities for experiment and the Yankee ingenuity of its master-race will solve all sorts of social problems—the *Crux Reformatorum*, perpetual peace, perhaps, alone excepted."

"So you think war will continue to the end of time?"

"Yes, at least just as long as force remains the only imaginable way to suppress a revolt against the decisions of the proposed Court of International Arbitration. The dawn of the millennium may change human nature, but all we can do in the mean time is to perfect the engines of destruction in a manner that will make warlike nations hesitate to incur the responsibility for a breach of the peace. The appearance of a redoubtable strategist keeps the world quiet for a while, and the invention of an irresistible engine of war may have the same effect—till the self-reliance of our cautious neighbors is revived by a still more ingenious invention of their own. In America, especially, 'wondrous engines' will be shooting as well as spinning, but that is not going to prevent an enormous increase of population, and a development of cities the like of which the world has never seen. If it were not for my fits of asthma, I would be content, like Fenelon, to live on, *par pure curiosité*, to witness the more and more miraculous achievements of this age of inventions."

Kossuth's recovery from many apparently hopeless disorders may really have had something to do with the intensity of his personal interest in all the important events of his time. As his library attests, the range of his studies was as wide as the field of science; but the history of reform remained his hobby, and to the last day of his long life the calm preceding the outbreak of a general European storm did not for a moment make him doubt the correctness of his political forecast.

Only six months ago he sent his friend, Signor Mantegazza, of Rome, a journal of the Society for Asiatic Researches, with an account of an episode in the mediæval history of China, and a marginal note: "Is not this tradition a prototype of many a prophet's fate?"

The text of that comment was as follows: In the reign of the Emperor Hiong Wang, two astronomers, Hoy and Yun-Tsi, predicted an eclipse of the sun, and were sentenced to death for blasphemy. The Emperor had a personal interview with the star-gazers and was inclined to commute their sen-

tence, but at the suggestion of a learned mandarin, and at their own request, he remanded them to prison to await the outcome of their prophecy. If their prediction should be justified by the event they were to be dismissed with honors and rich presents; otherwise they were to be beheaded as blasphemous impostors. At the appointed time the people of Nankin crowded their housetops, and all eyes were riveted on the sky, but the sun shone all day with undimmed splendor, and at night the Emperor consented to let the law take its course. The sentence of death was accordingly executed; but the very next morning, when the mandarins assembled to burn the books of the blasphemers, the ceremony was interrupted by a total eclipse of the sun.

F. L. OSWALD.

NATIONAL BANK EXAMINERS CRITICISED.

THE Honorable E. S. Lacey, when Comptroller of the Currency, suggested that a training-school of bank examiners, as an adjunct to the administration of the Banking Department of the general Government, should be established, believing that the provisions of the National Bank Act would, through the thorough training of bank examiners, be much better enforced.

Just how such a school could be established, without great expense to the Government, and what plan could be pursued to give bank examiners, besides technical drill, also a requisite business training, he did not perhaps suggest; yet the suggestion seems to be a fruitful idea, for any one who has had experience with bank examination, as it was actually carried on, up to a very recent period at least, knows that much bank examination was farcical in the extreme. Many of the old-time examiners were inexperienced in banking or any other business: sometimes broken-down bankers of dissipated habits, or, frequently again, relatives of prominent politicians or statesmen, or, what was worse in some respects, men who were politicians and by political influence obtained the important post of bank examiner as reward for work done for the party in power.

Instances are known where examiners became too drunk while making an examination to complete it, and by a skilful manipulation of documents the real condition of the bank was not reported to the Bank Department at Washington. It is not said that the public were likely to be injured in all cases by such neglect, but the tendency was bad, as it encouraged loose methods in bank management and avoided the corrective hand of the Comptroller. No one but an experienced banker can fully appreciate the effect the criticisms and strictures have upon bank officers from the Bank Department.

Then, again, there were other instances where rival banks, by a too liberally dispensed hospitality to a too susceptible examiner, rendered him mellow, and then plied him with questions concerning opposition banks, or put questions in his mouth to be asked of rivals that Socrates himself would never have thought of.

There were still other cases where a bank examiner was known to make a temporary loan from the bank undergoing examination, but which he forgot to pay. It is quite needless to say that the report of the bank so victimized was favorable.

This condition of things was more common some ten or fifteen years after the National Bank system was established, and in the rural districts

and in the West, than in more recent years, or in the great cities, or in the Eastern portion of the country. Actual observation taught these views; and notwithstanding the office of bank examiner is still made a perquisite in most instances by the party in power, it is presumed that bank examiners have improved somewhat in character and, it is hoped, in secrecy; but they have not improved enough in experience and technical training.

While it is true that an examiner cannot tell anything about the particular character of bills receivable or the standing of the makers, yet an examination will have a good effect if an examiner can detect when too much paper is signed by one name, or if paper is more than six months overdue. The novice can judge of these points, but he cannot tell if paper appears right in general, nor can he detect a "kite." It is in forming a general idea of bank management that the inexperienced examiner fails most signally. Then, again, the old-time bank examiners were not exact in their additions, and were not particular to see that results corresponded with the totals shown by the books. Now, looseness or inexactness in these points seems to be a quite small matter, but they have a marked effect on bank officers, as I have occasion to know.

Even from the few points given it still seems reasonable to think that bank examiners should have far more experience than is usual; that it is important that they should be men of the highest character, integrity, and temperance, and above all fearlessness in the performance of their duties. But such men cannot be procured in many of the cases under existing methods, and if there is a branch of the public service that should be put under civil-service rules this is the one. It is evident that politicians in rewarding their henchmen are not going to be over-nice in selecting men for the very important post of bank examiner, if they can get rid of an importunate office-seeker or reward a striker by giving him this post. Politics should have no place in banking. A banker, like a preacher, ought not to meddle with politics or religion. But it is far more important that a bank examiner should not be a politician nor be dependent upon political influence for the position.

The public has plenty of evidence of the incompetency and dishonesty of bank examiners in the disastrous results to depositors and business. It seems quite needless to insist upon the reasonableness of appointing bank examiners upon some system founded upon merit and capacity. Better examinations would follow such a plan, with better results and fewer failures. Another defect of the present system is excess of territory. This excess gives the individual examiner too many miles to travel and too short time for the examination of each bank, as he is expected to go over his territory once a year. Many examiners were known to examine a large bank in a few hours, upon which they should have spent as many days. Human nature in a bank examiner is much the same as in men in other walks of life, and they will try to earn as large daily wages as possible; for banks are assessed so much according to capital, and not upon amount of business done, or the actual work that the examiner has to perform.

Bank examination is one of the best devices of governmental supervision of modern banking, but it is yet in its infancy and is capable of much greater development and efficiency; so by all means place bank examiners under civil-service rules, and if nothing better can be done, put them in a training-school at Government expense.

J. M. GRAYBILL.

THE VALUE OF DIALECT.

ALL art is fidelity to pure and idealized Nature. The true artist is her interpreter and confidante. She admits him alone to her studio and reveals there her most perfect creations. Thus he who aspires to write must, as it were, be in the secret with Nature; otherwise she repudiates his work. The divine fire of expression can be kindled only by a spark from her own altar. But her phases of beauty and grandeur, humor and tenderness, are myriad fold and ever changing, so that he who would preserve them must catch them flitting by exactly as he perceives them. It is the individual, not the mass, that attracts our closest attention and claims our sympathetic interest. We cannot, however, differentiate this individual from his manner of thought, nor the thought from the medium of expression. Thus, by Nature's own law, the use of dialect is often a necessity.

Story-writing is an attempt to preserve the life of a certain time and locality with all the concomitants of local coloring. The personal experience of the writer becomes thus all-important, as it should; he can testify with authority only of what he knows. On this principle Miss Murfree could not have delineated the old New England life, nor could Miss Wilkins have pictured for us the Tennessee mountaineers.

I seriously doubt if certain types of character can be adequately depicted with dialect. Mental traits are often inseparably wedded to the linguistic medium. Take for illustration this description of the "rebel yell" by the old negro in Page's *Meh Lady:* "You'd a thought de wull wuz splittin' open, an' sometimes ef you'd listen right good you could heah 'em yellin', like folks in de harves'-fiel' hollerin' after a ole hyah." If we attempt to paraphrase this into good English, much of the pecular sentiment is lost in the process. The subtle aroma, which is its charm, evaporates.

In a recent letter to the writer Mr. Page makes this remark: "It has been very often suggested that I was writing up the darkie; but my real intention has always been to write up the South and its social life, using the darkie as the medium to tell the story, because he was a constituent part of that life." Some critics hold that it is more difficult to write a perfect dialect story than one in classic English. The art is higher, they say, being more complex. The vigorous, native vernacular has a delightful flavor, for it is in perfect harmony with the people's life. The language of the average unconventional man is quite satisfactory, especially in a book. As soon as he is made "to talk proper" he is spoiled. I think that we would hardly have formed the acquaintance of the old Virginia "uncle" or the Western "hoosier," or the pretty Creoles if they had been made to talk to us in Hawthornesque English!

Ours is such a heterogeneous country, to be true to the life of all sections, our romancers must use a score or two of dialects. Dialects are but the pigments which are used in producing lifelike pictures of the people. All stories are only so many separate sketches of the many-sided social structure of American life. A great national novel in this country is almost an impossibility. Such a work must portray with skilful hand and sympathetic touch the many types of American character; and these must not be labeled, but it should be possible to tell from what section each comes, by his dialect. On this account it seems likely that the fiction of the future will continue to take the form of the short story or character sketch.

ARMSTRONG WAUCHOPE.

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SOUTH END.

PROTECTION AND THE PROLETARIAT.

BY THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE.

THE social and political organism of the American Republic is made up of two distinct classes of humanity. One class represents Industry, Temperance, Frugality, and Self-denial; and is, therefore, self-reliant, and, consequently, self-respecting. The person who cannot have confidence in himself, against all competitors, in the struggle for existence, cannot respect himself nor command the respect of others. The power to repress one's desires and appetites and to deny their excessive gratification, is the foundation of self-reliance and self-respect, which are the basis of good citizenship. The government of self, vested in each citizen, is the integral condition precedent of self-government for the masses—for the concrete, the composite government of the Republic. When individuals and classes of individuals evolve the idea of manipulating the machinery of government, so as to prescribe privileges for themselves and taxation and burdens for the masses, the first symptoms of Communism become apparent.

The business of the Federal Government, as defined by the Constitution, did not comprehend a tariff purely for protection. The Federation of the States, prior to the adoption of the Constitution, permitted restriction and taxation upon trade between the members of that Federation. But the Constitutional Convention which met in Philadelphia in June, 1787, after great deliberation and earnest discussion decided and declared that

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there should never be any restriction upon trade between the States of the American Union, either in the form of a tariff for revenue or for protection, but that interstate commerce should be absolutely free. And now the United States are, in their general thrift and wealth, a verification of the prosperousness and righteousness of unrestricted commerce.

On December 24, 1825, Thomas Jefferson addressed a letter to James Madison, inclosing a paper which he called "A solemn Declaration and Protest of the Commonwealth of Virginia, on the principles of the Constitution of America, and on the violation of them." And in the eighth section of this Protest we find the following language:

"This Assembly does further disavow, and declare to be most false and unfounded, the doctrine that the compact in authorizing its federal branch to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States, has given them thereby a power to do whatever *they* may think and pretend would promote the general welfare, which construction would make that, of itself, a complete government, without limitation of powers; but that the plain sense and obvious meaning was that they might levy the taxes necessary to provide for the general welfare by the various acts of power therein specified and delegated to them, and by no others."

Subsequent to that time, however, the doctrine of Protection found many advocates, who saw that, under the pretense of "promoting the general welfare," they might so use the taxing power as to shut out foreign competitors, in certain lines of manufacture, from the markets of the United States, and thereby secure their monopoly to themselves. Under adroit interpretation and with felicitous fallacies, the "public welfare" clause was made to appear as providing for the building up of the sickly and precarious industries, by levying taxes upon all those other industries which were neither sickly nor of doubtful strength and success; and thus the so-called "American System" found its first footing in public confidence and esteem. But, instead of relinquishing, as the years have swept over the Republic, any of the privileges which protection guaranteed, in the first place, to its wards, the protectees, they have multiplied those privileges from year to year, under various pretexts, until now, after a quarter of a century of the Morrill Tariff, the American people have been commercially salivated and atrophied by the McKinley tariff and its more malignant discriminations in behalf of privileged classes. During all these decades of protection, there has

been evolved a great multitude of millionaires. They have been planted in, and fertilized by, a misuse of the power of governments to tax either subjects or citizens. Instead of that sovereign force being used for the legitimate purpose of raising revenues with which to maintain and defend civil government, formed so that *all* might, could, and would protect the natural rights of *each*, it has been perverted to taxing the many for the benefit and enrichment of the few. Thus the masses of the American people have witnessed the creation of wealth, by statute, out of the earnings of themselves, through the impost of unjust taxes in behalf of the manufacturing classes.

Gradually the idea has pervaded the public mind that wealth may be created by the mere "be it enacted" of the lawmaking power, until now it is plain that the first strike in the United States was that of capital for higher profits. Capital demanded and received from Congress the enactment of laws which secured to it, by shutting out foreign competition, higher profits than could possibly be earned in a condition of perfect commercial freedom. And the law-making power conceded all that capital asked. The Morrill Tariff and the McKinley Tariff were the concessions made by Congress to those who asked for laws which should compel larger dividends upon all the dollars which they had invested in certain lines of business. And, logically, labor petitioned the same lawmaking power to "enact" higher wages, prosperity, and leisure for laborers. First came, in response to labor's importunity, the statute declaring eight hours a legal day's work, when no legislature ever existed wise enough to say how many hours should make a day's work for any human being. Other restrictive laws have followed—among them the law regulating the rates upon railroads, the Oleomargarine law, the Interstate Commerce Act, and, in the various States, many similar statutes patterned after and spawned of the protective system.

And now, after all this experimentation under the Protective Tariff, we find vast numbers of idle men seeking legislation in their own behalf, and among these workless thousands is, beyond question, largely represented that other class of citizenship which embodies the Indolent, the Intemperate, and the Improvident. These citizens seem sadly lacking in self-reliance, and, therefore, in self-respect; but not at all lacking in imitative power. And, therefore, boldly, they approach Washington, for the avowed pur-

pose of demanding and securing legislation partial to themselves and in their own interests, regardless of all other interests. They ask that the Government of the United States shall legislate directly to promote their welfare, and, like the protectionists, they proclaim *that* the "public welfare," as intended by the Constitution. They propose that the money which self-denial, industry, and economy have gathered together and loaned to the Government for its protection in its hour of peril, shall cease to draw interest. They declare that the first class named in this paper shall be paid nothing for the use of the accumulated capital which their industry and frugality have acquired. They demand still further that the Government of the United States shall issue $500,000,000 of greenbacks, and loan the same, without interest, to such municipalities as may desire to make internal improvements, upon condition that those municipalities shall bond themselves to an extent not exceeding one-half their assessed valuation, and deposit the bonds with the Secretary of the Treasury, who, deducting one per cent. for the cost of printing and engraving, shall at once issue legal tender money for that amount. This proposed circulating medium is to be non-convertible into coin. The theory of these vagrant economists is, that the Government can create value in mere promises for which they provide no fulfilment—no redemption. This kind of inconvertible money has been tried time and again by governments older than ours, and always with disaster. No one, with good reasoning faculties, can even attempt to defend an inconvertible currency. Neither an individual nor a government can do financial wrong, without having to atone for it by financial suffering. The first proposition of these petitions in boots, is to violate a solemn obligation on the part of the Government of the United States, which issued bonds, upon which it promised, by its sacred honor, to pay interest. This pledge, given in a time of dire national calamity and distress, furnished the sinews of war which preserved the Government and the Union. And yet this misnamed Army of the Commonweal of Christ proposes primarily to violate the nation's faith and to cease paying the interest which it agreed to pay. A citizenship which makes its first attempt at formulating laws for the land by a proposed violation of the public faith, which would condemn us as a Nation of Liars and Cheats, can do nothing to promote morality and the "general welfare."

These nomads have very crude ideas as to money and its functions. They do not seem to know that money has never been successfully made by any government, out of any material which did not have value as a commodity before it became money. They confound the *promise* printed upon a greenback, to pay a dollar, with the *dollar itself*. If their theory is good in money matters, they should adapt it to dietary concerns; and then, by a parity of reasoning, meal tickets will be as nourishing as meals. They do not realize that the late panic, and the general perturbation in financial and business circles, could never have been evolved out of anything else than a redundant circulating medium. No panic ever came to this or any other country, out of a volume of currency just sufficient for the legitimate exchanges of the people. Every monetary cyclone has followed barometrical indications of great volume and high pressure in the circulating medium. The panic of 1837, the panic of 1857, and the panic of 1873, together with the panic of 1893—each came out of a very large per-capita circulation. A redundancy in the currency makes credits easy, confidence serene and venturesome to foolhardiness. These conditions breed speculations of the most visionary character, and the vagaries of hare-brained promoters find capitalists with idle funds, ready to invest in the wildest schemes; until at last reason awakes, the fallacies are apparent, the dangers imminent, confidence is wrecked, and disaster logically follows. Moreover, these wandering Commonwealers complain that the wealthy are storing their money in strong boxes and not using it. Proletariats forget that money is the one thing that man struggles for, which never confers any blessing until it leaves him in exchange for something else which he desires. If the leaders of the proletarian brigades now making towards Washington could sequester all the money of the Goulds, Vanderbilts, and Astors, and have it in peaceable possession, upon condition that it should be forever locked up, they would be as poor as the poorest private in their bedraggled armies. The discontented proletariats seem unaware of the fact that the money in the banks of the United States to-day is as anxious to be had and to be used as the people are to have and to use it. But money at present, as in all time, seeks investment only upon good collaterals—safe security. To be sure, there are large sums of currency in the great populational and trade centers of the

Union. But the money is there legitimately and logically, because in those centers are the great and numerous exchanges; and where multitudes of exchanges are to be made, there money will be also, always. Being a mere tool to facilitate exchanges, it can find nothing to do in sections where no trades are being made. There currency would be as useless as a sawmill in the great American Desert, five hundred miles from timber on either side.

These peripatetic proletariats declare that there is a great *demand* for money in the West and South. Evidently they fail to distinguish between a *demand* for money and the almost universal *desire* for it. A demand for money can never be legitimately made, except when something of value is offered in exchange for it—something that the owner of the money may desire more than the money itself. To illustrate: proletarian cohorts now on this 30th day of April, 1894, camped on the outskirts of Washington, may *desire* terrapin, planked shad, roast beef, turkey, and champagne, but their exchequer forbids rations of that quality; and, therefore, though they may have ever so much *desire*, they make no *overt demand* for such a money-costing dietary. The proletariats say they are in pursuit of work, but so far they indicate only a desire to "work" Congress for special legislation, as the Protectionists have for, lo, these many years.

Among these hundreds of misguided persons, there are probably not one dozen who own homes, either in the country, in villages, in cities, or anywhere else. The majority of them are as homeless, as taxless, and as nomadic as the Aborigines of this continent. If a life history of each individual of the "Coxey Army" could be truthfully written, it would show, no doubt, that, with a few honorable exceptions, the multitude now following the reincarnations of John Lowism, Greenbackism, and all the other isms of ancient and modern times, have, each one of them, paid out, from birth to date, more money for tobacco, whiskey, and beer than for clothing, education, taxes, and food, all put together.

"*Nihil agendo homines male agere discunt*"—by doing nothing men learn to do ill. And the proletariat has learned of the protectionist. And putting the precepts of protection into practice, the proletariat petitions for pecuniary aid from the Government, and proclaims for paternalism by the American Republic.

J. STERLING MORTON.

FASHION AND INTELLECT.

BY W. H. MALLOCK, AUTHOR OF "IS LIFE WORTH LIVING?" "A ROMANCE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY," ETC.

CERTAIN of Lady Jeune's remarks in her article on "Dinners and Diners," which appeared in the January number of this REVIEW, suggest wider considerations than those which she appears to have had immediately in her mind. They are not perhaps amongst the most important considerations in life, but they are nevertheless in their own way interesting; nor need we blush to bestow our attention, any more than our charity, on objects which morally do not very much deserve it.

"It is," says Lady Jeune, "always a mistake to compose a dinner entirely of brilliant people—by this I mean intellectually brilliant. . . . I have," she adds, "a very vivid recollection of a dinner composed of people each of whom was distinguished in every sense of the word. A prime minister, two cabinet ministers, a distinguished soldier, one of the greatest ecclesiastics of the day, a brilliant scientific man, a great journalist, a distinguished lawyer, added to several agreeable and pretty women; and yet one of the guests declared it was the dullest dinner he ever sat down to."

This anecdote exemplifies an undoubted fact, though it is a fact which many people are slow to recognize; and even Lady Jeune mentions it as though there were in it something paradoxical. It does indeed require an explanation, and she herself offers one. People intellectually brilliant are anxious, she says, to eclipse one another, and the consequence is that all the luminaries are darkened. In this account of the matter there is doubtless a certain amount of truth, but it does not even suggest the chief cause of the disappointing result in question. The chief cause is of quite another kind, and one which, though incident-

ally connected with the subject she was dealing with, it hardly fell within Lady Jeune's province to discuss.

Intellectually brilliant individuals may make up a dull dinner party by accident, because they happen to eclipse one another's brilliance; and this was perhaps the case on the occasion to which Lady Jeune alludes: but the general reason, and the main reason, of such an occurrence will be found to lie in the broad and simple fact that the qualities which make men brilliant in the intellectual world have no necessary connection whatever with the qualities which make them brilliant in the social world. Many critics of society—of London society in particular—especially those who have little personal acquaintance with it, are accustomed to denounce it with righteous and somewhat acrimonious indignation, for the way in which it neglects persons of moral and mental worth, the earnest worker, the great artist or writer, the profound scientist or philosopher; and courts those who are distinguished by mere frivolous or adventitious advantages, such as beauty, *chic*, wealth, and titular rank. And the undoubted, though partial, truth contained in these familiar remarks has inspired for ages a succession of unceasing sarcasms which have been a great comfort to their authors, without disturbing their objects. But when the truth of the matter is considered more completely, there is found to be in reality little occasion for sarcasm at all: and the conduct which is supposed to be peculiar to a heartless and iniquitous aristocracy is seen to be essentially that natural and inevitable conduct which is followed, in social intercourse, by all ranks and classes.

In discussions like the present, society may mean two things, or rather it suggests two things, each of which must be considered. It may mean some special and limited class, which, though within itself it may contain various elements, yet forms a single body when compared with the outside world, and is acknowledged, in a social sense, to occupy the highest place. But when we are using the word society in this way, it necessarily suggests to us a second meaning, which, in every way but one, is identical—namely, any class, however modest its position, in so far as its members are united by the habit of social intercourse; and if we would understand society in its limited sense, it is necessary to consider it in its more extended sense. A dinner is given in London which glitters with the stars of fashion; a dinner is given

in a village by a retired solicitor for his friends. In many accidental ways the two entertainments differ; but each, if it is successful, depends for its success on what are relatively the same conditions.

The first of these conditions undoubtedly is as follows: That the guests should be persons, not necessarily well acquainted with each other, but at all events occupying positions which are, roughly speaking, similar—accustomed to the same manners, judging people's breeding and appearance by the same unformulated standards, instinctively looking at life from the same or from neighboring standpoints, and thus seeing it in practically the same perspective. A distinguished alien from some different social world—either above or below that of the general company—may sometimes give the entertainment an additional zest or *éclat*; but the stranger will be valued precisely because he is a stranger, and he will not so much constitute one of the party as a toy or a curiosity or a divinity for the party to play with, wonder at, or adore. At all events, putting exceptions aside, it may be laid down that the very foundation of agreeable, of natural, and of brilliant social intercourse, no matter in what rank of life, is some general similarity in position, in bringing up, and in tone amongst the various persons concerned.

The more we reflect on the matter, the more important shall we perceive such a similarity to be. In the first place, without it there can be no ease. Almost all social conversation is naturally tinged with certain prejudices, or it appeals to and implies certain standards: and unless these prejudices and standards are the same for all present, everybody will run the risk of wounding his neighbor's feelings, or being more or less unintelligible, or otherwise, in seeking some safe common ground, will become awkward and unnatural, owing to a constant avoidance of subjects he would naturally have spoken of, or opinions he would naturally have expressed. This applies specially to anything like wit or humor—the very things on which brilliance in conversation most depends. Lord Lytton, the novelist, in one of his minor writings, remarked with great acuteness that a man, who was in love with a woman of inferior station, might find nothing in her that jarred on his taste, so long as she was in a serious mood, but that he would be sure before long to find her mirth intolerable. And the same thing is as true of persons meeting

in society as it is of lovers. There are certain kinds of humor that appeal to all classes alike—certain incidents where absurdity excites a laugh in everybody. But by far the larger part of the humor that gives brightness to social conversation, and all the freshest and most charming part, is born of the moment, and has reference to things and persons which no two social classes see in exactly the same light. Manners, opinions, gestures, which to one class are strange and ludicrous, will be to another the most natural things in the world.

A certain similarity, then, amongst the persons concerned, in point of position, manners, and still more in the social instincts and judgments that underlie manners, is not only more essential than intellect to the production of a brilliant result, but constitutes the only field on which intellect can, in a social sense, do itself justice; or we may call it the canvas on which the picture is painted and which, unseen itself, supports all the colors. The greatest philosopher in the world, or the most caustic critic, if he drops his aspirates, tucks his napkin under his chin, and eyes fashionable people as if they were strange and curious monsters, may be the spiritual life of his generation, but he would be the death of a fashionable dinner party.

But even putting aside all such disqualifying peculiarities, and assuming that everybody we may be dealing with is more or less on a social level, there are many other qualities besides great intellect which make certain persons more brilliant socially than others. There is quickness of repartée; a vivid interest in the news of the day and moment; a gift for collecting such news, a sparkling way of telling it; a humorous way of looking at things, a wide circle of acquaintance, and varied personal experiences; grace of deportment and gesture, which is a silent conversation in itself; in a woman beauty, which includes beauty of dress; in men and women alike, charm of voice; and above all, the charm, the fascination, not of manners, but of manner. Any reunion in any class of society may be agreeable to those concerned; but a reunion is made brilliant only when those concerned possess such qualities as the above in a remarkable and an exceptional degree. When a man of great intellect possesses none of these qualities, his intellect, for social purposes, might as well not exist; but when it is united with any of these, their social value is capable of being indefinitely increased by it. In

such cases a really powerful mind will show its powers in the discussion of the most trifling topics : it will illuminate a piece of gossip with a whole philosophy of life. But even in such cases it requires to be very carefully controlled, or it will neutralize instead of enhancing the social value of its possessor. Mr. Gladstone is acknowledged, even by his bitterest political opponents, to be one of the most fascinating talkers in London, as much interested in what others say as he is in what he says himself. Lord Macaulay, on the other hand, is reputed by those who knew him to have generally converted all conversation round him into a monologue—a fact to which Dean Stanley has borne very amusing witness; whilst Sidney Smith, when he was asked if he knew Lord Macaulay, answered : "Know him ! I've known him intimately for years. I never spoke to him."

And now let us turn to qualities of another kind—those which so constantly occupy the attention of our social satirists, and which are commonly dismissed by these delightful censors as mere worthless accidents, worshipped only in aristocratic or would-be-aristocratic circles. I mean such qualities, or rather such qualifications as rank or birth or riches or *de-facto* position as such, founded no matter on what. No affectation is more foolish than that which dismisses such accidents as things of no social value. It is nearly always the case that the people who pretend to despise them really themselves set on them a value which is altogether exaggerated. The man who ridicules the social importance of the eldest son of a duke would be furious at being thought himself to be the eldest son of a cobbler. The truth is that in every class of society, no matter how closely connected its members may be, there exist differences of position, independent of any personal quality, which substantially correspond to those existing in the highest class ; and in every class such positions have a certain value given them.

Fashionable society in this respect differs from all other societies only because the most distinguished positions in it are of a more splendid kind ; and the real essence of what is called "vulgarity" or "snobbishness" consists, not in giving those positions a value, but in giving them a wrong value. "Vulgarity" or "snobbishness," in fact, so far as this matter is concerned, is neither more nor less than a tune played badly—played out of time, and with a wrong emphasis on the notes. Of this sort of

vulgarity there is no doubt a good deal to be found in London, amongst persons who ought to know better; but the judgments and the conduct of which it is made up are, as the very names given to them imply, the judgments and conduct which are specially characteristic of persons imperfectly acquainted with the society in which they aspire to mix. It has been often said that vulgarity of this kind is altogether peculiar to England. The observation is one which requires great qualification; but there is a certain amount of truth in it, and this is very easily accounted for. Social position in England is a far more complicated thing than it is in any Continental country. Except in the case of the heads of the very greatest families and their children, a title in England is in itself no sure indication of a man's social standing, still less of his lineage and connections; and men without titles may, in the Continental sense of the word, be of far "better nobility" than men possessing them, and may hold in society a far more important place. Again, the English *noblesse*, in contrast to such countries as Austria, has throughout its history strengthened itself by alliances with mercantile wealth—alliances which were rare when mercantile wealth was rare, but which have constantly grown more numerous in proportion as that wealth, and the power associated with it, has increased. Thus, putting personal qualities apart, and having regard merely to position, it is almost as difficult for a stranger to judge English society rightly as it is for a foreigner to talk our language without an accent.

But granting the position of everybody to be rightly estimated, how far do persons, merely by their high position, as such, add legitimately to the social brilliancy of an entertainment? The answer is that if they have nothing but their position to recommend them, they add to the brilliancy of an entertainment in precisely the same way as a great genius would who had no powers of conversation. Many people who denounce a hostess for inviting a duke merely because he was a duke would praise her for inviting a great philosopher merely because he was a great philosopher. But if the philosopher were not an agreeable man personally, his social value would be of exactly the same kind as the duke's. It would be derived altogether from the exceptional prestige of his name. He might be the soul of his books, but he would be only a name at the dinner table. We shall find, however, that in an old country like England, high

social position, more often than not, gives to its possessors many things besides itself. The English fashionable world, no matter how it may have changed from one generation to another, or how much new blood may be finding its way into it, has inherited the unbroken traditions and good breeding of centuries ; and the eldest sons of the more important English families have had, most of them, exceptional opportunities of acquiring or assimilating the best that such a world can teach them ; whilst their position has generally made them, at an early age, more or less conversant with practical business of some kind, such as that of a magistrate, or the head of various associations, and especially the business of administering a considerable property. On many men no doubt all these advantages are lost, or produce an unfortunate effect ; but in most cases they at least do something towards making their possessors agreeable members of society. Thus if those social censors are right who think that a dinner party would be improved by the presence of a man merely because he is distinguished as a philosopher, for precisely the same reason is a dinner party improved by the presence of a man distinguished merely because he is a duke : only the duke is far more likely to be a pleasant man of the world.

But this is not all. The duke also represents in a high degree many things on which society, in its limited sense, is necessarily founded. People are always pleased at the presence of an eminent representative of any power, fact, or principle on which they themselves depend : and this observation naturally leads us on to an aspect of the social question which thus far has been only obliquely glanced at. Thus far I have been trying to make it clear that the qualities or qualifications which play the most prominent part in society of the highest class are qualities and qualifications which, under one form or another, play a similar part in society of every class. Let us now consider in what way society of the highest class, and especially such society in England, differs from society on other social levels. To the outside observer the principal difference will appear to be that a large part of this society is composed of persons possessing titular rank : and to the outside observer their social intercourse often seems to be nothing but a process of mutual "tuft-hunting." This, however, is altogether a misconception. The prominence in English society of persons possess-

ing titular rank depends on very different causes. Its explanation is to be found in the political history of this country; and to understand it we must go back to the particular form of feudalism introduced by the Norman Conquest. Some of the most exclusive societies that the world has ever known, such as that of Venice at one time, have been composed of persons possessing no titular rank at all: and in every country—even in Austria—the title is "but the guinea's stamp." The essential point is the position and the actual circumstances of those concerned, and position always depends on one thing, before all things, namely power. In the Middle Ages power was mainly military. In the modern world it depends mainly on wealth. But the social results of this power, no matter what its basis, depend not only on its existence at any given moment, but on its stability, on its continuance in the families of those who first became possessed of it, or its natural transmission to new families who ally themselves with the old—a process which in England has been going on from time immemorial, and has been accelerated in modern times without changing its character. In short, taking the higher classes of England as a whole, their position depends on precisely the same things that Aristotle long ago said every aristocracy must depend upon—namely, inherited wealth.

It is not meant by this that each individual member must be rich, but that the society to which he belongs is ultimately based on wealth. The best society, however, differs from other societies, not only in position, but in the results of that position. The former, in fact, is of social value wholly and solely because it produces the latter. One of the chief of these results, as I have said before, is certain heritage of manners, and manner, which with constant modifications, but without break, has come down to the present generation from remote periods. Society, indeed, as we now know it, became possible only in comparatively recent times; but none the less it derives from the Middle Ages the feelings and bearing of an historical ruling class; and though no longer conscious of supremacy in the world of arms, it is conscious of a similar supremacy in the world of manners. This gives its members a certain instinctive command of life, a crisp precision in their social judgments, and in their ways of expressing them, and the ease of those who make the very

conventions that sometimes hamper them; and these qualities constitute some of the chief charms and most distinctive marks of well-bred people. Again, the best society, in virtue of the position of its members, differs from other societies in this respect, that it is a national, not a provincial, body, and to a certain degree it is a cosmopolitan body. The persons who compose it have their homes in every part of the country, from the Land's End to Caithness, from Norfolk to the West of Ireland. Their local connections being thus so varied and so distant, they are, as a society, not narrowed by them; but, on the contrary, when they meet in London or in each other's country houses, what meets is as it were a kingdom, not a district or a neighborhood. They are, moreover, speaking generally, frequent travellers; and a large number of them travel, not as mere tourists, but mix more or less in the society of other countries and capitals—notably of Paris, Rome, and New York. It is true that much of our old insular feeling still survives, as is exemplified in the fact that a certain well-known peer not many years ago described a diplomat of Eastern Europe as "that d——d Frenchman her ladyship has asked to stay with us"; or the yet more pithy saying made by an equally well-known Englishman in a certain southern watering place, where he spent five months of each year, "that one foreigner is exactly like another." But in spite of these insularities, the best society of England is to a considerable extent in touch with similar societies abroad; and these far-reaching connections, both home and foreign, give it naturally and inevitably a width, a freedom, and a variety of ideas impossible in any society not similarly situated. To all this, two things yet remain to be added. This particular social body of which we are speaking has been and still is the chief patron of art; and till comparatively recent times the principal treasures of art, in the way of architecture, pictures, furniture, plate, and last, but not least, dress, were either produced for or came to be possessed by its wealthier members, and were familiar to and formed the taste of all. And further, this same body was not only till a very recent time the centre of political power, but it possesses, in spite of democracy, considerable power still. The centres of political life are still close to it, even if not in its midst; it possesses exceptional facilities for learning the latest news—for

hearing, as it were, the heart-beats of the legislature and the administration; and it is still, speaking generally, stimulated by ideas of leadership and responsibility, which widen and quicken the thoughts, even when they produce no useful action.

The influence of all these circumstances on those brought up amongst them is easily understood. They create a kind of social climate, in which most of the qualities which give charm to social intercourse ripen in a way that is not possible elsewhere, and acquire more delicate flavors. This is not indeed most true, but true most obviously with regard to charm of manner; for manner, though its raw material is always personal temperament, is, in its finished state, the result of social circumstances, and bears something the same relation to them that its scent does to a flower; and though the greatest charm of manner is a personal gift, like genius, and though persons who have enjoyed the same social advantages possess it no doubt in very different degrees, it is only in the best society that its greatest and finest charm is, as a rule, possible; and the manner of any average man or woman, brought up in such society, is undoubtedly, with few exceptions, more agreeable than it would have been had the person in question been brought up in other circumstances. This will perhaps be more readily understood when a fact is mentioned which, though absolutely true, is the exact reverse of what many people imagine; and that is that manner in the best society is distinguished before all things by its simplicity and absence of affectation—a simplicity which is mainly due to that command of life of which I have already spoken, and the fact that the conventions which those in question obey are conventions which are made or sanctioned by themselves, and themselves only. It is only in the best society that this complete simplicity is to be found combined with the highest polish.

The reader will perceive that the foregoing observations point to the conclusion that social intercourse or society, in its most finished and most brilliant form—which is quite a distinct thing from interesting discussion or the communion of intimate friends—is possible only in a class which is in some sense an aristocracy; and by an aristocracy I mean a class which, though it need not be hereditary so far as all its members are concerned, has yet an hereditary nucleus. And in this qualified sense, the best English society is an aristocracy still. A good deal has been said about

the omnipotence of mere wealth in modern London, and of how any vulgar man, by the brute force of his millions, can make his way in society and command the homage of everybody. And in all this there is some truth; but there is more exaggeration. In the first place it is only fortunes of exceptional magnitude that will of themselves give their possessors any exceptional social advantages. Moderate fortunes may supply the means by which persons with social ambitions can make their personal qualifications felt: but of enormous fortunes the total number is very small. New men have been raising themselves for the last ninety years, but there are not in the whole kingdom more than some 250 with more than £50,000 a year; and between seventy and eighty of them are old-established landed magnates. But it is still more important to observe that whatever new members may add themselves to the *de facto* aristocracy of the kingdom, they do this only by coalescing with or in so far as they coalesce with the old, and become gradually and naturally permeated by their traditions and their tone, and identified with their interests. The same observation applies also to those who, not being persons of any family, and not having even any solid fortune to aid them, acquire social position solely by their intellectual or personal qualities. There is in fact no doubt that, whatever change may have taken place in English society during the past fifty years, it is still a society dominated by the tone and instincts of an hereditary class—that it is an aristocracy adapted to a plutocratic and democratic environment, but that it is none the less a *de facto* aristocracy, and that its nucleus is still the landed families of the country, who enjoy the prestige either of long descent or hereditary titular rank, or both.

But now it remains to call attention to the following fact. We have just been speaking of the best English society as an aristocracy; but the members of such an aristrocracy need not always compose the best society, or indeed society at all, in the sense in which we have been using the term. A family gathering, for instance, composed of near relations, invited to meet one another on account of early and life-long intimacy, is a very different thing from a fashionable reunion, though accidentally some who take part in it may be persons eminently fashionable. But to meet one's parents, or children, or cousins, or aunts, or uncles is not what is commonly called going into society, and

involves none of those principles or considerations on which fashionable society is founded. Fashionable society in England is not an aristocracy, but a republic inside an aristocracy ; and to a certain extent it is a republic everywhere. It was so even at the Court of Versailles. It was a republic with a king for president. And it is, and always has been, a republic in this way—that, though birth or position or external circumstance of some special kind is practically necessary to qualify men and women for belonging to it, these things alone are not enough to qualify them, nor do they determine the place in it which those who belong to it will hold. Wealth, for instance, in large numbers of its citizens is a practical necessity, though numbers—especially the unmarried—may be comparatively poor : and high rank, in such a country as England, is certain to be the possession of many, and also counts for much. But personal qualities count for even more, and the various values of these will often completely alter the relative positions that result merely from rank, wealth, or family. Each advantage in each case has, as examiners would say, so many marks allowed it ; and the marks given for exceptional personal qualities and an average position will be often greater than the marks given for average personal qualities and an exceptional position. For instance, exceptional beauty and exceptional fascination in a woman will often practically upset all tables of precedence, except as regards the order in which she goes in to dinner. No picture of fashionable society can be falser than that which represents it as the mere creation of adventitious circumstances, and the apotheosis of adventitious advantages. On the contrary no fashionable society—and certainly no brilliant society—has ever existed without the possession by its members of distinct personal qualities which, even if they seem frivolous to many serious people, are yet in their own way charming, and which many serious and highly gifted people would be utterly unable to acquire, and are considerably the worse for wanting. What these qualities are I have already indicated ; and great intellectual gifts, when allied with others, take a high place amongst them, though, it must be confessed, they are not essential. A beautiful voice, for instance, in a woman who also possesses humor, feeling, and experience of the world does far more to make her charming and brilliant socially than qualities which would enable her to produce a primer on

political economy. I think, as I write, of one lady in particular who possessed to her dying day a voice and manner which held wit and humor in their very tones and inflections, and rivalled the charms which in her youth had made her the Queen of Beauty. There is another lady also, still happily alive, of similar rank, but enjoying a somewhat different *entourage*, and not unknown at Newmarket—of whom the same thing may be said. She can convey more sense of amusement in a hardly audible laugh than would be excited by the most labored witticism. Could saints laugh like that, sermons would be unnecessary.

Brilliant society, in short, is like a game of skill, or a concert, in which the best results are produced only by specially gifted persons, and must not be confounded with that other social intercourse founded on close relationship, or early association, or a desire to discuss any given serious subject. Satirists call the world of fashion heartless; and it is a common and a perfectly true saying that "it is impossible to give a good ball without being very ill-natured." But fashionable society is in this respect no worse than any other game is; and a hostess is no more really heartless because she does not ask a dull cousin or nephew to a fashionable dinner party than a man would be in not asking a cripple to play in a game of cricket, or a person with no voice to take a leading part in an opera.

Brilliant society is one of the pleasantest things in life for those who are able to take a part in it. Those who are unable to do this may comfort themselves by reflecting that by not taking part in it they escape much personal mortification, and also that, of all the things in life, it is one of the least important. Thus by the aid of a little sophistical philosophy we may—let us hope—be all of us thoroughly pleased, and enjoy the conviction that this is the best of all possible worlds—which after all need not be saying very much for it.

W. H. Mallock.

WHAT SHOULD A DOCTOR BE PAID?

BY WILLIAM A. HAMMOND, M. D., SURGEON-GENERAL U. S. ARMY (RETIRED LIST).

THE chivalric theory that lawyers, clergymen, and physicians are bound to render their services to those who are afflicted either in their estates, their souls, or their bodies without fee and without reward, and that whatever pecuniary recompense is made is tendered and received under the thin disguise of being an *honorarium*, has long since gone the way of many other chivalric ideas. The lawyer takes his "retainer," his "refresher," and his final fee as a matter of course, and, as a rule, gauges each demand in accordance with his ideas of the value of his services and of the means of his client. The clergyman of every religion receives the Sunday collection, or the pew rents, or the tithes, or a fixed stipend as the case may be, and other things being equal, and if he is free to do so by the laws of his church, goes to that parish that pays him the largest sum of money. He even, in these latter days, sometimes expects a fee for the burial of the dead, always for the performance of a marriage, and not infrequently for receiving a soul burdened with original sin into the fold of the church.

All this is very well, and, as a rule, people do not grumble; but the physician, whose labors are more onerous than those either of the clergyman or the lawyer, whose services are of such a confidential and personal nature that mere money is a most inadequate return, is generally (and I use the word "generally" advisedly) paid grudgingly, and often his modest account is cut down by the false plea of poverty to a sum that nothing but the consciousness that he must either take that or go without causes him to receive. I have known people in comfortable and even in

affluent circumstances put on their shabbiest clothes and assume their most melancholy expression for the purpose of advancing the plea of being in limited means, when they made a professional visit to a physician; and when they had profited by the disgraceful subterfuge, brag to their friends of their success in "beating" the doctor. I know of a man whose wealth, at a moderate estimate, is twenty-five millions of dollars, who gives over ten thousand a year to his church, and twenty-five thousand to his lawyers (sometimes much more than this), who fares sumptuously every day; and yet, who when called upon to pay his physician, lays the notes on the table, still keeping his fingers on them, and in the course of conversation puts them back into his pocket, and again lays them on the table with lingering hands and finally watches them with avaricious eyes as he backs himself out of the consulting-room. I have known another whose child had been saved from death by diphtheria, by the constant care of the physician day and night, and who, when a modest pecuniary claim was made, sent the note back with a demand for the items, and then, when the physician indignantly recalled his memorandum and made him a present of the amount charged, accepted the gift, and changed his physician for a lower priced man. And yet this individual (it would be a libel on the race to call him a man) was receiving an income of over fifty thousand dollars a year, and lifted up his voice every Sunday before one of the highest priced preachers in the city of New York.

Undoubtedly a considerable amount of this tendency in the laity to place a low estimate on the services of physicians is due to their self-depreciation, and to the depreciation of their brethren in which many members of the profession indulge. This is shown in their disposition to render important medical services for very small fees, or for nothing at all, especially when some public institution is concerned, or some so-called charity with ample funds to pay good salaries to their whole staff except the medical portion. In the city of New York, for instance, the Commissioners of Charities and Correction receive four or five thousand dollars a year each, but the physicians, without whose aid they could not carry on their establishment a single day, are expected to give their time and knowledge to the wealthy city without any other reward than the slight increase of reputation which hospital ap-

pointments are supposed to give. And so with the hundreds of dispensaries, the medical appointments to which are sought after with avidity mainly for the advantages they are expected to confer in attracting paying practices, and to some extent undoubtedly for the experience which they afford to those who, if they waited for patients with fees in their pockets, would be a long time in acquiring a practical knowledge of very simple professional details.

Now, there is no proper reason why such advantages should not be merely incidental, as in every other profession, and why the physician, young or old, should not be properly paid for the services he renders to the poor of the city or State. Nobody else gives them anything for nothing; their fuel, their food, their clothing, their medicines, even their religion, are paid for by the public. As to the legal services which are rendered, I venture to say that not ten physicians out of every hundred receive as much compensation as do the corporation attorneys and the other lawyers employed by the city of New York.

A united effort on the part of the medical profession would very soon change all this. Such an effort is, however, outside of the range of possibility. For there will always be found some who, placing a low estimate on the value of their own services, will rush in to secure the places which those of a higher grade resign.

No one questions the fact that saving a man's life is ordinarily a matter of more importance to him than winning a lawsuit involving a million, or even twenty million, dollars; and yet the lawyers in the one case would doubtless receive many thousands of dollars, perhaps running up into the millions; while the physician in the other would be considered exorbitant in his demands if he placed the pecuniary value of his services at a paltry fraction of the sum cheerfully given to the legal advisers.

The tourist captured by Sicilian brigands does not hesitate to give twenty thousand dollars under the threat that failure to do so will surely result in the amputation of his nose. He would give ten times as much, if he had it, to save himself from so horrible a mutilation. But should a surgeon, by a skilful operation, preserve the same organ of the same tourist from the destructive influence of injury or disease, the probability is that, should he fix his monetary compensation at so large a sum as five hundred

dollars, he would be regarded as almost as much of a robber as the Sicilian brigands, and that even many of his fellow-practitioners would look at him with that degree of envy which the obtaining of such a fee would be likely to excite.

To be sure, in the one case there is no alternative. If the money is not promptly paid, the nose goes; while in the other there are many surgeons who will gladly do all in their power to save the threatened proboscis for a much less sum than five hundred dollars. The patient knows this, and therefore he rebels; but few will question the assertion that if he is able (and on this point hangs much of the ethics of medical fees) he should pay the surgeon who saves his nose by skill and kindness at least as much as he gives the man who proposes to cruelly deprive him of it. From the earliest times the rich have paid, as was eminently proper, more than the poor for medical services. Thus John of Gadsden, an English medical practitioner of distinction who flourished in the thirteenth century, required his disciples to follow his example, and to charge the rich twice as much as they demanded of the poor. It is only necessary to refer to the various histories of medicine to discover that several hundred years ago physicians and surgeons were compensated to an extent that would even in this extravagant age be regarded as princely.

That the medical man should make his fees bear some relation to the means of his patient is a matter that seems eminently just and proper. Physicians do a great deal of work for which they receive very little money, and more still for which they get nothing at all. For this the rich should in part pay; it is unjust that the physician alone should bear the brunt. The value of medical services is always great, and it is only the rich who can properly compensate the physician who renders them. When the same services are given to a poor person, it is impossible that they can be adequately rewarded, and hence smaller fees are cheerfully received. It is really not that the rich are charged more, but that the poor are charged less. It would seem right that medical fees should be arranged upon the basis of the patient being worth a certain amount (say a hundred thousand dollars), and that the *honorarium,* if we choose to use that term, should be adjusted accordingly, being more or less as the wealth of the patient was greater or less than the sum fixed upon.

Take for instance a case like the following. A gentleman rated as two or three times a millionaire is suffering from a spinal affection, slowly but surely advancing towards a fatal termination. Several skilful neurologists pronounce the disease to be *locomotor ataxia* and hold out no hope of an arrest of the morbid process. Indeed the consensus of opinion limits the duration of his life to, at the most, five years of suffering, the last two or three of which it is quite certain will be marked by inability to walk or even to stand without assistance. All this is in accordance with the experience gained by extensive practical knowledge of the disease in question and of its uniformly fatal termination. In despair of receiving any benefit, but to oblige his friends who are not willing to give up all hope, he consults another physcian. Examination shows that the diagnosis is correct and that the prospect of recovery is *almost* nothing. "Almost" for this physician is of a hopeful temperament, one who is not willing to give up while there is a ghost of a chance of saving life, and one, moreover, who knows his business, who possesses unbounded courage, who is not afraid of responsibility, who is fertile of resources, and who understands that kind of scientific experimentation which only a thorough acquaintance with medicines, with the forces of nature, and with the constitution of his patient can justify him in bringing into use in the case of a human being. In the course of a few months the progress of the disease is arrested, the atrocious pains cease, the gait becomes steady, and the many accompanying morbid phenomena either disappear entirely or are so mitigated in violence as to be no longer a source of suffering. Ten, fifteen years pass, and the man is to all appearances in good health. He goes about the crowded streets of a city, walking in the course of a day several miles without assistance or suffering from undue fatigue. He attends dinner parties and eats and drinks like the other guests, he carries on an extensive business, and adds year by year to his wealth. Life is full of charms to him, and he bids fair to enjoy it for a score more of years. How should such a man recompense the physician who has done all this for him? Are the paltry five or ten dollar fees for each visit a sufficient pecuniary reward, amounting as they do perhaps to no more than a beggarly thousand dollars or so? Would five hundred thousand dollars be too large an amount for him to pay? And is it not quite certain that to the lawyer who should guarantee

to save him from the loss of his three millions in a desperate lawsuit he would give that, or even more than that sum ?

Or, suppose that the physician had in the beginning addressed the patient something after this manner :

"You have asked me to tell you the truth as I understand it. Well, you are affected with one of the most intractable diseases known to medical science. Your physicians have made a correct diagnosis, and have treated you with skill and in accordance with the most advanced ideas of those who have given exclusive attention to such affections. I do not say that I can cure you ; on the contrary, the probability is that nothing I can do will be of any material service to you. But there is just a glimmering of a hope that I can, at any rate, arrest the further progress of your disease and prolong your life in comparative comfort for at least ten years. Now I am willing to try, on consideration that if I succeed you shall give me a fee of half a million dollars. If I fail you shall pay nothing. I have a plan of treatment which I have published in medical journals, brought before medical societies, and described in detail before my classes in medical colleges. But the profession accepts new ideas slowly, and many of its members, as they have done in former days, and as is now constantly done with greater men than I, abuse me in unmeasured terms as a visionary and an empiric (as if we were not all empirics, and as if the best physician is not the best empiric). I propose to try this system of treatment. I may not succeed, but at any rate you will be no worse than you are now, and if under its use your disease is cured or arrested in its progress, you shall give me one-sixth of your fortune."

Of course physicians do not talk in this manner to their patients, but lawyers and business men frequently act in strict accordance with such a proposal, and their clients and co-operators agree to its provisions without hesitation.

It is safe to say that no man suffering with such a disease as the one I have mentioned and reposing confidence in the physician and possessing the ability to meet the obligation would reject the proposal.

Now take an actual case such as the following :

A gentleman of great wealth, while returning from a convivial gathering at which he had imbibed too much champagne, fell and struck his head against the curbstone. He was taken up by the friends who were with him and carried in a carriage to his own residence. Although not comatose at first, stupor gradually supervened, so that by the time he arrived home he was profoundly insensible. His family physician was called, and after making a thorough examination could find no evidence of a fracture of the skull. He gave the opinion that a blood-vessel had been ruptured, but he did not know enough to locate the exact

place of injury, nor did such acquaintance with the science and art of surgery as he possessed enable him to obtain a clear idea of what had happened within the man's skull. Another physician who was called in and who was supposed to be well up in his profession was equally helpless. Both united in the opinion that there was no hope, and that there was nothing to be done but to wait for death to end the scene. Then at a fortunate moment a son who was a student of medicine begged that a young surgeon, a friend of his, might be called in consultation. The two older medical men objected on the ground that he was so greatly their junior that it would be beneath their dignity to refer to him for advice; but the youth, who knew of his friend's ability and of his work in the clinics and hospitals, urged so piteously that his petition might be granted that his mother consented; the respectable professional gentlemen withdrew from what they considered to be a hopeless case; and the young doctor, the ink on whose diploma was scarcely dry, was summoned. The history of the case was given him, examination showed that the right side of the skull had been struck, and that there was paralysis of the left arm. The patient was by this time in a state of deep stupor. The diagnosis was made that meningeal hemorrhage (rupture of a blood vessel in the membranes of the brain) had been produced, and that blood had been effused between the brain and the skull and was pressing on the organ. Death was inevitable unless relief were promptly afforded. There was no hesitation. The trephine was at once applied at the place where his knowledge of anatomy and physiology showed him the clot must be, and there it was, the blood pouring out from a small artery that had been ruptured. The surface of the brain was cleaned, the bleeding vessel tied and almost in an instant the patient regained consciousness and the power of motion. Complete recovery quickly followed.

Now, what should have been this young man's fee? If ever a human life has been saved, this man saved one. His patient was worth, at the lowest estimate, half a million dollars; one-fifth of that sum would have been reasonable, and yet, when the modest claim of five hundred dollars was made, it was rejected as exorbitant, and, as the doctor was poor, he took two hundred and fifty rather than contend for what he thought was right, but

which, under the circumstances, was a preposterously, almost criminally, low charge.

Such cases as these disclose another element that should be taken into consideration by medical men in regulating their fees.

It is manifestly unjust that there should be a uniform rate of fees applicable to all medical men, regardless of the skill and experience of the practitioner. There are many inside the profession who would have a level grade for all, just as do the trades unions, which prohibit a competent bricklayer from laying more bricks in a day than can be laid by an inferior workman. But superior science and ability should count largely in the medical profession in the matter of fees, and to a certain degree they do, but to nothing like the extent that should prevail. They are the strongest kind of factors with lawyers, and they should be still more powerful with doctors. Boldness, originality, knowledge, tact, and above all, that peculiar power which enables the physician to comprehend almost at a glance the nature of the case with which he has to deal, should be high-priced to those who have the ability to pay.

Finally, it must be borne in mind that no matter how much the medical man may receive in fees in the course of a year, the work that he does for nothing would, even if moderately paid for, reach a sum far in excess of the pecuniary remuneration from his well-to-do or wealthy patients. No class of men do so much in the way of charity as those who practice medicine. It is time that superior skill in them and wealth in their patients should count for more than has hitherto been the case, and their fees should be promptly paid. Gratitude is an evanescent emotion; and the medical account presented months after the service has been rendered is too often regarded like the bill for a dinner eaten long ago.

W. A. Hammond.

THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK IN ENGLAND.

BY SIR ELLIS ASHMEAD-BARTLETT, M. P.

THE political situation in England is more confused than it has been for many years. No one seems to have a clear forecast of what the next few months will bring forth. Hitherto the issue has been between the two great parties in the State: between Conservatives and Liberals, or within the last eight years, since Mr. Gladstone's fatal excursus after Home Rule, between Unionists and Gladstonians. Now, however, that Mr. Gladstone has gone, the old dividing line between the parties shows signs of breaking up. The old order seems to be changing and giving place to new. We are on the eve of a development of what M. Gambetta described eighteen years ago in France as *les nouvelles couches sociales*. Lord Rosebery himself, in a recent speech, in reply to the address of the London County Council, adumbrated the formation of a new party.

There is no doubt that the growing interest and importance of the so-called "Labor Question," and the increasing power of the Trades Unions, in and out of Parliament, present a multitude of fresh problems and of fresh political forces which must perplex and may easily upset the calculations of the most experienced political managers. The present government have truckled to the Trades Unions, especially to the most extreme section of them represented by Mr. John Burns, Mr. S. Woods, and other agitators. They have accepted the eight-hour day, which nobody really believes in. They are lowering the hours of work in the Government arsenals and dockyards to eight, thereby imposing an extra burden of nearly 10 per cent. upon the taxpayers. They abandoned the Employers' Liability Bill, although the Lords had passed nine-tenths of it, at the dictation of the Trades Union agitators. They have increased the wages of many artisans in

Government employ. Their budget has been so devised as to throw nearly the whole burden of the increased taxation upon the upper and middle classes.

These are all bids for the labor vote, and they are intended to counteract if possible the unpopular effect of the bad trade and falling wages, which have prevailed during the twenty months since August, 1892, while the Radical party, first under Mr. Gladstone and now under Lord Rosebery, have held office. It is also hoped by the Ministry that their failure to fulfil their promises made at the last election, the painful barrenness of their legislative record, and their phenomenal collapse over Home Rule, may all be overshadowed and forgotten amid the allurements of a proposed "labor" programme. So much for the *nouvelles couches sociales*. Mr. Gladstone himself is evidently not quite easy as to the future; for in his letter to his constituents in Midlothian, published on March 23d, he addressed some words of grave warning to the working classes, which do him much more credit than his last violent speech in the House of Commons.

There have been some surprising events in our political life within the past six weeks. The first was Mr. Gladstone's resignation on March 3d. The accurate predictions of the *Pall Mall Gazette* had somewhat prepared the public mind for this step, but few expected that it would be accepted so readily and with so little excitement. Hardly a voice was seriously raised against the retirement of the most conspicuous figure identified with English politics for the past sixty years. There has been a considerable amount of regret and eulogy, but even this has been much milder and less earnest than might have been expected. The fact is that Mr. Gladstone's retirement has been felt as a relief, even by his own friends. He was opposed to phases of policy which most of his colleagues realized to be essential for the interests of the country and for their own popularity. The increase in the navy, which was an absolute necessity for the imperial and commercial greatness of England abroad, and even for the safeguarding of the liberties and the food supplies of the nation at home, has been synchronous with Mr. Gladstone's resignation. The settlement of the future of Uganda, upon which depends the future of British power in Eastern and Central Africa, was also impossible so long as Mr. Gladstone turned the balance in favor of surrender. Now by the decision of Lord Rosebery's government to establish a Pro-

tectorate over Uganda and the adjacent regions, British influence will stretch from end to end of the dark continent, from Alexandria to Cape Town. That will be a splendid day for England. The fruition of the work of men like Livingstone and Baker, Gordon and Stanley, Moffat and Frere, will then be finally concluded and richly reaped through the enterprise and statesmanship of Mr. Cecil Rhodes.

What will be Lord Rosebery's future? Will he be able to bend the bow of Ulysses? Can he hold together the heterogeneous mass of faddists, crotcheteers, fanatics, Home Rulers, and revolutionaries that compose the Radical party? It was hard enough for Mr. Gladstone, with his unrivalled parliamentary experience, his matchless dexterity, and his venerable and almost divine prestige, to keep these hostile and often warring factions together, under the shelter of what Mr. Punch once happily described as the "Grand Old Umbrella." Can a young peer, nearly forty years Mr. Gladstone's junior, satisfy the insatiable demands of Irish Nationalists, of Disestablishmentarians, both Welsh and Scotch, of Registration Reformers of many varieties, of Trades Unionists, of Socialists and of Teetotallers, not to say anything about anti-vaccinators, anti-vivisectionists, anti-opium men, and the advocates of peace at any price? Can Lord Rosebery manage to lead such a *pot-pourri* of factions, as a united party, to victory against the solid phalanx of the Conservative and Unionist host?

It is no easy task that Lord Rosebery has undertaken. But he has many requisites for the campaign, difficult as it is. He has perfect confidence in himself. In appearance, manner, and style the new Premier is in every respect the antipodes of his predecessor. He is a patrician, coming of a very old family, and has never had a seat in the House of Commons. He is of barely middle height, inclined to be stout, with a smooth face and an exceedingly boyish appearance. Lord Rosebery has a keen sense of humor, in which Mr. Gladstone was painfully deficient; and he is a master of polished phraseology and epigram. His delivery is deliberate, and rather that of the practised, than of the natural-born, orator. He does not enjoy the iron physique that has stood Mr. Gladstone in such good stead. He has long been delicate and suffered much from insomnia; in this respect it is perhaps fortunate that he is spared the constant and

terrible racket of leading the House of Commons. Like Lord Palmerston and Lord Beaconsfield, Lord Rosebery dislikes, most of all things, being bored. The earnest Radical and the fanatical crotcheteer are an abhorrence to him. But Lord Rosebery has tact and adroitness to repress these feelings of aversion. He can flatter with much dexterity, and the skill with which he has played to the gallery in presiding for a short time over the London County Council, and in his recent attentions to that body, show that the new Prime Minister means to lose no opportunity of extending his popularity and his influence.

Lord Rosebery is now trying to form a new party in Great Britain. He is evidently playing to get the moderate English and Scotch vote. In foreign and colonial politics he is an Imperialist, thereby being in sharp contrast to his predecessor, who was of the old *laissez aller* Manchester school. He believes in upholding the interests and the honor of England abroad. He professes to be as unwilling to yield and surrender to the rivals or foes of England as Mr. Gladstone was always unwilling to resist them. In dealing with French aggression against Siam last summer Lord Rosebery was indeed painfully outwitted and deplorably weak. But then Mr. Gladstone was Premier, and Lord Rosebery may not have had a free hand. He has done much to atone for the awkward consequences of Mr. Gladstone's indiscretions in Egypt. Lord Rosebery is posing as a Radical "Jingo," a very unusual but formidable combination. This imperialism renders him popular with educated Englishmen, and makes him a more difficult leader for Conservative politicians to attack than Mr. Gladstone was, or than Sir William Harcourt would have been. Moreover, the new naval programme, inadequate and temporary though it is, which Lord Rosebery's ministry have put forth, also appeals strongly to the moderate and educated vote of England and Scotland. So does his novel attitude as to Home Rule; especially his emphatic statement that England must be converted to Home Rule before Home Rule can be carried into effect. Lord Cork, who resigned office in 1886 rather than follow Mr. Gladstone in his Home Rule policy, has lately joined Lord Rosebery's Ministry as Master of the Horse.

Though Lord Rosebery has under Irish pressure made some half-hearted attempts to explain away his pregnant pronounce-

ment about the "Conversion of England," he has never really withdrawn it. The practical meaning of such a statement is the postponement of Home Rule to the Greek Kalends; for England never will be converted to Home Rule; certainly never to such a Home Rule scheme as Mr. Gladstone's bill of 1893 contained. That scheme would have given Ireland a separate Parliament of her own to manage Irish affairs, without the intervention of English or Scotch members, and at the same time it would have planted eighty Irish members in the heart of the Imperial or British Parliament, with full power to discuss, to vote upon, to practically contest, every English and Scotch measure. That scheme would have imposed for Imperial expenditure a burden of 35s. a year upon the average Briton, while it would have cut off the average Irishman with only 6s. 6d. a year. It would have inflicted grievous hardships and perils upon the industrious Protestants of Ulster and upon the Loyalists throughout Ireland. It would have prepared a terrible danger for Great Britain by placing an organized and practically independent Ireland in the hands of her bitter enemies; and this close to the great western seaports of Britain and commanding the avenues of British commerce and food supplies. These facts have now been made patent to Englishmen and Scotchmen by the protracted and most valuable debates in the House of Commons upon the Home Rule scheme of 1893.

Lord Rosebery speaks of the anti-Home Rule majority in England as decreasing because England in 1886 sent, out of 485 members, a majority of 213 against Home Rule, whereas in 1892 the English majority for the Union was only 71. But no one knows better than Lord Rosebery the fallacy of his argument. The general election of 1886 was taken upon the question of Home Rule and upon that alone. Hence, England voted almost solidly against it. The general election of 1892 was not taken upon Home Rule at all, but upon the many crotchets and fads of the so-called Newcastle programme. Home Rule was in 1892 kept everywhere in the background by Radical candidates and wire-pullers. If England and Scotland were polled to-morrow upon the issue of Home Rule alone, there would be a greater Unionist majority even than in 1886.

But the Irish Nationalists. It will naturally be asked, What of them? Do they accept this indefinite postponement of Home

Rule? The Irish Nationalist members number 80; 9 are Parnellites, and these have adopted a very independent attitude towards the Radical Government. The 71 Anti-Parnellites have, however, long been Gladstonians or Ministerialists, pure and simple. They receive the official whips and vote far more regularly with the Ministry than do some of the extreme English Radicals. Just now the 71 Anti-Parnellites are particularly subservient to the Government. Their funds are notoriously low. Since the fall of Mr. Parnell and the breach in his once all-powerful band, the subscriptions from the Irish abroad, notably from the American Irish, have grievously fallen off. The result is that the Anti-Parnellite party is in very low water and dependent upon the Radical treasury for its election expenses. The Anti-Parnellites are in no position to quarrel with the Government or to press Lord Rosebery too closely for the meaning of his surprising and heterodox utterances upon Home Rule. Moreover the Anti-Parnellite party is very helpless owing to its internal divisions. Like the Poles, the Irish Nationalists are exceedingly fissiparous. Their parties always split into factions, and their factions subdivide and multiply. There is the main division of Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites. The Anti-Parnellites again are divided into at least three factions that are now quarrelling with and reviling each other with truly Celtic bitterness. Healyites, Sextonites, and Dillonites now detest one another even more than they hate the Saxon. The pristine fame of Committee-Room No. 15 is being revived by their present feuds. So keen are these feuds that the Irish Nationalist members cannot even agree upon the use for the evicted tenants of the £28,000 now lying idle in Paris.

Lord Rosebery is likely to have more trouble with the British Radicals than with the Irish Nationalists. The pranks of that Prince of Farceurs and Arch-Priest of Mischief, Mr. Henry Labouchere, have already given the Government a serious shake, and may cause them further trouble. Some three months back the Radical wire-pullers, at their wits' end for a popular electioneering cry, bethought them of the natural prejudice that exists in a democratic age against a privileged chamber and a titled aristocracy. Their leaders in the Government had wholly failed during their twenty months of office to do anything sufficiently creditable abroad or at home to furnish a taking cry. Accordingly the agitators tried to raise the political wind to the tune of "Down with

the Lords." They forced the Ministry to abandon their Employers' Liability Bill, in order to give color to the onslaught upon the peers. At this moment came Mr. Gladstone's resignation to nip the calculations of the Radicals in the bud. In vain did Mr. Labouchere try to foment an agitation against a "Peer-Premier," as Mr. Gladstone's successor. In vain did he and a few stalwart Radicals try to secure the reversion of the leadership for Sir William Harcourt. That gentleman's long and conspicuous services to his party were ignored. His claims were treated with scant notice, barely even with courtesy by the Liberal press. So soon as it was known that the Queen had sent for Lord Rosebery, the members of Mr. Labouchere's "cave" rapidly shrank, till it was reduced to two only, Mr. Labouchere himself and Mr. Storey.

The agitation against the Lords was killed by the downright satire and ridiculousness of the situation. At the moment that the cry "Down with the Lords" was swelling into volume, a peer was made Prime Minister; five other peers were given high office in his cabinet, and Mr. Gladstone's last tribute to two of his most devoted friends was to raise them to the House of Lords. The Radicals could not go to the country with the battle cry of "Down with the Lords—three cheers for Lord Rosebery." The agitation was snuffed out amid Homeric laughter. Even the long planned and carefully organized demonstration of the trades unions in Hyde Park against the Lords, on March 17, fell very flat, and was a distinct failure. Mr. Labouchere, it is true, had his revenge on March 13, when, by adroit management and surprise, he defeated the Government on his amendment to the address condemning the Lords. He put ministers in a most absurd position, and forced them to adopt the unprecedented course of negativing the address to the Crown which they had themselves drawn up and proposed, and of then proposing an entirely new address in a novel form. But the defeat was more a matter of bad whipping on the ministerial side than a genuine test of strength. It afforded much entertainment to the Opposition and infinite amusement to its tricksy author. But that was all.

What, then, are the chances of the future? Many expect an early dissolution, possibly in June. Sir William Harcourt's budget at first sight is a clever one. He had a deficit of £4,500,000 ($22,500,000) to face. The British budget this year caps the climax of all previous budgets. It reaches the enormous total of

£102,700,000, and this under a ministry pledged to economy. Sir William Harcourt meets his deficit first by juggling with the Suez Canal profits and the naval defence sinking fund, and, second, by extra taxation. He equalizes the death duties upon real and personal property and increases them in proportion to the fortune inherited. He places an extra penny upon the Income Tax, but makes some acceptable remission for smaller incomes. He puts an extra sixpence duty per gallon upon spirits and per barrel upon beer. He fears that graduated death duties will press very heavily, and in some cases ruinously, upon landed properties. But the increased spirit and beer duties will be the most troublesome, and perhaps critical, for the government. Mr. Gladstone in 1883 was defeated on a similar tax. If the government carry their budget they will press forward their Registration bill. The main features of this bill are the abolition of all plural voting, and the shortening of the residential term of qualification from twelve months to three months. The first change will, of course, tell against the wealthy and leisured classes, who are now all Conservative. At present a man who has different property, for which he pays rates in several constituencies, may have a vote for each. Thus a merchant in the city of London has a vote there in virtue of his business offices. He also has a vote for his residence, which may be in the West End or in a suburb of the metropolis. The second will put a large number of the poorest, least settled, and most migratory class upon the electoral register; and these are naturally Radicals. If the House of Lords reject this Registration bill, the Radical wire-pullers will again try to raise a cry against the Upper House, and will hope thereby to divert the attention of the electors from Home Rule. Probably the Radicals will postpone the elections till after the Derby, which is early in June, because they calculate that, if Lord Rosebery wins that great race, many electors will be led "to back his luck" by giving him their votes.

The contest will be very severe, and to prophesy is most dangerous. The probability now is that the Unionist party will gain some seats in England and possibly four or five in Scotland. Ireland will remain about as it is—eighty Nationalists to twenty-three Unionists. The present Radical majority in the House of Commons is only thirty-five; a loss of eighteen seats would destroy it. The results of seven bye-elections have lately become known,

four in Scotland, two in England, and one in Wales, and they are distinctly encouraging to the Unionist cause. The bye-elections have already falsified Lord Rosebery's statement that the majority against Home Rule is "a reducing majority." Seven elections have been taken since March 1st. The result has been to show a reduction of the Separatist majorities of 1892 by no less than 38 per cent. If the same results happen at the General Election, not only will the Separatists be in a far greater minority than they are at present in England, but they will be also in a minority in the Imperial Parliament. Accordingly Home Rule seems likely to be hung up till the Greek Kalends. Even in Scotland, where ministers have put forth their utmost endeavors, and where Lord Rosebery and Mr. Asquith both undertook personal electioneering work, the Radical majorities of 1892 have been appreciably pulled down. The Unionist gain of 1,522 votes on Radical majorities, amounting to 2,756, or about 40 per cent., certainly cannot be described as a "reducing Unionist majority." The election in Wales is still more satisfactory. In that stronghold of Radicalism and disestablishmentarianism the Separatist majority was reduced from 815 to 225—a reduction of over 70 per cent. Adding the total reduction in the seven constituencies together, the result is that we get a diminution of the Separatist majority by over 38 per cent. This is certainly highly satisfactory and gratifying to the Unionist party.

Month by month the dangerous influence of the Home Rule policy is being more widely and more plainly felt in the United Kingdom. The principle of separation, or autonomy, once adopted is operating as actively and as perilously as in Austria, if not as in Turkey. The Home Rule serpent is for the moment scotched for Ireland, but the fatal virus is working throughout the whole body politic.

Everywhere the ministerial programme is antagonistic to England and the English race. There is a Conservative and Unionist majority of seventy-one members in England proper. Therefore the government policy is persistently hostile to English predominance. The Separatist and Radical fads and prejudices of Irishmen, Scotchmen, and Welshmen are humored and favored in every possible way, but no English need apply.

Every day a fresh proposal for the injury and ruin of some great national institution or to wreck some great English interest

is laid by the Ministry before Parliament. Their bill for the disestablishment and plunder of the church in Wales caps the climax of their unjust and Anarchical programme. Without the slightest excuse except the selfish aim of holding the votes of twenty-eight Welsh Radical members, the ministry propose to uproot and to rob the most ancient portion of the church in this country, and to give a stimulus to separation and plunder all over the United Kingdom. By this attack upon the church in Wales the parallels are opened for an early onslaught upon the church in England. Indeed, the Church of England is already and directly attacked. A whole English county, Monmouthshire, which has never been in Wales, and which is entirely English in language and preponderatingly English in blood, is to be filched from England and deprived of its church, in order to gratify Welsh disestablishers. The Scotch are to have a separate Scotch grand committee for Scotch affairs, in order that the Government may increase their normal parliamentary majority from 5 per cent. to over a 100 per cent. on that committee. Ireland and Wales are to have similar separate grand committees granted to them, but England, the chief and central country, the heart and core of the greatness of the United Kingdom, and of the whole Empire, is refused this privilege. There is to be no separate grand committee for England. English affairs and English interests are still to be dominated and controlled in Parliament by Scotch and Welsh and Irish Radicals; while Irish, Welsh, and Scotch affairs are to be practically freed from English interference. By their so-called Registration Bill, the Government deal a further blow at English influence and English rights. The Irish Nationalists have twenty-three seats in Parliament, more than they are entitled to, even by population. The Welsh Radicals have three more seats than their fair share. These twenty-six seats should certainly go to England, which is under-represented, whether judged by population or by wealth or by taxation. The Government refuse to take any steps to redress, in favor of England, this gross inequality of representation. Quite the reverse: they propose to shorten the residential period of qualification, so as to give predominance to the shifting, the least substantial, the migratory section of the population over the stable, the domestic, and the industrious electors. By their Evicted Tenants' Bill the Government propose to give

£100,000 of the nation's money to relieve the lawbreakers and dishonest conspirators who founded and who followed the plan of campaign to help the foolish and lawless men who, Mr. Dillon said "could pay, but would not pay because he told them not to pay"; and to rescue Mr. William O'Brien and Mr. John Dillon, from the unpopularity in Ireland into which they have deservedly fallen, at least £100,000 of National money is to be squandered.

The final decision, as Lord Rosebery sees clearly enough, rests with England and the English electors. The Radicals are now making every conceivable effort to divert the attention of the country from Home Rule. If the Unionist party can concentrate the attention of Great Britain, that is of England and Scotland, upon the issue of Home Rule, the victory must be with the Union. If, on the other hand, Lord Rosebery and the Radical wire-pullers succeed in confusing the issue, in diverting the attention of the electors to other questions, labor, registration, disestablishment, etc., and, above all, if they succeed in making the English people believe that there is no real danger of Home Rule, then Lord Rosebery may triumph. This is the key of the position—whether the electors vote, at the next general election, upon Home Rule or upon side and minor issues.

The main battle cry of the Unionist party at the coming election will be, first, "The Union"; and, second, "An appeal to the national pride and honor of the English people." The English people have been for so long a period so great and strong, so world-compelling and imperial, that they have almost lost their sense of nationality. The onslaughts that are now being made upon English greatness and English ascendency by the Radicals and Separatists are, however, at last reviving English sentiment. If the Unionist party can thoroughly inspire and arouse the national spirit of England, Lord Rosebery and his heterogeneous following will be swept away like chaff.

ELLIS ASHMEAD-BARTLETT.

THE NEW YORK STATE UNIVERSITY.

BY WILLIAM CROSWELL DOANE, A REGENT OF THE UNIVERSITY.

Our great Chancellor, George William Curtis, said once, in regard to the curiously widespread ignorance about this old institution, that: "If it were the fault of the University, it was obviously a fault of modesty. If it were merely the ignorance of citizens of New York who ought to know better, it illustrated the imperative necessity of immediate higher education." I shall not be considered as sinning against modesty, if I try to do something to enlighten this ignorance; because I am so recent a Regent that I can claim no share in the historic honour and success of the University; and I am perhaps better qualified to deal with the subject than others who are far more able, because, as a resident Regent in Albany, I am very familiar with the amount and kind of work which goes on, in and from the office. An opportunity is offered, and the occasion seems to me to be presented, for doing this, by an unusual occurrence. The report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Legislature of the State of New York is just published. Of its fifty-nine pages, fifteen are devoted more or less to criticism of the University; and copies of it, distributed broadcast, have the pages which contain this criticism, in many instances at least, marked with very big arrows, or very double lines, in very deep blue, drawn with a very blunt pencil, to make them more evident and emphatic. Plainly, the writer thinks this the most impressive and the most important subject with which the report deals. It is a little curious that when Halleck attacked the Regents seventy years ago, his verses are described by Chancellor Curtis as "winging one of the Croaker's airy shafts of satire." There is a slight difference in the name of the author, and not much similarity in the method, for the shafts of this present attack are neither *airy* nor *satirical*, but

heavy and savage. I have no wish to break in upon the policy of the Regents, which has been that of silence in regard to various attacks made on them from time to time by newspaper correspondents and others; and I do not, of course, commit the University either to the wisdom or the manner of dealing with this particular case. But I desire to present to the intelligent people of the State the actual facts of the situation, first disposing of the Report itself in the fewest possible words.

Large as is the title of the Department of Public Instruction, it has been heretofore held and handled as meaning, what it really does mean by the law of its creation, the office which superintends *the elementary schools* as distinguished from that which, in the language of the law, has charge of "all education in advance of common elementary branches." The present incumbent of the office is evidently disposed to stretch the title to the farthest reach of its broad language, as compelling him to superintend *all* the Public Instruction in the State, including the University. The occupant of this position, elected to it by whatever political party may have the majority of votes in the election year, is, *ex-officio*, a Regent of the University. I am sorry to say that, unlike his predecessor, but like some of his other official colleagues in the Board, Mr. Crooker never attends its meetings. Perhaps he would be wiser if he did. Perhaps his official recognition of the Regents would be less grudging and more generous if, as an *ex-officio* member, he were more familiar with the workings of the University. Certain it is that the officers of the University always welcome the most careful examination and the most thorough criticism, if it be intelligent, of the work they have to do, and of the way in which they do it. Even if Mr. Crooker had any sufficient knowledge of the University, there would be a certain unseemliness in his attitude towards it. Sharing, with the Regents, the responsibility for the education of the children of the State, it would be more natural that he should not array himself against his comrades in this important work.

The gist of the Superintendent's Report is a recommendation to the Legislature, *in its wisdom*, to adopt measures to change the "dual system" into a "single-headed responsible management of all educational interests," by which he thinks a great deal of expense could be spared the treasury. I am quite disposed to think that if the Legislature acts *in its wisdom* upon this sug-

gestion, it will not be according to Mr. Crocker's views as to what the "single-headed responsible management" shall be: for when the people of New York get a little further on, into the conviction that the only right relation between politics and education is to educate politicians, and not to politicalize education, they will no doubt feel that it is far better to remove from the frequency and uncertainty of party elections the headship of its Common Schools. And that can best be done by remanding *all* the educational work of the State to the Regents; who are a non-political body, with whose appointment politics have very little to do; who have no political debts to pay and no party interests to subserve; who differ greatly as to personal relations to parties; who are in office as citizens, and not as politicians; and who, being in office, stay there until they die. Politics are thus absolutely neutralized by the opposing personal, political views; and the temptation to please any particular party from the desire to retain office is entirely removed. The Regents desire neither to criticise, to control, nor to intrude into the other Department of Public Instruction; but, if the "*dual* headship" is to become a "*duel* headship," a change may become advisable.

It is a curious and interesting commentary on the facts of the present method of providing teachers for the elementary schools of the State, that the school commissioners license over five-sixths of the entire teaching force; and, while in many cases these officers are competent, in many districts they are absolutely incompetent; and probably will remain so as long as education is administered on political lines. One hundred and fifteen thousand dollars are annually appropriated from the State for the support of these officers. The Regents of the University apportion only $106,000 to the Academies and High-schools, on official tests, with every safeguard about them against fraud; and these Academies and High-schools today, as for more than a century, furnish most of the teachers for the elementary schools. It is another curious fact that the expenditure for Normal schools from the general fund and free school fund, according to the Superintendent's report of 1892, was $349,902.99. And yet in 1893 only 3,037 normal graduates are reported as employed in the New York State elementary schools; while the High-schools and Academies, to which the Regents give just *one-third* of the above amount, furnish *five times* as many teachers.

In considering the statistics on which Mr. Crooker bases his proposition this may be said: The amount of money appropriated by the State Legislature in 1894 for elementary instruction was $5,084,184. The annual appropriation which the Regents apportion as State aid to higher schools is $106,000. If this small sum were added to the other amount it would increase the salary of each of the 32,000 teachers in the elementary schools by $3 a year, or just one cent for each day, not counting Sundays and holidays. It sounds a little like the rich man taking the poor man's one ewe lamb, to propose to swell the enormous appropriation by this most insignificant addition.

Let me call attention—because I presume that Mr. Crooker does not mean to abolish his own office and himself, but to swallow up the University, Regents and all, into himself and his office—to the story, the character, and the work of the University of the State of New York. Much as I regret the occasion, I am not sorry of the opportunity; because this is only a culmination of the series of attacks (of which this last is made more manly, however much it may be mistaken, because it is signed) to which the University has been recently subjected, by those whose interest it seems to be to belittle or berate it: or by those who write in the loose way which ignorant people use, who mistake prejudices for principles, and their own impressions for facts.

The system of public education in the State of New York is somewhat peculiar. The founder of the system was the first governor, George Clinton, who, at the close of the revolutionary war, finding everything at loose ends, called the attention of the Legislature to the necessity of some prompt action. This resulted in the incorporation of a very *large* Board of Regents, who had charge of a very *small* classical school. That school was King's College, which has now grown to the splendid dimensions of Columbia College, still under the Regents, who have grown proportionately small in number, with largely increased duties, responsibilities, and powers. This was in 1784. The University of the State of New York is therefore 110 years old. In 1787, at the request of the Regents, the law of their incorporation was revised, and the changes in that revision, which is virtually its present charter, and which controlled its form, came evidently from Alexander Hamilton, himself a Regent, and at that time an

Assemblyman and a member of the Committee of Revision. Very much enlarged in the extent of its work, the institution remains essentially the same as the charter of 1787 made it. Its objects, as defined in the present act of incorporation, are :

"To encourage and promote higher education, to visit and inspect the several institutions and departments, to distribute to or expend or administer for them such property and funds as the State may appropriate therefor or as the University may own or hold in trust or otherwise, and to perform such other duties as may be intrusted to it."

And the statute defines this higher education to mean all "education in advance of common elementary branches, which includes the work of academies, colleges, universities, professional and technical schools, and educational work connected with libraries, museums, university extension courses, and similar agencies." The "other duties" which have been assigned to it from time to time are : the charge of the State Library and Museum, and the care of examinations, not only those for which they confer degrees or licenses themselves, but of examinations in all the academies of the University, and for entrance to the colleges and professional and technical schools of the State. Beside this it has the care of all libraries owned by the State, and the right and duty to issue all charters or provisional charters to any incorporated educational institution from Kindergarten to University. It will not be forgotten that the care of all the State's educational interests was originally vested in the Regents, the office of Superintendent dating only from 1854, so that if the "single headed" administration should be adopted, by the wisdom of the Legislature, it would be a return to the original plan. I doubt whether much expense would be saved by the operation. There would still have to be two independent Superintendents of the two Departments of Higher and Elementary Education and the staff of employees could hardly be lessened, except that perhaps a single treasurer might suffice. The gain would be in a permanent, unpolitical, non-partisan, uniform administration, instead of a changing, personal, political administration by an individual chosen every three years. And the individual would be selected by, and subject to the permanent Regents of the University ; purely educational qualifications, without any regard to party, being the ground of his selection.

The organization most closely resembling the Regents is the University of France, as organized by the first Napoleon, March

17, 1808, twenty-four years after that of the State of New York, and clearly modelled on it. The decree of Napoleon the First confided public education throughout the empire exclusively to the University of France. The wisdom of Napoleon in adopting the reorganization of the University of the State of New York as his model is shown by the fact, that Republican France still adheres to a corresponding "single-headed, responsible management of all state educational interests."

The University has gone on increasing its work, year by year. The Regents themselves, bound by oath to the faithful discharge of their duties, receive no salaries and have no perquisites. Most of them have been familiar for years with the detail of their duties, and come with great regularity to the meetings, whose affairs, I undertake to say, are administered by them with the most intelligent and unselfish interest. As the youngest but two of the Regents, I may say this without any personality. I am bound to add that in my own knowledge of public bodies and of public servants, it is most unusual to hear an unsalaried public board criticised for enlarging the extent, and improving the character of its unpaid service. Chancellor Curtis, in his memorable address before the University Convocation in July, 1890, used these words:

"Notwithstanding the dignity of its origin, the character of its Regents, and the constantly increasing importance of its service, the University has long been and still is singularly unknown to the great multitude of our fellow-citizens. The popular idea of a Regent, fifty years ago, was that of a venerable figure, either bald or gray headed, of irreproachable respectability and inexpressible pomp of manner, whose tottering steps were aided by a gold-headed cane, whose mysterious office was uncomprehended, if not incomprehensible, and whose aspect altogether might suggest a fossilized functionary of the palæozoic period."

The personnel of the Board to-day—whose oldest members are: Dr. Upson, Mr. Martin I. Townsend, Mr. W. L. Bostwick, Mr. Chauncey M. Depew, Mr. Charles E. Fitch, Dr. O. H. Warren, Mr. Whitelaw Reid, Dr. W. H. Watson, Mr. Henry E. Turner, and Mr. St. Clair McKelway—hardly comes up to this imaginary portraiture.

And I can do no better than quote from that same address Chancellor Curtis's definition of the kind and variety of work for which they are held responsible—

"While the original powers of the University were great, the satisfaction of the State with the service of the Regents is shown by the enlarge-

ment of those powers. In 1846 they were made trustees of the State Library and certain local law libraries. The next year they were created trustees of the State Museum of Natural History. They are authorized, at their discretion, to confer the highest honorary degrees, to appoint boards of medical examiners, and, on their recommendation, to confer the degree of M. D. They hold examinations and grant certificates preliminary to legal studies, and in all the academies they hold examinations which determine the standards of academic instruction in New York. They are custodians of the historical documents of the State, and of certain legislative documents. They maintain a duplicate department of documents, and conduct the publication and distribution of State works of the highest scientific character, and they have charge of the investigation of the condition of the State boundaries and of restoring the monuments along the lines. Finally, after more than a century, the Legislature of 1889 attested the confidence of the State in the discretion and fidelity of the Regents by the passing of an act defining the purpose, powers, and organization of the University, incorporating with it as substantial parts the State Library and Museum, and still further confirming and enlarging its scope and authority. From all the institutions subject to their visitation the Regents may require an annual report under oath, and for sufficient cause they may alter, amend, or repeal the charter of any institution of the University—that is to say, of any incorporated college, university, academy, school, library, or museum in the State of New York."

In the extent and thoroughness of their system of examinations and inspection, and in their ability to expose and stop all the fraudulent pretences of unprincipled teachers, of unreal institutions, and of bogus degrees, they have undoubtedly protected the fair name of the higher education of the State of New York, and steadily lifted the standard of good learning.

Some data will show the expense of labor by which this has been brought about and the estimate in which the University is held where its work is known. Out of the 421 schools which are connected with the University, 393 take the Regents' examinations, which are entirely without expense to the schools. This is an increase of 29 per cent. in four years. It will give some little idea of the work which it involves, when I say that these examinations are held in 68 subjects, and that it required the examination of 302,471 papers last year, of which 185,677 were claimed by the schools, 165,676 allowed by the University, and 20,001 rejected. In 1893 academic diplomas and certificates were granted to 4,407 persons, which again is an increase in four years of 201 per cent. The work of the University has grown in five years in some of the divisions at least 500 per cent. The record book shows last year the writing of 32, 148 letters. Having spread

from one department, which it originally contained, to six departments,—the Regents' office proper, the department of examinations, of extension, of public libraries, of the State Library, and of the State Museum,—the duties of the University have proportionately increased. And that they are well done is indicated by the fact that at the World's Fair, not only were 70 awards issued to the educational exhibit, but there were seven distinct awards to the exhibits of the Regents' office; six to the examination department, three to the extension department, six to the State Library, five to the State Library School, two to the State Museum. And the first collective award reads, "To the University of the State of New York, for excellence and comprehensiveness in the exhibit of the five great departments—executive, examination, extension, library, and museum."

It is a mere play on words, a pure pandering to popular prejudice, an absolute appeal to class jealousies, to array as antagonistic the higher against the elementary education of the State; no matter why, or by whom, it is done. The begrudging of money, or the refusal of appropriations, to academic work, under the pretence that more money is needed for elementary schools, is as wise as it would be to prohibit the purchase of meat in a household, because the children of the family needed milk. In a well-to-do and well-ordered household, *both* will be provided. And New York *is* well enough to-do. If it is well ordered, it will increase its capacity for elementary education, *and* do what is needed to maintain its High-schools and Academies. It must be remembered in discussing this subject that money will not make schools; that something is needed beside bricks and mortar. What is needed for good elementary schools is the training of good teachers. And the mutual and complementary relation between the Common School and the Academy is that the one furnishes the pupils and the other the teachers of the State.

WILLIAM CROSWELL DOANE.

THE MENACE OF "COXEYISM."

I.—SIGNIFICANCE AND AIMS OF THE MOVEMENT.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL O. O. HOWARD.

WHATEVER be the cause or causes, a financial depression has come upon our country and still exists. Gigantic efforts and sacrifices on the part of capitalists, bankers, and other business men could not avert the day of its coming or prevent its long continuance. Our wisest thinkers impute the sad situation to a want of mutual confidence between the holders, the depositors, and the users of capital and all others who make up our financial life. The want of confidence, they for the most part assert, comes from political causes, particularly from legislation, or the want of legislation. In spite of charitable provisions for the unemployed, in spite of the construction of sewers, roads, streets, and other public works by cities and villages, in spite of all direct and indirect municipal and State aid, the depression is still upon us. Capitalists are crippled in their enterprises and wage-earners are discharged or reduced in their wages.

The latest phase of the struggle on the part of some of the people to recover their usual economic equilibrium is this "Coxey movement." It is unique in its inception, different from any other in the history of our country, and, indeed, quite unlike ordinary revolutionary experiments. The attempt to affect United States legislation by organizing the unemployed into peaceful hosts and marching them, without previous furnishing of supplies, by the precarious means of begging their way for hundreds of miles, to the Capital appears to ordinary minds the height of absurdity. Yet notwithstanding an almost unanimous press against their contemplated expedition, notwithstanding the discouragement by members of

Congress with hardly a dissenting voice, and all legal checks put upon them by State and United States executive power, Coxey's first contingent is already in Washington, Kelly's from San Francisco at Des Moines, Ia.; Frye's, organized in Los Angeles, Cal., is in Pennsylvania; the Rhode Island body, calling itself a delegation of unemployed workmen, has passed New York; and many other companies under different designations are organizing, or have already accomplished miles en route.

I.—IDEA OF THE ORGANIZATION.

The idea of the organization of a "Commonweal Army originated in the mind of one man, living in Massillon, Ohio, Jacob Slecher Coxey. Mr. Coxey had no special prominence before this time. His scheme, new enough and surprising, first brought his name before the public. He took the side of the unemployed and all unfortunates in his harangues; and he called himself one of them. His sincerity has been questioned because he is the owner of a large property in horses, and also possesses a stone quarry, and evidently is not in want. His private means were precisely what was needed to make a start, and he has certainly re-enforced his scheme by liberal contributions. He professes himself in politics a Populist, and is reputed in religion to be a Theosophist.

It is difficult to judge of the motives of men. The desire for notoriety, doubtless, enters largely. Yet Coxey's ideas are not inconsistent with sincerity on his part, because the notion that those who occupy the seats of power can issue fiat money is, as I understand it, the doctrine of a large number of our citizens. With this political doctrine and an Oriental anti-Christian faith in a man's heart, it is not illogical for him to call upon the government officials to relieve immediate want by public works and public money. Perhaps it required all the folly of this Coxey demonstration to emphasize the fact that representatives can never be self-constituted, and that they must be restricted by the will of those they represent.

The New York *Tribune*, in an editorial of date May 7, condenses this thought, which I strongly indorse:

"In spirit and in morals, if not yet in law, it is the highest of crimes for any mob in this country to assume to be 'the people.' As it is high treason in a monarchy to assume the power or the titles of the sovereign, so, in this free country, it is an attempt to usurp the sovereignty when any body of

men, acting outside of the modes provided for expression of the people's will, pretends that it must be respected and obeyed as the people."

II.—THE DIFFERENT CONTINGENTS.

It may be well to consider the different contingents more in detail. As soon as the report of the idea of a march on Washington was spread abroad through the press, and the news published that Coxey's army was actually *en route,* kindred spirits of the restless, adventurous, and irresponsible were assembled under leaders of their own choosing. Some of them are Socialists, and some have Anarchistic tendencies. Doubtless there are worthy men among them who have been thrown out of employment and who under the pinchings of poverty have not known which way to turn for relief. There are also numbers of very young men who have escaped from home control and enjoy any sort of exciting adventure, even though it may involve privation and hardship. The enrolled armies number from fifty to a few hundred each. Their leaders appear to have been elected; and they are denominated generals, and in fact "the Commonweal" and the Industrials have assimilated military nomenclature throughout. Every official has come to his position by the votes of those who serve under him.

The first contingent organized, next after Coxey's division in Ohio, was Frye's. His constitution was adopted at Los Angeles, Cal., March 5, 1894. In the preamble to his constitution he sets forth his followers' causes for complaint: First, in the form of epigrammatic statements, viz.:

"the evils of murderous competition; the supplanting of manual labor by machinery; the excessive Mongolian and pauper immigration; the curse of alien landlordism; the exploitation, by rent, profit, and interest, of the products of toil—have centralized the wealth of the nation into the hands of the few and placed the masses in a state of hopeless destitution.

Second, by questions:

(a) "Why is it those who produce food are hungry?"
(b) "Why is it those who make clothes are ragged?"
(c) "Why is it those who build palaces are houseless?"
(d) "Why is it those who do the nation's work are forced to choose between beggary, crime, or suicide in a nation that has fertile soil enough to produce plenty to feed and clothe the world; material enough to build palaces to house them all; and productive capacity through labor-saving machinery of 40,000 million man-power and only sixty-five million souls to feed, clothe, and shelter?"

The purpose of the movement is then expressed, recognizing the fact that

"if we wish to escape the doom of the past civilization something must be done and done quickly. Therefore we, as patriotic American citizens, have organized ourselves into an Industrial Army for the purpose of centralizing all the unemployed American citizens at the seat of government (Washington, D. C.) and tender our services to feed, clothe, and shelter the nation's needy, and to accomplish this end we make the following demand on the government:

"1st. Government employment for all her unemployed citizens."

"2nd. The prohibition of foreign immigration for ten years."

"3rd. That no alien be allowed to own real estate in the United States."

It will be noticed that Frye's people make a slightly different demand from Coxey's. Coxey's is substantially under two heads; first, the repeal by Congress of all interest-bearing bonds and the issuance of $500,000,000 in irredeemable paper money; Congress to vest in municipalities the power to issue to the United States government non-interest bearing bonds, these bonds to be repaid at the rate of four per cent. per annum; second, the revenue so authorized and raised is to be expended in the improvement and construction of public roads. It is further stated that the entire amount shall be expended at the rate of $20,000,000 per month and under the direction of the Secretary of War.

Kelly's contingent was called together from the unemployed in San Francisco. That city could hardly help furnishing a quota from the rougher element who are ready for any change. Some fifteen hundred joined at once. San Francisco with vivid remembrance of its experience in the days of the Vigilance Committee and in the Kearney sand-lot proceedings, acted prudently and promptly in this Kelly case, to wit: to help the Kelly army at once across the bay to Oakland. The Oakland citizens, under instant stress, succeeded in procuring transportation from their city onward; and Californians sped their way as far as Ogden. Here the first difficulty with the railroads arose. A court decision, however, soon directed the railroad company to return the men to California or take them somehow beyond the court's jurisdiction. The result was that the Union Pacific carried them as far as Omaha. By auxiliaries (women among them) Kelly's men passed across the Missouri. At Council Bluffs they were obliged to leave their box-cars. A large number of workmen from the mills and shops of Omaha and vicinity took a holiday

and seized a Rock Island train for Kelly and his people. Wonderful to tell, Kelly declined to take advantage of this kindness unless he had the formal consent of the railway management. He said that his industrials were determined to break no law. But Kelly's love of law and order appears to be a little spasmodic, for his previous speech as reported, made at the public meeting at Omaha, has these expressive words: "My comrades, we may have trouble before we reach Washington. Some of us may never return. It may be you; it may be me; and I have no doubt it will be some of us." Here he paused a moment. The 2,000 men who surrounded him became still as death. Then he continued: "All revolutions have received a baptism of blood, and I don't expect this one will be an exception to the rule."

The most significant feature of the Omaha and the Council Bluffs sojourn was the indorsement this Industrial Army received from prominent citizens, as well as from thousands of workmen in those cities. A clergyman is reported to have said in the meeting above referred to: "It had given him much pleasure to listen to the clearness, good judgment, and eloquence of the commander of the Industrial Army. The members of that army, he was convinced, were willing to engage in any kind of honorable toil, had they the opportunity." . . . "He was a firm believer in the principle that this was a nation for the people and by the people." "We do not rule; nor will we rule as long as there are packed caucuses and venal legislatures; but when there is justice to all there will be a change." Certainly this address, if correctly reported, borders on revolution quite as much as Coxey's or Frye's, and is encouraging the wrong sort of methods for getting rid of corrupt voting and criminal legislation.

Fitzgerald's contingent which left Providence, R. I., the latter part of April had a similar experience to the Western Industrial forces. They appear to have excited more fear than sympathy as they passed from town to town. Under this fear supplies were given them. Hard marching and cold nights caused many to drop out of the ranks and abandon the enterprise. Still quite a body, fifty men at least, have gone on beyond the Hudson.

Your readers are familiar with the story of the Butte Coxey contingent, five hundred strong, under the command of a man by the name of Hogan. They entered an engine-house of the Northern Pacific Railroad, seized an engine, made up a train of

six cars, and undertook to move on by rail. The local authorities impeded them, but at last they got away and crossed the main ridge of the Rocky Mountains, reaching the regular line of the Northern Pacific at Logan. With few hindrances Hogan's contingent kept on to Forsythe, Mont., where they were stopped and arrested by United States troops sent out from Fort Keogh. It appears in this case that the United States could act directly upon the request of the Governor of Montana. His request was based not only on the riot and bloodshed which resulted from the combat with the sheriffs, but on the fact that Hogan's men took property from the possession of the Receivers, who were officers of the United States Court.

Eight or ten other contingents from different parts of the country between New York and Seattle, calling themselves companies or divisions of the Industrial Army or the Army of the Commonweal, are to-day marching or bivouacking along the different railroads which intersect our extensive country. There is little variation of allegation of grievance or remedy among them for the ills they suffer.

Mr. Morrison I. Swift, a well-known Socialist, has added a little by the issuance of a petition in behalf of the New England contingent as follows :

"We petition Congress :

"1. To provide farms and factories where the unemployed now and at all times hereafter may be able to apply their labor productively for the supply of their own wants.

"2. To take steps to amend the Constitution of the United States so that it shall affirm the right of every one to have work.

"3. To abolish all interest-bearing bonds.

"4. To furnish immediate employment for the unemployed by beginning the construction of good roads on a large scale throughout the country.

"5. To nationalize the railroads, the telegraph, and the mines.

"6. To see that all land not in actual use is thrown open to cultivation by those who are willing to cultivate it.

"7. To establish a commission to investigate the advisability of nationalizing trusts."

The whole movement has little present terror in it. Most men are disposed to laugh at the singularly variegated character of its make-up and at the follies of its votaries. Still the old proverb that " Where there is much smoke there is some fire " will apply here ; and it is worth one's while to pause and consider what it all signifies. It is certainly one symptom of the dreadful

unrest that is just now, like the effects of a fever, afflicting and weakening our whole people.

III.—SOME COMPARISONS WITH HISTORIC EVENTS.

We read in the history of King Saul how little by little he and his subjects departed from right ways; and how David, whom Samuel had already anointed to be king in the place of Saul, was driven out from the royal house; and how he became a wanderer, impoverished to the last degree. In a remote part of the kingdom at the cave of Adullam he made his headquarters;

"and when his brothers and all his father's house heard of it, they went down to him thither. And there gathered themselves unto him, every one that was in distress; and every one that had a creditor, and every one that had an embittered spirit; and he became a captain over them; and there were with him about four hundred men."

That singular gathering Saul and all those loyal to him were at first disposed to treat with contempt. Their conduct and their composition justified his feeling and his action, but notwithstanding the apparent craziness of David's conduct and that of his followers, they were eventually the conquerors of the enemies of Israel, and the subjugators of the whole house and following of the great King Saul himself. This instance has some points of similarity to our Commonweal contingents. It may make all thoughtful people carefully study and weigh the causes of the great disturbances, of which this marching on Washington is but a symptom; *i. e.*, if we as a people, as a nation, have been wandering away from those principles which God approves, it is high time for us to find out our errors, both in the laws and in their execution, and speedily correct them. Something has disturbed quite generally that confidence which is essential to a healthful business life. That confidence must be restored, and the sooner the better.

On the eve of the French Revolution there was a singular movement. It was of "Five hundred and seventeen men, with captains of fifteen and tens well armed all; with musket on shoulder; sabre on thigh; nay, they drive three pieces of cannon; for who knows what obstacles may occur?" At the call from Paris of Barbaroux, one of the ablest conspirators against the rule of Louis XVI., in the city of Marseilles assembled these men (July 5th, 1792). Their watchword was: "March, strike down the

tyrant!" It appears that the marching host was really made up for the most part of householders and men well-to-do who, in the language of Barbaroux, "knew how to die." They were, it is true, accused by their enemies of being idlers, brigands, and convicts. Their conduct *en route*, however, in no way justified the accusation. On arrival at Paris we have this remarkable speech from these Marseillais:

"We have come numbering five hundred to free ourselves from the oath which Marseilles has taken to fight for liberty; but liberty is not the cause of the king. When we go to shed our blood it is of importance to us to know whether we shed that blood for Louis XVI. or for our country. We ask you legislators to provide for our subsistence!"

The result of the coming of these men to Paris with their inspiring song of "*Marchons, Marchons,*" is well known. They made the revolution an actuality. They struck the blow against the Swiss Guard, and became the nucleus around which all active revolutionists gathered. The king fled to the Assembly for protection against these men who were so desperately in earnest. Their march and their song have entered into history as an inspiration to all lovers of liberty, and especially to French patriots. At first it was hoped by Barbaroux and by the Marseillais themselves that no bloodshed would result from their coming, though they came armed and equipped for battle. The contrast between this movement of the Marseillais and that of the several Industrial armies now on the way to Washington is very marked. First: Our country already has the constitutional liberty for which the Marseillais were contending; for, all France just then was (as ours is not) in bitter anarchy. Second: They were actually organized for war and performed this purpose of their organization and their declaration. The only similarity between the one and the other is *in their marching toward their Capital.* Theirs was a menace to the existing government, this of Coxey is ostensibly a series of petitions to our representatives for benevolent legislation. There is no possible similarity between those Industrial forces claiming legislation for "the Commonweal" and the assembling of Cromwell's men in the English uprising; and there is a less likeness to the early movements of the American Revolution. During the latter days of the Roman Empire, it is noticeable that the Roman government was on the decline, and ready to fall, when it under-

took by public acts to feed the soliciting masses of the people directly and indirectly from the public granaries.

IV.—THE BEST METHODS OF RELIEF.

As an executive officer it would be an assumption on my part to urge much with regard to legislation; yet as a citizen, I will venture to say that our Congress will very soon make such provision of law as will bring back the usual confidence. As soon as financial methods, however criticised, are settled by legislative action, our people, business men, professional men and all, will conform to the laws; and step by step confidence and prosperity will be restored, for we are as a whole a law-abiding people. This legislation is undoubtedly *the thing* that is necessary to beget confidence. It seems furthermore an absolute necessity that the holders of capital and labor should come to a cordial, mutual understanding; and certainly the day is not far distant when there will be a competent tribunal established by our Congress to adjust questions of difference and secure co-operation without resorting to the dangerous and costly methods of strikes and peremptory discharges.

As for the so-called Industrial hosts, it is not difficult to find work already in demand for every one of that rank and file. In 1865 refugees and freedmen, utterly destitute and without employment, fled to the nearest cities eager for food and shelter. In May of that year about 150,000 of them were thus collected, and mostly feeding on rations daily issued to them. Within three months the ration-list was reduced to within 20,000, and before the end of that year but a handful of the aged and decrepit were left to be cared for by the general government. From Washington alone more than ten thousand were sent away to homes found for them, and private employment secured. This was systematically effected by the use of agencies and transportation. If the burden which is already upon the District of Columbia, and thus upon the United States Government, is too great to be borne, such a sifting method as was adopted for white men and black men in 1865 might again be resorted to. But I am strongly hoping that there will be a gradual dissipation as the journals of to-day claim of the crowds gathered here and there, demanding methods that cannot be adopted and legislation that would be at best inadequate and suicidal. Probably so far as the executive

departments are concerned, the best possible methods have been pursued. They are to do as little as possible. Whenever the law is broken in capturing a train, in violating private or public premises—put on the restraint as strongly and gently as possible! "Coxey-men" and all such hosts thus far readily bend individually to the decision of the courts. This demonstration has rendered the fact clear to them through the intelligent and universal exploiting of the press,—the fact that our government is representative, and that no self-constituted bodies are the representatives of the people, and that on the elections we must all depend for remedying, when it is faulty, the *personnel* of representation.

OLIVER OTIS HOWARD,
Major-General U. S. Army.

II.—CHARACTER AND METHODS OF THE MEN.

BY THOMAS BYRNES, SUPERINTENDENT OF THE NEW YORK POLICE DEPARTMENT.

IT is a peculiarity of Americans to treat any manifestation by cranks as a joke. To the majority of us the feeling of personal liberty is so real that we are disposed to accord to others the right to do about as they please, and we carry this to the point of taking the position of good-natured spectators, watching the antics of those with whom liberty has degenerated into license, with somewhat the same feeling of amusement with which we watch the horse-play of the clown in the circus ring. It would seem as though it were impossible for Americans to believe that men are in earnest who threaten to defy the law, who threaten the government of this country with intimidation, who declare they intend to secure the result they desire, not through the constitutional channel of the ballot-box, but through the influence of the presence of a large body of men near the Congress.

It is apparent that the men who form the "Industrial" armies now marching to Washington are unable to influence legislation in the legitimate way, by securing enough votes to elect their representatives. This is plain, because were they so able, they would at once avail themselves of their political strength. They represent the smallest sort of a minority, and, not content to submit to the majority, they propose to get what they want by intimidating Congress.

The men who compose these so-called armies are, so far as I can learn, what are ordinarily called tramps. That is, they are men who do not earn and have not earned a living and supported themselves. They have banded together, a menace to the communities in which they were, and they propose to demand that Congress pass certain laws. Their avowed object is to assemble in front of the Capitol in Washington, and there, by their presence and numbers, to so intimidate the Congress of the United States as to force that body to pass certain laws dictated by them. Think of it for a moment: these idle, useless dregs of humanity —too lazy to work, too miserably inefficient to earn a living—intend to "demand" that Congress shall pass laws at their dictation. "Demand," that is the word they use in their so-called proclamations. Two thousand, three thousand, five thousand tramps—whatever their number may be—"demand" when they speak to the government of the greatest country on earth! No wonder the people laugh.

From the paper before me, giving the record of these armies for one day, I find a regiment of United States troops, in the field in Montana, has arrested an army of 650 men. These men mobbed a United States marshal and his deputies, and, seizing a train on the Northern Pacific Railroad, started east. The railroad authorities, in order to avoid a frightful accident, cleared the track for them, sidetracking all other trains. In order to capture them it was necessary to call out a regiment of Federal troops. The work of a great transportation system was upset; passengers travelling and goods being transported under the law were delayed. Property was taken possession of. A United States marshal and his deputies were mobbed and driven off.

Here is the story of what was done as told by the Governor of Montana:

HELENA, Montana, April 25th.

To the President of the United States:

Information reaches me by wire that a band of Coxeyites, fleeing the State with a stolen train, were overtaken at Billings by Deputy United States Marshals, who were trying to serve a writ emanating from the United States Supreme Court. A fight ensued. One deputy marshal was wounded, and the leader of the Coxeyites wounded. Deputy marshals were overpowered and driven off with revolvers and other weapons. The mob then surrounded the deputies, and now hold them prisoners. Train of Coxeyites within a few hours' run of Fort Keogh. Impossible for State militia to overtake them. As Governor of Montana, I hereby request you to have Federal troops

at Fort Keogh intercept, take into custody, arrest, and hold these Coxeyites, subject to the orders of the United States Court issuing writ referred to. If Coxeyites pass Fort Keogh before orders emanate from you for their apprehension, I request that Federal troops be ordered to overtake them. Promptness required.

G. E. RICKARTS, Governor of Montana.

General Frye's army, 300 strong, being in Terre Haute, Ind., told their leader they were tired of walking. They captured a freight train, informed the engineer they would kill him if he would not take them to Brazil, and he, acting under orders given by the general manager of the road, in the interests of the property, obeyed the order. When the train reached Brazil, Ind., the army left it. The men demand further transportation from the Vandalia road, and threaten, if this be not given, to burn the ties and fences. In other words, here is a band of 300 men, in the midst of a civilized community, enforcing their demands by the destruction of property, confiscating for their own use the property of others. So far these men have not killed any one. Otherwise what is the difference between them and the Free Companions who desolated Europe, or the pirates and the Buccaneers on the Spanish main ?

Josiah Ross, who is described as a business man, is at the head of 500 men in Buffalo, N. Y., and says he will lead 1,000 to Washington. These are his words, describing what he expects to accomplish, and the means :

We will go right up to the Capitol and demand our rights, and we will insist on them in spite of Mr. Cleveland or any one else. If we get there and find that Coxey's army has been prevented from entering Washington, we will join him and help him to get his rights, even if we have to fight for them. We will demand that Congress drop this tariff tinkering, and act on the money question, right away.

"Even if we have to fight." We will "demand that Congress." "Demand that Congress," under threat of physical force, if the "demand" be not granted. If this is not threatened civil war, what is it ?

The Kelly branch of the army, 1,200 in number, is moving through Indiana. A reconciliation between the leaders, Kelly and Speed, has ended the fear the former would be assassinated by some of the men.

For two days Kelly had a body-guard of his friends around him. This, then, is the estimate of the kind of men in this army, as made by their own leaders. They are murderers or

would-be murderers, Kelly thinks. And these men are tramping on to Washington to "demand" of Congress.

Senator Peffer, of Kansas, and Senator Allen, of Nebraska, have moved resolutions, the first to provide work for these men at government expense; the other welcoming them to Washington.

The hard times in this country during the past year have enormously increased the number of the unemployed. More than this, there has been a spread of socialistic doctrines to an extent that I have never seen before in an equal space of time. Men have preached the theory that the government is bound to support them. Finding that the great majority of the people, who are industrious and self-supporting, will not vote for any such measure, this small minority, which would live, and does live for the most part, on the earnings of others, has resorted to this army movement, and is on its way to demand legislation. It is easily understood that a tramp, to whom all places are alike, would find a pleasurable excitement in such a march. He is supported as he walks, which is all he cares for, and from being the most despised object in the community—the beggar for broken food—he suddenly finds a certain dignity and interest attaching themselves to him when he joins one of these armies.

When there are enough of him, he shows his natural laziness and his contempt for law by seizing on railroad trains and riding in place of walking. To him, the army movement is a vast picnic.

It is claimed the sympathy of the law-abiding and self-supporting population of the States, for the movement, has been shown by the gifts of food and the help afforded. I have read the published accounts carefully, and I have noticed in every case that help, in whatever form, has been given to get the men to move away. The farmers are not to be blamed. They know from bitter experience what it means to have tramps in the neighborhood, they are powerless to defend themselves, and naturally they do anything to get rid of such unwelcome visitors. I would do the same were I in their place. There is a standing order on the Central Pacific Railroad forbidding conductors of freight trains to put off tramps. Why? Simply because there are hundreds of miles of wooden snowsheds on the roads, and when the tramps are put off they set these on fire. It is cheaper to carry them on the

trains. It was cheaper for the farmers to feed the Coxeyites and haul them along the road than to have them stay. No doubt if the farmers could feed and transport the seventeen-year locusts and the army-worms, they would with pleasure. So they have fed and transported these army-worms.

I think this movement is the most dangerous this country has seen since the Civil War. Our Government rests on the submission of the minority to the will of the majority, and this army movement is nothing more than that the minority of the minority appeals to force and intimidation to secure the legislation it wants. It is an outrage that this army of tramps and socialists, officered by self-constituted "Generals," "Colonels," and the like, should be permitted to march through the States with the avowed intention of intimidating Congress. The movement is illegal, un-American, and a disgrace, and it should have been stopped long ago.

I am told there is no law which may be appealed to. If this be true, the Congress is in session, and a law should be passed at once, making all such movements impossible for the future. The evil this will do is to be found in the spread of the Socialistic doctrine that the majority may be ruled by the minority. This doctrine crops up whenever there is a dispute between employers and employed. The ground is taken that men who have real or supposed grievances are above the law, the law in this country being the expression of the will of the majority of the voters; and that they have a right to act in a way forbidden by law.

If this thing is ever successfully carried out, then the United States will fall into a chaos in which mobs will be fighting mobs everywhere. There is a legal method defined by the Constitution, of securing legislation in Congress, and this is by electing a majority of Congressmen. Any other method of influencing Congress is illegal and should be stopped. Intimidation of Congress by the presence of a body of armed men is Rebellion pure and simple, and should be stamped out just as the great Rebellion was in 1861.

There is a practical side to this army movement. The presence in Washington of 6,000 or 7,000 men who have nothing to do and no means of support, means a very serious problem to the rulers of that city. If these men are deserted by their leaders, then there will probably be blood shed before long. They have been well

educated along the route, in the disregard of the rights of others, and they will take what they want. No one doubts the issue, no one doubts the government is strong enough to defend itself; but citizens will probably lose their lives and property before it is all over. I notice a supply of arms and ammunition has been sent to the Treasury. What a comment this is on the statement there is no law to prevent this army movement! How foreigners will laugh as they read the record! Arming the Treasury of the United States in order to repel the expected attack of a body of worthless, idle, lazy, miserable tramps! Is the belief a joke that there is necessity for this action?

I have not heard that the Army intends to come to New York city. If the members arrive singly, they will attract no more attention than do the tramps who come for winter quarters. If they arrive as an army and attempt to march in defiance of the law—well, the police of New York have never yet been found unable to maintain and uphold the law in this city, and to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

THOMAS BYRNES.

III.—THE DANGER TO THE PUBLIC HEALTH.

BY DR. ALVAH H. DOTY, CHIEF OF THE BUREAU OF CONTAGIOUS DISEASES, NEW YORK BOARD OF HEALTH.

THE recent movement under the leadership of certain hare-brained men, which has resulted in the banding together in different parts of the country of a number of so-called workmen, has been variously ascribed to political and other motives. There is one aspect, however, which has received very little, if any, attention, although it may be productive of serious consequences. I refer to the probability of the different groups of Coxeyites acting as carriers and propagators of contagious disease. Although among these men there may be a few who are genuine workmen and who take part in these novel expeditions believing that the result will be beneficial to those seeking honest employment, and that legislation tending to promote their interest will follow, it is very evident, from a close observation, that the great majority of them would take part in any movement which would insure them plenty of food and drink and protection from work. Those who have come in contact and are familiar with the frequenters

of cheap lodging-houses in this and other cities would probably recognize a good many familiar faces in the Coxey legion now on foot.

There is no greater or more difficult problem which presents itself to a commander of an army than the necessary means by which his men on march or in camp can be kept well and in a good sanitary condition and free from disease. The strict rules which are made and enforced would, to a layman, seem foolishly exacting. They are, however, often insufficient to preserve the health of the soldiers. The most minute directions are given as to the care of the body—cleanliness, clothing, footwear, water supply, food, and the removal and destruction of refuse matter, the latter being of paramount importance. Any disobedience of these directions is met with severe punishment. If this, in well-drilled men, subject to the severest discipline, does not prevent sickness and disease, what may be expected of a body of men without discipline, and with whom the subject of hygiene and cleanliness is a vague fancy and unworthy of serious consideration? Members of this fraternity rarely remove their clothes, eat what they can get in the most primitive way, drink from any receptacle, and sleep anywhere; they are subject to numerous skin eruptions, generally the result of filth, and also other diseases, which are more or less contagious. These maladies receive no attention and generally persist until nature lends a helping hand; such diseased conditions, although loathsome, are fortunately not fatal. It is the dissemination of the more dangerous diseases, such as small-pox, cholera, typhus and typhoid fever, which seriously affects the public. No richer soil can be found for the propagation of disease than one of the groups above referred to. On entering a town they at once consort with their own class, who are the usual victims of contagious disease, a fact which is strikingly apparent during epidemics, and particularly so during the prevalence of typhus fever and cholera. Among the causes of this, the lack of personal cleanliness plays a very important part.

The exposure necessary to become infected is so brief that a sojourn of a day or even an hour of a visiting body to a locality where contagious disease exists may be sufficient to infect some one of their number; thus supplied with the germ, the propagation follows. The initial symptoms are not recognized, and the one affected, with perhaps an eruption in full bloom, drags along

with the host until a convenient town is reached, where he is left to the tender mercies of the place. The disease may remain unrecognized, no precautions taken, and blissful ignorance reign until a crop of cases appear, with its consequent serious result. It is not necessary that a person suffering from one of these maladies should be present; infected clothing is sufficient to scatter the disease. It is, therefore, easy to understand that as a means of increasing contagious diseases throughout the country, Coxeyism is an agent of the most vicious type.

This is not a fancy sketch, but a realism the truth of which will be corroborated by those who deal with diseases of this character. Investigation as to the origin of epidemics, which from time to time occur, gives innumerable records of outbreaks due to the mode of transmission above referred to. For instance, in 1881, during the celebration of the feast of "Kurban Bairam," a band of pilgrims, having about the same discipline and respect for sanitary measures as we would expect to find in Coxey's army, arrived at Mecca. There had been sickness among them during the journey, and a number had died. They were buried and soon forgotten. No investigation as to the cause of death (which subsequently proved to have been due to cholera) was instituted, nor were any precautions taken to prevent the further development of disease. They mixed with the mass of people at Mecca and Jeddah, and but a short time elapsed before cholera appeared among those who had assembled to celebrate the feast. The ravages which followed were frightful; in one day there were over 300 deaths from this cause. From this point of infection cholera was carried to other parts of the world by steamer and other modes of communication. The wanton neglect and absolute disregard on the part of these Mohammedan pilgrims of all measures which would tend to prevent or to limit the disease, and the need of a proper quarantine, have resulted in a concerted action on the part of the different nations, and, at the International Sanitary Conference held in Paris in February and March of the present year, plans were formulated for the enforcement of a quarantine which, if carried out against India, should prevent a future introduction of this disease into Europe.

The importance of this subject is rather forced upon us at this period, as the birth of Coxeyism occurs at the time when the country is visited by smallpox; this disease is apparently epi-

demic in Chicago and it also prevails in many cities and towns, both in the East and West.

If the reports be true, this un-American and unsanitary movement has been encouraged by the citizens of the different places visited by these men; they have received and fed the Coxeyites and passed them along to the next town, evidently as a matter of policy and as an easy way to get rid of them.

Regarding this subject from a sanitary point of view, and assuming that this movement may be tolerated by the people, what precautions should be taken as a means of public protection? It would seem that the health official of every town or city throughout the country should be clothed with sufficient power to prevent the entrance into their respective places of any assemblage which, in their opinion, is dangerous to the public health, until a rigid inspection can be made regarding the sanitary condition of said assemblage; to remove and quarantine all suspicious cases, and take such other measures as may be deemed necessary. This at once becomes a most important factor in preserving the public health and also in discouraging this fungous growth. The different state boards of health should also coöperate in this matter.

We cannot study this subject without being impressed with the fact that the public is largely responsible for the condition of filth, negligence, and the unsanitary condition of these people. No practical encouragement is given or inducement offered to promote personal cleanliness. We rear magnificent churches, hospitals, and other institutions, but we build no magnificent public baths. The fact that "cleanliness is next to godliness" is apparently lost sight of. It may truthfully be said that there is absolutely no attention given by the public to this important matter, which is the foundation of good hygiene. It is true that in this city we find anchored to certain piers along the river front a few public floating bath-houses, small in size and of the most primitive construction, and as for furnishing bathing facilities for those dependent upon the public for this necessity they are but a drop in the bucket. Their location is unknown beyond the immediate vicinity in which they are placed, the hours for bathing are restricted, the bath-houses can only be reached after a long walk through some of the worst and loneliest parts of the city. What accommodation does it extend to a tired workingman or woman? and

what inducement does it offer to a lazy tramp to bathe himself? —the latter a most important public consideration.

It seems strange that, while religious and other societies, philanthropists and rich men, are conjuring their brains to find the best method of improving the lowest class, the important necessity of public baths should not occur to them. These should be built on a large scale, with every possible convenience, even to a barber shop, where a tramp could occasionally have his hair cut and face shaved, which luxury he is at present deprived of. The baths should always be opened and made attractive. When this is done there will be fewer Anarchists found and fewer hospitals needed.

ALVAH H. DOTY.

THE MODERN GIRL.

BY SARAH GRAND, AUTHOR OF "THE HEAVENLY TWINS."

In the present aspect of the Woman Question, the position of the young girl becomes an important as well as an interesting consideration. Only a limited number of people nowadays insist in their finite foolishness that all women indiscriminately should undertake the duties of motherhood. The conviction is gradually gaining ground that many amongst us are not suited for the sacred office. But allowing that marriage is the holiest and most perfect state both for men and women, in what way are our young men and maidens taught to qualify themselves for it? Take the girl first: How is she educated so as to fit her for such an onerous position? The constant effort so far has been to keep her in the most perfect ignorance of everything connected with it, and of the world which she will in turn be expected to educate her children to enter. This state of ignorance in marriageable women used to be called innocence. An innocent, according to the country people, is an idiot; and by a curious coincidence, the husbands of these ladies, in moments of exasperation, call them idiots as often as anything. The absurdity of an education designed for the preservation of their ignorance was one of the first things to strike women as strange in the ordering of their lives when they began to think for themselves. Some of the highest authorities still insist that the arrangement is a wise one; but the highest authorities err sometimes, and are also apt to be wanting in wit. It might have been expected that mothers would try to save their daughters from the cruel position in which the system of silence places them, but as a matter of fact mothers pretty generally evade the responsibility, and leave their daughters to find their own way out of the difficulty as best they can; and this, it appears, is what the modern girl is everywhere endeavoring to do.

Forced forward by impulses which are strange to herself and new to the race, she is gradually and involuntarily raising herself. But it is a slow and painful process, and how to help her is the question to which many of the large-hearted and thoughtful women of the present time give the most serious and anxious attention. They have their views, as is inevitable, but their object is the unusual one of wishing to arrive at the truth of the matter rather than to prove themselves right; hence the subject is for the moment uppermost, and discussions of it are incessant. In the club and periodicals, at the dinner-table, and on the platform, what girls were, are, will be, and should be is the constant question. It is not, however, usually viewed as a whole, but in little sections, an undue importance being attached to each in succession, because, although women generally are becoming conscious that some great change is taking place in their position, they are as yet unaware of the nature of it, and are consequently apt to settle upon some transient phase as being the change itself instead of merely an indication of change, or a temporary effect of the effervescence which inevitably accompanies it.

Common is confusion of mind, and in the general tangle cause and effect are more often confounded than not. People know that there are Christians of all kinds, yet, when it suits their argument, they will confidently assert that this one is a saint or that one is a sinner, because he is a Christian; and they are not necessarily dishonest people either, only undiscriminating. What they mistake for the outcome of Christianity is merely an effect of temperament. Views are a dish at our intellectual dinner which some of us can assimilate; we digest it and are the better for it, while it disagrees with others and upsets them. It is not the food that is at fault, however, but something wrong with the consumer. So some shriek that "wildness" is an outcome of the noble love of liberty, and others are easily convinced that some of their acquaintances are disagreeable because they approve of the suffrage for women; as if women had never been "wild" or worse before there was any talk of emancipating them, and as if there were something in the suffrage question inconsistent with a pleasing address. Impossible generalizations of this kind recur continually, and just at the present time every daughter is supposed to be having difficulties with her mother, because some daughters are not happy in themselves, or have been unfortunate in their

parents. That daughters do revolt is true, and that they are in some instances right to do so must also be conceded by those who know the circumstances, but it is evident too that they are often wrong. When they revolt it is best to ask why they have done so; instead of which they are generally told that they mustn't. This has been the mother's method from time immemorial, and the mother's mistake, as she is now finding. All things alter, and the girl alters insensibly with the rest, yet the mother at home remains unaware of the change. She expects her grown-up daughter to be ignorant of everything objectionable upon earth until she marries, but then she may be told anything without other preparation than the marriage service. The English girl may be as much the chattel of her parents nowadays as ever she was, if the parents so choose. They can order her life in its most minute details up to the last moment that she spends beneath their roof, and can then hand her over, and often do, to face disease and death as the chattel of her husband. It is from the horrors of this position that girls have to make their escape, and that not for their own ends only, but for the benefit of the whole human race. The tyrannies of parents may be terrible. Fathers frequently compel their grown-up daughters to lead an idle, useless, and irksome existence in accordance with their own prejudices, and quite irrespective of the girls' abilities, inclinations, and possible necessities, until it is too late for them to make a career for themselves, and their lives are spoilt. Clergy, doctors, and lawyers practising in country places din marriage, and nothing else, into their daughters' ears, although there are no marriageable men in the neighborhood. The latter go elsewhere for work as they grow up, but these parents argue on the old lines, apparently oblivious of the fact, as the beaver that builds its dam with the handle of a broom in a London garret is of the absence of water. But as we advance by degrees it becomes impossible to cramp the lives of mature young women in accordance with ideas that did for an older day, but that are impracticable and apt to be injurious in ours. Intelligence is active, books are plentiful, thought] is free, and there are always opportunities for conversation. The girls of a family may be "like dumb driven cattle" until one of them marries, but then what the others become depends very much upon her. If she is able, energetic, and unhappy, she will take good care

that her sisters know the why and wherefore, and the result of her instruction must of necessity depend upon the kind of person marriage has made her. And besides the married sister, there are always the servants, many of them modest and high-principled women, more delicate minded than their mistresses, but many unfortunately quite the reverse. The young lady's maid who brushes her mistress's hair twice a day has ample opportunities to influence her, and does so only too often with the worst effect. The girl, like the boy, comes to an impressionable age, and is highly sensitive to the fatal fascination of a tabooed subject, and the only sensible way to educate her is to watch for this time, and then instruct her. There are usually indications of it in remarks she makes and questions she asks. It is urged by some mothers that premature knowledge of the world coarsens a girl, and makes her hard and callous. This is quite possible, but the knowledge should not be premature. Those who undertake the education of girls should be able to decide when the right time comes to impart it; otherwise they are not fit for their office. It must be remembered that there are girls who would never get over premature revelations, while there are others with senses so precocious that they seem never to have had an age of innocence, and it is necessary to speak to these at once and plainly. Mothers must discriminate, and not shirk their duty in the matter because it is unpleasant. Girls generally know more of the world they live in than they are allowed to pretend. They learn somehow, as often involuntarily as not. But it is not what she knows that coarsens a girl—it is the way in which the knowledge has been conveyed. A communication made in a giggle by a servant has a very different effect upon character and conduct from the same thing gravely given as a lesson. And when young people are taught the facts of life, they must also be taught what to think about them. Girls brought up on this plan make the most admirable women; it is the haphazard of the other which ends only too often in disaster.

The impulse of the elder married women just now is to keep girls from all knowledge of evil, that it may not grieve them; that of the younger is to enlighten them. This because the latter are in the acute stage of suffering from lost illusions, and they would save others that misery at all events, while the elder women have calmed down, forgotten, become blunted, or lost

hope. The last oftenest. They cannot believe that the world will ever be any better than it is, and they can think of no other way of serving the girls than by keeping them in ignorance as long as possible.

There was a charm about the old ideal of innocence which men and women of refinement are very loath to lose. If girls could be kept in perfect seclusion, only allowed to read works specially prepared for them, and married when they came to maturity to men worthy of them, then there could be little question that the preservation of what we call their innocence would be as practically right as it is poetically beautiful. But the condition of a girl's life at the present time makes the old ideal almost impossible and quite unsafe. It is almost impossible because in the confusion consequent upon a great effort to set the human household in order, much is exposed which has hitherto been hidden, and the girl can see for herself. Hers is perhaps the most difficult position of all. She may be more intelligent than her mother, and although she may not be so well educated in the true sense of the word, she is pretty certain to have acquired more general information. Her mind is probably a storehouse of disconnected facts, the object having been to cram as many as possible into it without order or arrangement, so that the chances are she cannot lay hold of anything for her guidance just when she wants it. To keep young people in ignorance is to expose them to every risk, and to let them have knowledge without teaching them how to use it is to give them a dangerous machine with which they may injure themselves for life.

The modern girl cannot help knowing that she herself is the subject of much discussion, and unless she is essentially stupid, she must have a fair idea of what a great deal of it is about. When Ellean, the innocent in "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray," confesses that she has known or suspected her stepmother's character from the first, one is not surprised. But the ignorance required of a mature young woman is not only impossible, but injurious, to her character, since it is apt to drive her into a hypocritical assumption of it. The difference of opinion on the subject places her between two stools. She would like to answer to every one's expectations, but never knows what to know and what not to know. Her father would have her grow up in absolute ignorance of the world, her

mother leans also to that ideal, but other people she meets are altogether against it. She is given the Bible, Shakespeare, and the dictionary, and is expected to overlook the objectionable facts of life which they contain and explain. If she does not do so until she is married, it is argued that she is not pure minded. But, besides such sources of information, as she comes to maturity, if she is healthy, she is conscious of inclinations and impulses which alter her whole attitude towards the other sex, and these are in no way checked by absolute silence on the subject. On the contrary, the mystery that is made of it is apt to change her involuntary interest into unwholesome curiosity, and then she will adroitly extract information from her elders unawares by affecting to know more than she does. She feels, thinks, and observes; and thought, feeling, and observation together force her to draw her own conclusions; but whether these will be sound and healthy is now a matter of chance. She may ask questions on any other subject under the sun, but on this one she is left to her natural instincts, although these may betray her into pernicious habits, and often do. She may receive a certain amount of teaching on all serious subjects but that which concerns the very reason of her being. She is expected to have the highest principles in the matter, and yet to know nothing at all about it. For the chief duty of her life she is unprepared. The inconsistencies in the whole education of a girl are both ludicrous and pathetic, and place her in a false if not a dangerous position.

It is no longer possible, even if it were desirable, to protect the modern girl, in the old acceptation of the word. What we are aiming at is to make the world a safe and pleasant place for her to live in, and it is found best to arm her with information that she may know her enemies when she meets them, and be able to protect herself—from herself as well as from her enemies. One is specially sorry for the daughters of rich, idle, and sensual mothers because they are more hoodwinked and imposed upon than girls in any other class. There are hundreds of daughters at the mercy of mothers who have no nobler ambition than to secure a good place in society for them. These girls are most sedulously "protected," that is to say they are deprived of the safeguard of knowledge, and not for any good reason, but merely for vulgar commercial purposes. The less girls know the more easily they are influenced in their choice of husbands. These

girls are brought up, regardless of character and constitution, exclusively for the marriage market, and are exhibited like fatted fowls whose value depends upon the color and condition of their flesh. The sooner a girl in this set is married, the better her parents are pleased. They have done with the trouble of her then, and do not care much what becomes of her afterwards, so long as she keeps up appearances. These are the girls who are now beginning to revolt in numbers. Until lately only one here and there would strike out admirably for freedom and attain to the Higher Life; but just as often they become courtesans of the clique which openly airs its depravity everywhere, and makes the manners of many of the country houses an offence to the nation. Prudent mothers do not allow their daughters to go alone to these places or mix with this set except under strict surveillance; but prudence is not the rule with society mothers; position and how to secure it is their first consideration, the position which is conferred by mere money and rank. They will sit down with the lowest in the land if only he have a high-sounding title. There is nothing that brutalizes a woman like the struggle for rank, and it is heartbreaking to see how young girls are exposed, forced forward, and sacrificed to further this common and contemptible aim. Mothers of this kind are strong on the subject of what girls should not know. They play into the hands of the kind of men they meet when they play for position, and do their best to further the principal object in life of those men, the care for their own convenience. Girls with a knowledge of the world become extremely fastidious in their choice of husbands, and it is obvious that nothing could be more inconvenient both to men and mothers in a good many cases.

But well-meaning mothers, not yet out of the sycophant stage, are also afraid of what men will say. This is a survival of the days of the degradation of marriage, when it was almost the only career open to a woman as a means of livelihood. Then women had to consider what men required of them, but now they ask why they require it. Men would lose their respect for girls who knew the world, some declare; but we ask why more for girls than for married women, and find in the answer a motive that makes what they call their respect of no consequence. It is also objected that men will turn a girl's knowledge to evil account, which is very probable; but the men who do it are those who

take advantage of their ignorance for the same purpose. It would be best to save girls from having to deal with animals of this description, but as this is impossible, surely some knowledge of the kind is an absolutely necessary safeguard.

When the mother shows want of sympathy and want of comprehension with regard to the subjects that perplex the daughter, the girl is driven elsewhere with her troubles, and very often chooses an undesirable confidante ; and thus it happens that the last person a girl thinks of consulting about any interest of vital importance to herself is her own mother. No honorable person will interfere between parents and children, but how to help an unhappy girl except by doing so is frequently a question. Pressure of public opinion will have its effect in time, but meanwhile much damage is being done, much needless suffering inflicted. There is no doubt, however, that the modern girl has been caught by the rising tide of progress, and will be borne along bravely. If parents are tyrannical, if the girl finds herself one of a houseful of girls doomed to stagnation at home, or with marriage mapped out for her as the only alternative when marriage is distasteful ; or if she has any strong bent and finds herself prevented from pursuing it, she surely owes it as a duty to herself to seek advice on the subject, and to revolt if necessary. It is not her parents' prospects that are at stake, but her own, and the happiness of her whole life depends upon the early choice of a career suited to her constitution, taste, and abilities.

The modern girl is growing up, and "more life and fuller" is what she wants. The subject of her capacity is one that it is not possible to generalize upon. The genus girl is comprised of individuals of the most varied powers and opposite inclinations, and in order to do them justice circumstances should be made to suit this variety—circumstances, that is to say, in the way of education and opportunities for putting themselves to the test, and arriving at a proper knowledge of what they can or can not do. The way of the world has been to make a sphere of an invariable size and shape for all girls indiscriminately according to their class. If it does not fit, the girl is held to be at fault, and the educator is expected to alter her, to take her in, like a dress, if necessary rather than to enlarge her little sphere. If possible she is forced into it and kept there ; and in one case her spirit will be broken, her development checked, and her chances of

happiness lost; in another she will outgrow it in spite of herself, but will become distorted in the effort, like cedar-trees dwarfed by Chinese gardeners to grow in flower pots. One meets specimens of this sort of mismanagement every day, the first being a weak and useless women of the kind that brings contempt upon the sex, while the second is only too often an evil influence.

"What are we to do with our girls?" distracted parents ask incessantly. The answer is easy enough. Consider them, respect the needs of their nature, and do not require them to conform to the exigencies of the day before yesterday. Parents who would do their duty by the modern girl should recognize the fact that the average of intelligence is higher in her sex than it used to be, that observation is involuntary, and that silence may conceal thought, but does not stifle it. The reasoning faculty is there, and will work of its own accord, but probably all awry if not carefully directed. There are very few girls who will not strive after an ideal of life if only it is offered to them early. Girls are of a plastic nature. Their inclinations for the most part tend toward refining influences; but influenced they must be, and if there is an absence of that which is noble in the shape into which they are first moulded, then that which is ignoble is apt to take its place. There is no more difficult or delicate task in education than the forming of a young girl's character. If a well-judged touch will on the one hand produce the most beautiful results, so on the other one that is ill-judged will warp and disfigure.

The present difficulty has already resulted both in good and evil. In the first reaction from the old state of things, the chattel-girl is apt to rebel against necessary as well as unnecessary restraint, and the consequence is anything but edifying; but at the same time there are girls growing up among us in all classes who promise to be among the finest specimens of their sex the world has ever seen in any numbers. Now and then individuals of the kind have appeared to show what women might be, but it is only in our day that the type has blossomed out into many representatives. These girls are the product of the higher education which is truly both higher and an education; and happy is the man who secures one of them for a wife.

SARAH GRAND.

MEXICO UNDER PRESIDENT DIAZ.

BY PRINCE AGUSTIN DE ITURBIDE.

In an article published in this Review some months ago, M. Romero, then Mexican Minister of Finance, complained that false news regarding Mexico found easy access to the columns of American journals. His position was justified by the cases to which he referred, and by many others, but the complaint could scarcely have been expected from the representative of a Government that owes its existence, in no small measure, to the misrepresentation of its affairs. For, of the rulers of our times, none has derived greater benefit from the action of a subsidized press than has Mr. Diaz, notwithstanding the fact that he governs one of the countries where there is the steel of a thousand pens in the sabre of a soldier.

When Mr. Diaz came into power his government was supported by internal elements of stability that might have insured comparative peace such as he had not allowed the Republic to enjoy for years; but, to control those elements by the means he devised, Mr. Diaz needed vast sums of money, for which he depended on foreign loans. It became necessary, therefore, to inspire foreign capitalists with confidence in the new order of things. Financial agents were accordingly sent to the money markets of Europe and of the United States, and a very simple plan to control the press was put into practice: numerous journals and periodicals were established at the public expense, to which government employés were compelled to subscribe; whilst the independent press, whether Catholic or anti-Catholic, was muzzled with relentless persecution. The correspondents of foreign press associations were not neglected, and in the United States and Europe the services of leading organs were secured.

It is through such mediums that foreign readers know of Mexico and its government. An exaggerated idea of that vast and rich field for speculation was created, and American and European capitalists sent stagnant millions there to multiply. They did for Diaz what they did for Juarez Celman, and Juarez Celman did for them what Diaz will have done, for the financial policy of the northern dictator is culminating in a crisis such as his contemporary brought about in the Argentine.

At home Mr. Diaz had some difficulties, not very serious, to overcome. There was our exotic constitution. This consists, in part, of a statement of the "Rights of Man" as they were inspired by the French Revolution; and, in what concerns the political division and government of the Republic, it is, practically, a translation into the Spanish language of the constitution of the United States, while a fair number of its articles are devoted to the Catholic religion.

I cannot exaggerate the evil that has accrued to the Latin republics of America from the frenzy of their radical politicians for blind imitation of the institutions of the United States. Those theorists appear to have overlooked the fact that the true merit of the American Magna Charta consists in that it implies no sudden change from accustomed laws, no abrupt departure from the traditions of the people it is meant to govern, but gives to habit and to necessary innovations the sanction of law. Our liberals of the past generation would have best imitated this constitution, therefore, not by transplanting it into our language, but by giving Mexico a code in keeping with the tradition that bound us through six centuries to New Spain and Anahuac. The Liberator had proposed to do this, but his plan was not realized and, after many calamities, we inherited the one referred to, known as the Constitution of 1857.

In Mexico there had been but little public instruction. For three hundred years it had been governed by the laws of the Spanish Empire and during those centuries the Indians, a large majority of the population, were treated as minors. When independence was secured, thirty years of anarchy followed. It was that people, at that period of its history, whom the radicals proposed to govern by the laws of the most advanced nations. What wonder that those laws should never have been enforced and that there were few who took exception to breaches of the constitu-

tion for other purposes than to use them as political arms and revolutionary pretexts! Juarez had suppressed the enemies who, like Mr. Diaz and others, continually rose in arms against him in the name of the constitution. His successor, Mr. Lerdo, had, for three years, triumphed over the same foes until he was overthrown by a revolution whereof the military command had been confided to General Diaz by its leader, Mr. Benitez, author of the revolutionary programme. That programme accused Lerdo and his subalterns of many breaches of the laws and promised reforms and constitutional amendments, all of which increased the obstacles between Mr. Diaz and the satisfaction of his ambition.

The presence of Benitez and of Gonzalez was the greatest impediment with which Mr. Diaz had to contend in the realization of his designs; that of the former, because he still loved the liberal principles to which he had devoted a long and brilliant career and was, withal, the soul of the revolution and the most popular civilian in the party. Gonzalez viewed the situation from a different standpoint; he had spent years in adversity with Diaz, had been his constant companion in former unsuccessful attempts to overthrow established governments, and had no less love than his commanding officer for riches and power. He was the most popular general in the army. Those two leaders were the only rivals Mr. Diaz had in the triumphant party.

But there were minor ambitions to satisfy. The civil wars of Spanish America gave rise to a class of men known in Mexico as *la chinaca*; they congregated in bands of greater or less importance according to the renown of their chieftains, who assumed and conferred military titles, frequently recognized by the government in return for services received. In times of war *chinacos* served either or both parties without other considerations than those suggested by personal interest, for the *chinaca* was usually ignorant, undisciplined, having little heed for politics, and seeing in revolution merely an opportunity to thrive. Those nineteenth-century *condottieri* were organized in a species of feudal system; ranches, haciendas, districts, each had its sovereign lord whose allegiance was due to some higher chieftain of the state or region. In many cases leadership among *chinacos* had become hereditary and at times was exercised by chiefs who had abandoned their adventurous career.

As revolutionary leaders had become rare since the fall of the

Empire—in fact, as they were represented in the field by Mr. Diaz and the officers whose services were pledged to him, he was the only commander-in-chief that *chinacos* had obeyed for years; they were identified with his interests aud formed the basis of his power when his government was established. But his policy of fostering conflicting ambitions among *chinacos* would have become a stumbling-block in the hour of his success, had not favorable circumstances intervened.

The parties between which the French intervention found Mexico divided, and which represented principles, had been either paralyzed or transformed. The assassination of Miramon and Mejia left the Catholics without a military leader, and, the conservative elements having been wasted by war and mismanagement, the party was reduced to inactivity. The Liberals had remained in undisputed power, but the composition of their party was an assurance of its division; for while there were Liberals who believed, perhaps, that the destruction of the Church in Mexico (that was their programme) might be conducive to national prosperity, there were many Liberals of high degree whose ideal was neither to destroy Catholicism nor to establish radical principles, but to thrive by the spoliation of the Church or by the bounty of the government. There were others, with less selfish motives, who wished government to be guided by the Liberal theories and to protect the Liberal institutions that so much blood had been shed to enforce upon the country. And, both being disappointed, a faction had been formed that, in the name of Liberalism, kept the Republic in constant disorder. Conservative officers and statesmen, having no other field for action in politics or war than to abet or oppose the revolutions of Diaz, thought they served the country's interests best by giving their decisive support to that general. All but the memory had vanished of the parties in whose struggles, ten years before, the Powers of the old world and the new had intervened; the names, even, had changed, for it was no longer the Imperialists and Republicans, the Catholics and Radicals, the Conservatives and Liberals, but the Juarists or Lerdists defending their power and the Porfirists or Benitists struggling to grasp it. And these two parties contended until one was destroyed.

If, therefore, Diaz had many partisans to disappoint and con-

sequently lose, he could very easily isolate them by a judicious distribution of his favors. The character of Mexican revolutionists favored this end : their action is essentially local, and they combine their efforts under exceptional circumstances only, and never willingly away from their native regions. On the other hand, all organized resistance had been abandoned after the flight of Lerdo and his cabinet, and the few troops still in the field were successively reduced to obedience, so that discrimination between partisans of subaltern degree involved little more than sentimental importance, though friends of the President claim it implied a task that genius alone could undertake successfully.

But Diaz could not dispose so easily of obligations to his colleagues ; those engagements had been made with men he had not at that time the power to betray. To these, consequently, he gave due participation in the management of affairs, and their friends received proportionate shares of the spoils. In fact, the first administration of Mr. Diaz was conducted according to previous agreements in so far as was practicable. But towards the end of the term, Benitez, the only member of the government in whose integrity and ability the country had faith, was removed. The revolutionary programme provided that the President of the Republic and the Governors of States should not be re-elected to consecutive terms of office, whence it had been stipulated that Benitez should succeed Diaz. But this candidacy collided with the ambition of Gonzalez, whom Diaz always feared. Shortly before the time for the elections, Gonzalez assumed a threatening attitude and, as it was in his power to make a revolution, the President did not hesitate. Benitez found it advisable to depart from Mexican territory, and to Gonzalez was given command of an army with which he marched through the country, placing partisans of his own in the public offices occupied by the friends of Benitez. He was elected President of the Republic, having promised to replace Mr. Diaz in the chair at the expiration of the term.

The administration of Gonzalez was a reign of plunder, immorality, and vice that has few parallels in history. It served Mr. Diaz by making his own administration, unsatisfactory as it had been, appear good by comparison; and as no pains were spared to keep that comparison constantly in the minds of the people, he was regarded as a saviour, when, in 1884, he returned to the Presidency.

Mr. Diaz found the treasury ransacked and the revenues and even the public buildings hypothecated. Notwithstanding this condition of the public treasury, every other circumstance was favorable. Abroad there was an unusual tendency toward foreign speculation, and that propitious condition of the world's money markets was an assurance of eventual relief. Meanwhile the great commercial houses of Mexico offered to advance several millions of dollars to satisfy immediate exigencies. The question of money did not, therefore, present a very perplexing aspect at that time. On the other hand the neutrality of Gonzalez could be secured by allowing him and his friends the peaceful possession of the riches they had taken—(Diaz was not strong enough to deprive them of their wealth)—and of the Goverment of the State of Guanajuato, to which he had himself elected before abandoning the presidency; but Gonzalez exacted the further stipulations that other governors of States, ministers abroad, and minor employees should retain the positions he had given them; and upon these conditions, and that of alternating with Diaz in the Chief Magistracy, he was willing to continue the ally of his successor. It may be said, therefore, that between his own partisans and those of his rival, Mr. Diaz could depend on all the revolutionists in the country. Moreover, many of the officers who had served Lerdo until his fall, finding it incompatible with their military honor and personal dignity to accept the advances of Gonzalez's government, had returned to the service and given Mr. Diaz the guarantee of their honorable past.

The public in general, weary of civil war, more weary still of Gonzalez's irregularities, and being satisfied that the return of Diaz to power was the only means of insuring a relative peace, hailed him as "the necessary man." His popularity was the greater at that time, since, as I have said, he was prevented during his first administration from exhibiting his dictatorial propensities to their full extent. The President had, therefore, no restraint upon his action and was free to shape the nation's course as might, according to his understanding, best serve its interests. I do not know whether at that time Diaz conceived a policy that might serve those interests and his own, but it is certain that the one he adopted was the least calculated to do either, for ten years have sufficed to alienate the public will, impair the sources of public wealth, retard the natural development of the

country, plunge the country into bankruptcy, and bring upon himself the distressing mania of persecution.

Unlike the great men whose superiority has in different epochs enabled them to establish despotic governments, Diaz founded his on the incompetency of his supporters, for he appears ever to have been conscious of his impotence to subdue the stronger and more enlightened of his fellow-countrymen, and, deeming their possible hostility a constant menace to his power, he has not only excluded them from all participation in the management of affairs, but made it his constant care to destroy them. In a country whereof the social conditions had been so agitated, it is readily understood that many fair reputations reposed on anything but solid bases. Some, whose principles were not well defined, were seduced; others were exiled to foreign missions, consigned to infected prisons, or subjected to an espionage that makes them at times envy the life of a prisoner; and others were killed or forced to seek in foreign countries refuge from a persecution that frequently follows them beyond the frontiers of the Republic. Thus the nation is deprived of the services of its ablest citizens, and intellect, character, virtue, whatever appears above the level of mediocrity is sacrificed to the envy and fear of a sterile ambition.

The men to whom power is confided are chosen from among those who are so constituted as to be trustworthy lieutenants of the dictator and, since the absence of lofty aspirations is, in his sight, the most desirable qualification, it follows that the representatives of his rule throughout the country are, with some exceptions, individuals of admitted inferiority and of no less recognized laxity of morals; their employment being a conspiracy against order, their fidelity is rewarded by the toleration of local despotism and proportionate participation in the general plunder that is an essential feature in the government's policy.

It is evident that the $40,000,000, more or less, to which the national revenue amounts, is not sufficient to defray the expenses of this system; foreign loans have, therefore, become a necessity. These have been obtained by misrepresenting the state of things in Mexico, and it is surprising with what ease financial agents and a subsidized press have been able to inspire a belief that the retrograde course of the Mexican Government is an expression of prosperous development, too sudden, too rapid, too

thorough not to be at variance with all the laws of human progress. Such exaggerated reports must naturally rest on some concrete facts, and these were manufactured. Railroads, mining companies, land syndicates—here and there a factory—sprang up at the expense of enormous subventions, and by virtue of the same not a few schemers were suddenly enriched ; these became trumpeters of Mr. Diaz's fame ; and, with the example of their prosperity, and with statements of enterprises apparently flourishing, and of the prospects of others about to be undertaken, the Mexican boom was brought about. So it was plausible to go into the money markets of Europe to borrow millions "for the conversion of the public debt," "for the liquidation of subventions," for anything but the real purpose, which was to have an ample supply of funds for the consolidation of Cæsarism.

Large portions of the loans contracted by the federal government were necessarily devoted to the objects for which the money had been avowedly borrowed, and the remainder was never sufficient to admit of necessary divisions ; wherefore governors, also, contracted debts in the names of their respective States, cities and towns followed the example, until, in all, the indebtedness of the Republic has reached a chaotic condition that represents not a few perplexing problems. In fact, at the time when Mr. Diaz's financial situation was at its best, when the credit of his government was at its highest, the diplomatic representative of a foreign power reported to his government that the Republic was insolvent. His statement was erroneous, but it so nearly expressed the apparent truth that one cannot criticise the diplomat to whom I refer for deducing it from the premises on which he reasoned. I may as well say that one of those premises was the fashionable hypothesis of that time : that the rule of Diaz was to be longer than present indications would lead us to suppose.

I have in my possession a pamphlet that was not allowed to circulate in Mexico; the author of which enters into many interesting details of the transactions to which I have alluded and strengthens his statements with names and figures. The following paragraph which I translate illustrates one form of manipulation under the Diaz *régime* :

Another loan was negotiated by the government of Porfirio Diaz to liquidate subventions due the railroad companies of the Republic. When

the funds had been obtained, the Secretary of the Treasury showed some reluctance to dispose of them in the proposed way. The Mexican Central was the largest creditor—Government owed that company $14,000,000—and the tardiness in paying affected stocks and bonds. The Secretary of Public Works offered to use his influence to secure an immediate liquidation in exchange for the materials necessary to construct and operate a railroad of thirty kilometres between his hacienda of Motzorongo and the Vera Cruz road. . . . The company, recognizing the risk its money ran in the hands of Diaz's government, accepted Pacheco's proposition.

Not long ago I read a statement concerning the last loan; it showed by judicious reasoning and statistical proof that the government had in this case endeavored to incur liabilities to the extent of $27,000,000 for a benefit to the nation of about $6,000,000, but, Mr. Diaz's credit having declined, the loan has been only partially subscribed.

The question arises, What action will future governments take regarding the securities that the present one has issued in the name of the nation? No one can give a positive answer to that question, but it seems to be the opinion of the majority that some agreement must be made with foreign creditors, since the public faith has to some extent been pledged, and since the country has in some measure profited by a portion of the funds obtained. This sentiment does not prevail, however, in regard to loans such as the last, made against the protest of the nation and for no other manifest purpose than to perpetuate its enthralment. Original speculators are not ignorant of the problematical value of such securities launched on European markets and have disposed of them in due season; the result can be indirect only for them, but it may be very positive for others.

It is apparent from what has been said that Mexico's "unprecedented development"—our "material progress," as Mr. Diaz's friends are fond of calling it—is neither more nor less than a subterfuge necessary in the financial policy of the dictatorship and constituting the following vicious circle: Enterprises of different kinds are set on foot at the expense of subventions that in themselves assure a profit, if not a fortune, to original contractors; a sufficient portion of those subventions is paid from existing funds to facilitate the beginning of operations and the floating of stock; subsidized organs then raise a cry throughout Europe and America to draw the attention of money markets to the field for speculation that "Mr. Diaz's genius is opening to the world"; Mr. Diaz's agents go before deceived foreign publics,

make it worth the while of some influential financier to assist, and secure a loan; with part of that loan original subvention accounts are liquidated and the country is again declared to be enjoying a foretaste of the millennium. In the mean time, neither a flourishing traffic nor the development of commerce is proportioned to expectations, but both are affected by the uncontrollable depreciation of silver, while legitimate enterprise is hampered by prohibitory taxation and partisan monopoly to an extent that makes even due calculations disappointing.

With money obtained in the manner described and with other elements alluded to, Mr. Diaz established a dictatorship. Cæsarism the world over proceeds by like means to the same end; the special features it has developed lately in Mexico are due to the unusual circumstances under which Mr. Diaz became its agent.

The Mexican constitution was very liberal, to begin with, and the still more liberal amendments made after the revolution, together with promises of further reforms, were even more binding upon the President. The whole must, therefore, be disregarded, and, in so far as possible, abolished. But, I repeat, the phraseology of the constitution, "United States of Mexico," "Universal Suffrage," "Free, Sovereign, and Independent States," and such like, had for a quarter of a century supplied all the pretexts for insurrection, and were familiar sounds that, for reasons I need not enumerate, must be preserved. But, to undermine the form of government those words represent, it was sufficient to undermine public suffrage.

If in the classic lands of freedom elections are sometimes avowedly farcical, in a country where they have seldom decided a question at issue their influence is readily destroyed by the action of martial law. As a result the governorship of States, seats in Congress and State legislatures, and, in a word, all offices to be given by the people are filled by nominees of the President, or of others with his consent, and they remain in office until they become unsatisfactory—which is seldom the case. This system, of course, makes one man the sole motor of every legislative and administrative act throughout the Republic. The judicial branch of the Government is subjected in like manner to the President's will. The pamphlet from which I quoted above gives as illustrative of this fact a case in which the Supreme Court, having decided in a given sense, reversed its decision two days

later by order of the President. Journalists had for a while been to some degree exempt from these arbitrary practices, because the constitution provided that, if one jury found them guilty, a second jury should impose the penalty. But as jurors were often more devoted to the cause of justice than to the interests of the Government, the constitution was amended in a sense that brought disaffected writers under the immediate control of judges.

The constitutional amendment made, in accordance with the programme of the revolution, to declare the President of the Republic and Governors of States ineligible to consecutive terms of office was twice re-amended. Prior to 1888 the new form allowed those functionaries to serve for *two* consecutive terms, and in 1890 the last amendment allowed indefinite re-election. In both cases what few arguments were advanced by friends of the administration were based on the theory of the "necessary man."

Thus, as has often been repeated, with the most liberal laws and a government the most despotic, Mexico is subjected to a *régime* that produces the evils of both the written and the practised forms without the advantages of either.

One would naturally ask, What means can have been employed to make a people endure such a condition of affairs? The question can be answered in two words: Money and Murder—abetted by an unaccountable hope that Mr. Diaz inspired some years ago and by fatigue of civil war; and if those two words are in themselves revolting as expressive of a government's policy, the way in which official assassination is practised cannot be adequately qualified. The favorite form is the application of the *fugitive law*, in virtue of which a prisoner who attempts to escape is fired upon. An offender is conveyed, usually at night, from the place where he may have been arrested, and the guard shoots him "to prevent evasion"; sometimes they say he escapes, and sometimes they find it simpler to say nothing. This form of execution is very often applied to public malefactors, and, though it is true society gains by the removal of such pernicious members, it is difficult to understand why a government should resort to lynching in cases where law would be efficient—the only explanation therefore is to be found in the necessity of inspiring terror. The fugitive law is not applied by order of the President alone, but is tolerated in his menials, and it is easy to conceive the unlimited abuses of which it admits in the hands of lordlings who have seen

their sand-bags turned to feudal sceptres. But it speaks highly, very highly, for the courage of the Mexican race that, in the presence of sure ruin on the one hand, and with a golden path inviting them on the other to comfort or affluence, the government has found it useful to kill many thousands of our fellow-countrymen. The lowest estimate I have heard for official assassinations gave, in 1891, an average of one and a half per day since Mr. Diaz's accession to power.

As for money, the last efforts show that further loans cannot be negotiated and, as I said, the yearly revenue will not defray the expenses of the Diaz system. On the other hand, the feeling of the later seventies and early eighties, that made peace appear cheap at any cost, has changed: the people think now that, under the present government, peace costs more than it is worth. Plotting, scheming, conspiracy, are rampant throughout the country. It is not many months since it was found advisable to send ten thousand troops of the line to suppress a local movement in the State of Guerrero, and similar affairs have claimed the government's attention in the States of Puebla, Jalisco, Guanajuato, Chihuahua, and elsewhere. A general feeling of impending collapse is noticeable throughout the country. The hope Mr. Diaz had inspired has vanished, and people seem to be preparing for "the unforeseen."

"*El Universal*," a ministerial daily paper, referring to the deficit in this year's budget, says:

"Government has not abandoned the contest. Far from that, it struggles with all its might—heroically—as becomes its honor and its duty; it has realized stupendous economies—all that were compatible with an efficient public service; it has created new sources of revenue—all that were possible under these delicate circumstances—and, assisted by the enlightened committee on the budget, it has insured a wonderful reduction in the deficit. But the evil subsists and may become more serious, and, if the value of silver falls in the next three months proportionately as it has in the past, all hope of equilibrium will have disappeared."

When the personal organ of the President finds nothing better to publish than this, it would appear that we are being prepared for further "stupendous economies" in the form of repudiated obligations. The deficit for this year is estimated at $8,000,000, and at $13,000,000 for the next. Government organs admit a deficit of $3,000,000 for 1894, and trust to Mr. Diaz's ability for 1895.

Thus, after exercising absolute power for ten years, having larger revenues and fewer legitimate expenses than had any of his predecessors, the "necessary man" has burdened Mexico with a debt of $200,000,000 and sunk his government into bankruptcy from which, as he says in his speech to Congress, only extraordinary measures can extricate it. He does not suggest to what extraordinary measures he may resort.

I would be misunderstood if readers of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW supposed me to believe the situation hopeless, for, with the rest of my countrymen, I have implicit faith in the integrity of a new generation and, consequently, see in the approaching fall of Diaz the solution of our difficulties and an assurance of national prosperity.

ITURBIDE.

OUR FAMILY SKELETON.

BY JOHN F. HUME.

THE Governors of a number of the Southern States recently had a pre-arranged conference at Richmond, Va., to whose proceedings it was manifestly intended that public attention should be invited. The declared purpose of its members was to consult as to the best measures for bringing to the communities they represented an increase of capital and population. With that end in view, it is certainly somewhat curious that, so far as the public is advised, the distinguished conferees, in the course of their deliberations, unintentionally overlooked, or intentionally ignored, what is to-day one of the principal hindrances to Southern growth and prosperity. I refer to the repudiated or neglected debts of sundry of our States.

It will doubtless surprise a good many people to learn the amounts that are owing by American States, which are discredited by non-payment of either principal or interest, or of both. Some information on this point can be gained by consulting the list of securities dealt in at the New York Stock Exchange. If anyone is desirous of getting some bonds that bear the great seal of an American State for very little money, he can there find between eight and nine millions of dollars, par value, in the obligations of the State of Arkansas, that will cost him, according to current quotations, between ten and fifteen cents on the dollar. If his preference should be for the undertakings of the older State of North Carolina, he can get, in the same way, nearly twelve millions of them, by paying from five to eight cents on the dollar. If, however, his inclination should lead him to select paper of the more aristocratic South Carolina, he can be supplied to the extent of six millions of dollars at from two to five per cent. And, if his admiration

for venerable names and institutions should carry him still further, he can get at a low figure certificates representing original bonded issues of the State of Virginia amounting, without interest, to fifteen millions of dollars. This last statement may be a puzzle to some readers, who have recently been informed that Virginia has settled her disputed indebtedness by a compromise with her creditors. That settlement, however, extends to only two-thirds of the debt. The other third Virginia has absolutely discarded on the not altogether unplausible ground that, when she was divested of one-third of her territory and wealth by the creation of the new State of West Virginia, she was to that extent equitably absolved from obligation, and she has set it over to West Virginia to take care of. And what has West Virginia done about it? As part of the original debtor State she was equally liable with the rest of the commonwealth, and as an honest community she could not decline to contribute, at least proportionately, to the debt's extinguishment, without further undertaking. But there was fresh assumption on her part. The act of Congress under which she accepted admission into the Union as a separate State required her to discharge her full share of the old indebtedness, and the constitution under which she did enter the Union, and which became a solemn compact with all the world, provided that "An equitable proportion of the public debt of the commonwealth of Virginia, prior to the first of January in the year 1861, shall be assumed by this State."

But, although more than thirty years have passed since the foregoing agreement was entered into, West Virginia has not paid one cent of the liability she assumed, nor does she show the slightest disposition to do so. Under such conditions it is not surprising that the certificates referred to should command at the Stock Exchange only from six to seven cents on the dollar, which seems to be the world's estimate of the value of West Virginia's promises-to-pay.

In this matter of the Virginia debt great inequity has been done. Old Virginia has been denounced as a repudiator the whole world over, and yet she has never refused to settle with her creditors for her proportionate share of the debt on some basis, and according to what she claimed to be the full measure of her ability, in the end making what is conceded to be the *amende honorable;* while West Virginia, just as strongly obligated from

the beginning, and fully as able to perform her stipulations, doing nothing whatever, has encountered scarcely a word of criticism. The charge of repudiation has been strangely misplaced. It is West Virginia that should be pilloried.

But the Stock Exchange list does not tell the whole story of State defaults, by any means. It does not tell it fully in the case of any of the States just named, and there are others whose neglected obligations are not admitted to Wall Street's famous market at all. Georgia has issued nine or ten millions of those last referred to; Florida is responsible for four or five millions more, and Louisiana for twenty millions. As far back as 1842 Mississippi had put out seven millions of her bonds that went to the European market. Their disposition was fair enough, but Mississippi soon made an alarming discovery. Her Governor announced in a message to the people of that State that their bonds had fallen into the hands of a person "in whose veins flows the blood of Judas and of Shylock, and who unites the qualities of both his countrymen." "He," continued His Excellency in his picturesque way, "has mortgages upon the silver mines of Mexico and the quicksilver mines of Spain. He has advanced money to the Sublime Porte, and taken as security a mortgage upon the holy city of Jerusalem and the sepulchre of our Savior. It is for this people to say whether he shall have a mortgage upon our cotton fields and make serfs of our children." Of course, the people of Mississippi were horrified at the idea of being in the clutches of such a monster, and naturally decided to contribute no more of their sweat and means to enrich the house of Rothschild. Nor have fifty years sufficed to overcome their indignation. Not a dollar in all that time have they paid on account of either principal or interest.

Without going further into particulars, it will not be difficult to credit the statement that the indebtedness which is evidenced by debentures of American States that have long been disowned or dishonored, to say nothing of unpaid interest that considerably overruns the principal, exceeds one hundred millions of money. Nor does that amount include the undertakings of States like Tennessee and Alabama, that have been arbitrarily "scaled"—sometimes more than once—until the residuum became very meagre, and was accepted by creditors only as a choice between something and nothing. Such settlements were quasi-repudia-

tions. In principle, if in no other respects, they differ most essentially from the adjustment recently entered into by Virginia, which was a compromise and an agreement in which all parties in interest were participants. And here it is well enough to remark that by no means is the whole of the foregoing amount made up, as many have been led to suppose, of securities issued under the "Carpet-Bag" *régime*. The bonded debts of Virginia and Mississippi were all of ante-bellum date, as were many of the discarded or "scaled" issues of Arkansas, Tennessee, Louisiana, etc., etc. Nor were all "Carpet Bag" debentures fraudulently created and their proceeds misapplied.

Nor in the same amount is there included certain rejected State obligations for which debentures have never been issued. For instance, the State of Texas has out between eight and nine thousand certificates or warrants, each calling for 640 acres of land, and the whole aggregating an area nearly twice the size of Connecticut. For over ten years the holders have been unable to get either land or its equivalent. As we have in this case a rather striking illustration of the temper shown by more than one American State towards those who have trusted in its engagements, it seems altogether proper that the facts should be given. When Texas entered the Federal Union she retained her public domain, which was very large. At the same time, in a marketable sense, it was very worthless. The writer has heard one of the largest land owners of that State speak of the time when he was accustomed to purchase a 640-acre section of land with a pony, the price of which was five dollars. The want of transportation facilities was the drawback, and Texas decided to assist in the construction of railroads. Any company building a certain length of railway became entitled to a certain number of land warrants, locative on any of the State's vacant and unreserved domain, which, being negotiable, were sold all over the country, and almost wholly to people outside of the State. The result of this policy, however, was such an advance in the price of wild lands that Texas in time discovered that the faithful fulfilment of all her contracts would involve a considerable sacrifice. It was at a time when repudiation in that part of the country was prevalent, and she caught the contagion. Accordingly her legislature, without warning to the holders of her warrants, passed an Act declaring that the land intended for

their satisfaction was "exhausted," and putting an end to the whole land warrant business. This was done without providing any compensation to the owners of such warrants as were cut off. At the same time for her own people and her own uses Texas seemed to have a superfluity of land. Besides munificently endowing her schools and other public institutions from her unappropriated domain, she applied over three millions of acres, which which were soon afterwards valued at twenty millions of dollars, to the erection of a magnificent State House, and gave twelve hundred and eighty acres to her citizens who had served as soldiers in the Confederate ranks (nothing to Texans serving in the Union army), and to "servants attending such soldiers." It was only for outsiders who had purchased her unexecuted agreements that she was landless. And what business had Texas, if she was indeed short of land and too poor to provide an adequate substitute, as she knew exactly what her territory was, to put out covenants that were not to be fulfilled? Wherein would such action differ from that of a person making and marketing promises-to-pay which he knew he could not take care of—a proceeding that would ordinarily be set down as plain and simple cheating? The immunity of the offender in this instance from the usual consequences of the transgression only increases the scandal, because a transaction that would send a private citizen to the penitentiary is none the more reputable because the deed of a sovereign State.

But although, so far, only Southern States have been mentioned as delinquents, it is not intended by the writer to convey the impression that repudiation has been confined to the south side of Mason and Dixon's line. It is a plant that first grew on Northern soil. Even before Mississippi's defalcation the witty English divine, Sidney Smith, declared that if he were to meet a citizen of the State of Pennsylvania at dinner he would feel like stripping him of his clothes for distribution among the guests. The reason was that Pennsylvania had "gone back" on some of her bonds that had been sold to Englishmen, and it was possible that the reverend joker was one of the sufferers. Pennsylvania, however, soon redeemed her contracts and her reputation. Both Indiana and Michigan for a time "laid down" on their obligations, the first because unable to pay, the second because she was unwilling. Both succeeded before very long in putting

matters right. The last of the Northern repudiating States was Minnesota, whose case is not only interesting in itself, but conveys a healthy moral and a good deal of useful instruction for some other communities. Minnesota, away back in the fifties, lent her credit to railroad companies that were building in her territory. Bonds were issued, but very little road was constructed. It was a case of palpable cheating, and probably beat anything in the category of Southern carpet-bag operations about which so much has been heard. The people of Minnesota revolted against the swindle, and voted an amendment to their State constitution forbidding the payment of the bonds. For twenty-three years that barrier stood unbroken. But at last Minnesota put at the head of her State administration a man who held that a good name is worth more than money; or, perhaps, to express it more accurately, *is* money; and that the rule applies as well to communities as to individuals. Governor Pillsbury resolved to give his State a clean bill of health. He adroitly managed to bring the constitutional inhibition before the courts, which promptly decided it void under the provision of the United States Constitution that forbids legislation impairing the obligation of contracts—a ruling that will apply to all enactments of the sort in other States, and which makes them legally not worth the paper they are printed on. That obstruction having been removed, legislation to settle the debt was quickly passed. When the first act was declared inoperative on account of a technical defect the Governor at once convened the legislature in special session, and a perfect law was substituted. By that act Minnesota was relieved of a stigma that threatened a perpetual blight. It was the wisest step she ever took, thanks to the courage and ability of the man she had put at the head of her affairs. Fortunate would it be for several other States if they had Pillsburys for their Governors.

It is hardly necessary to argue that the impairment of a State's credit must impede its progress. Such a proposition needs no demonstration; it is self-evident. It is the natural inclination of both capital and population to shun a community where contracts are not respected. The effect of such a condition of things was perhaps, never better described than in a letter appearing in one of our Northern journals in 1882, which was written by an intelligent observer in New Orleans three years after the State of Louisi-

ana had most flagrantly broken faith with the holders of many of her bonds. Said the writer:

"The unsettled condition of the finances of Louisiana for three years past has seriously obstructed her growth and prosperity, causing a universal distress which has not merely impaired the credit of the commonwealth but has also to a great extent injuriously affected individual credit, prevented investment of foreign capital, and excluded immigration."

The picture was as true of other States as it was of Louisiana at the time it was sketched, and it is yet true to a very considerable extent. Of this fact we need no other proof than the depressed condition of the South's principal industrial corporations, viz.: her railroad companies. With the business and population of a long settled country, not only is she without lines corresponding in profitableness to the Centrals of New York and Pennsylvania, but her railroads are even less prosperous than those spanning the almost unsettled regions of the Northwest. Georgia is her recognized leader in wealth and enterprise, but most of Georgia's roads are in receivers' hands. It is not so much that outside capital avoids the South. There is plenty of it seeking her coal and iron and timber lands, and even millions have disappeared in her luckless "boomer" cities and towns. Why is it then, that, when we come to her railroads, their stocks are shunned by investors, and even their mortgage securities go at murderous discounts. Is it not because, being quasi-public institutions, operating under State legislation and supervision, they share to a considerable extent the discredit of their legal masters and sponsors? They, however, are not the only interests affected. All corporations in repudiating States, including cities and counties and towns, are more or less sufferers in the same way. This thing has been strikingly illustrated. The State of Missouri, at the close of the Civil War, found itself very heavily indebted, besides having its taxable resources fearfully reduced. It had imprudently lent its credit to railroad companies before the war, and much unpaid interest had accumulated. But, instead of repudiating the debt in whole or part, Missouri went bravely to work to resume payment in full, and soon had its credit reëstablished. Adjoining Missouri is Arkansas, which found itself in much the same condition. But, instead of studying how to pay its debts, Arkansas began to study how not to pay them, and wound up by so amending its constitution as to repudiate the greater portion. Not only are Missouri's State obli-

gations to-day above par, while those of Arkansas are down towards zero, but municipal and other corporate debentures created in Missouri command much better prices than those belonging to Arkansas. And what is true at that one point runs all along the line. The boundary between the debt-paying and the non-paying States marks a sharp break in the level of values. All market prices that depend upon public and quasi-public credit are higher on one side than on the other. Why it is so is not a matter of conjecture. The cause is as obvious as the fact.

There is another way in which repudiating States have been made to suffer that should not be over-looked. Scarcely one of them but has been the victim of serious official defalcation. And while all, or nearly all, repudiating States have had their troubles with faithless treasury officials, it is a notable fact that, with the exception of Wisconsin, that has had a controversy over interest collected on State funds, and one State south of Mason and Dixon's line, the other States have been exempt. It is safe to say that, since the war, the debt-paying States have not permanently lost a dollar by treasury defalcations, while the losses of the non-payers mount up to the millions. Nor is it in State departments alone that the difference is to be seen. Delinquencies on the part of city, county, and other corporate custodians have been notoriously much more common in defaulting States than outside of them. There is nothing very remarkable in this—certainly nothing that is mysterious. It is simply another exhibition of cause and effect ; for it is perfectly natural that, under such conditions, persons in subordinate places of trust should be drawn into evil courses. They are only following the broad highway of the State's example. The demoralization comes from above. The result, from an educational standpoint, is not altogether to be deplored. In being called upon from time to time to take portions of their own medicine, the recalcitrant States have had opportunities to learn something of its taste and its workings.

There can be very little doubt about the decision when the final question of profit and loss is reached. The creditors of the delinquent States are not the greatest losers. The States suffer more than they do. Not a year passes in which the pecuniary injuries they sustain, principally indirect, do not exceed the interest on the loans they discard. Indeed, it is a question whether their entire controverted indebtedness could not be compromised at a

figure little in excess of the annual loss it brings upon them. Nor is the loss abating with the lapse of time. The debts will not be forgotten, as long as their evidences are bought and sold in the markets of the world. How disreputable to States like Georgia and the Carolinas that their paper should be hawked about the streets of our business centres at a few cents on the dollar! and what a scandal that contracts for 640 acres of land, issued according to law and for full consideration rendered, by as rich a State as Texas, should go, as they have been doing at some of the exchanges, at five dollars each! Time only makes the matter worse, because the increasing wealth of the delinquent States robs them of the sympathy their misfortunes once created.

Not that all the people of any State are in fault. There is not a delinquent community in which the better citizens, representing its wealth and intelligence, would not rejoice in an honorable settlement with creditors; but the trouble is that the debt question has been dragged into local politics, with the effect of arraying all the baser elements, under the leadership of scheming politicians, against the wiser policy. But that this difficulty is not insurmountable is shown by the recent action of Virginia. No State ever had a more pestiferous force to contend against than she had in her repudiation party, and yet her better and safer counsellors have prevailed. Virginia, freed from the burden of discredit by which she has been so long handicapped, may be expected to bound forward in the race and assume something of her ancient leadership. She has set an example that a number of her Southern sisters would do well, for their own sakes, to follow; for nothing is more certain than that the States that first settle with their creditors will advance, and those that last settle will lag. If they are wise enough to walk in her footsteps, they will lose no time in burying the skeleton of the unpaid debt in the only way in which it can be effectually disposed of, instead of persisting in trying to hide or ignore it, while it is left gibbering above ground and stalking at will about the land.*

JOHN F. HUME.

* A reply to this article, by the Hon. Clark Howell, editor of the Atlanta *Constitution*, will appear in the July number of the REVIEW.

SOUTH END.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN PRACTICE.

BY THE HON. DAVIS H. WAITE, GOVERNOR OF COLORADO, AND THE HON. LORENZO CROUNSE, GOVERNOR OF NEBRASKA.

GOVERNOR WAITE:

AS THE result of last Fall's election, the women of Colorado were enfranchised and became possessed of all the rights of citizenship. In republics there are, in favor of equal suffrage, two principles, against which no just objection can be made—

1. There should be no taxation without representation.

There is, without doubt, plenty of taxation without representation, aside from the taxation of women, but this does not affect or in any manner excuse the fact that the women, a large class of people, amounting to nearly or quite one-half, are taxed without representation. The idea that women are represented by their husbands or sons is often incorrect where these relations exist, and totally fails in cases where the women are unmarried.

2. Suffrage should be based on intelligence.

Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. If a woman has the mental ability to protest against unjust laws, and to demand enactments calculated to promote the general welfare, why should not her wishes, and most especially when taxed as a citizen, be consulted in the exercise of the powers of the government ?

The tendency of the age has been to the extension of suffrage, but regardless of the rights of women. The elective franchise was given to the negro in the South, with all his unfitness. From a very early period the bars of suffrage in the great Northwest have been let down, and the most ignorant male foreigners unable to speak our language, or realize the meaning of the "declaration of intentions," or even the act of voting, have been endowed with suffrage in advance of citizenship, and many of them

have shamelessly sold their votes to yet more shameless buyers. Undoubtedly such extension of suffrage was an error. The remedy, to some extent at least, has been by education, to assimilate this unfit mass of voters, and transform them into good citizens. Up to twenty years ago the common schools of the land did educate the youth of the country, so as to preserve the nation from decay. But since that time the irruption of pauper and contract labor has been so immense, has so concentrated in labor centres, and so isolated in customs, language, and residence, that the standard of national intelligence has been lowered, and the ratio of ignorance increased.

The political rights of woman in the past have been practically ignored in the United States, though recognized in Utah, Wyoming, Washington, and now in Colorado. Man, with his physical and mental superiority, has had unlimited control both in this and all other nations, and none can deny that liberty is endangered, and human rights are stricken down all over the world. Let me quote from two of the greatest clergymen of the age.

Cardinal Gibbons says :

"The economic conditions of the United States are fast approaching those of England. The homes of the poor are marked by destitution and squalor. The light of Heaven is being closed from miserable tenement room and attic. Flesh and blood are becoming more cheap and bread more dear. The well-being of the car horse is more solicitously watched than that of the driver. Small wonder that strong men, maddened by the tears of a wife and cries of starving children, sometimes band themselves together and resort to deeds of violence."

This from the great Catholic prelate. Listen to an equally great Protestant divine.

Said Bishop Potter, of New York, in a recent sermon :

"When I speak of this as an era of plutocrats, nobody can misunderstand me. All recognize the rise of the money power. Its growth not merely destroys the independence of the people, but the blind believers in the omnipotent power of money assert that its liberal use condones every offence. The pulpit does not speak out as it should. These plutocrats are the enemies of religion as they are of the state. I have heard the corrupt use of money in elections, and the sale of the sacred right of the ballot, openly defended by ministers of the Gospel."

Bishop Simpson, a distinguished Methodist divine, said in 1864 that "no great moral reform would ever be enforced by law until the right of suffrage was given to women."

The necessity of some remedy for such conditions cannot be denied. To my knowledge, there are no just objections to equal suffrage. It is claimed that to admit women to full citizenship includes the right to be elected to office, and this, carried out, say certain scientists, "would defy nature; it would pull the woman out of her element, willing or unwilling, with the fact under their noses that the mass of women, out of their sphere, through ignorance or hard facts, are, by their weakness, in an unnatural position, forced to inferiority. They are women, and not men. When they fight man, there may be one here and there found to hold her own, but the mass are driven to the ragged edge or into the gutter." *

But why need war, pestilence, and famine be the normal condition of mankind? Mr. Kinney forgets that in the so-called "battle of life" women have never had a fair chance. They are weaker physically and perhaps, as a mass, mentally than men, but until within a few years the higher walks of education have been closed to them. A proper sphere of women, without doubt, is to bear children, and this fact will prevent women from engaging so extensively as men in legislative and official duties, but it deserves little consideration as against the right of women to suffrage, or to hold office, if, all things considered, she is the choice of the people. It is objected that in time of war, women cannot fight in the ranks. That is true, but battles are not won wholly in the field. The patriotic women North and South, in the late unpleasantness, in their own legitimate way, accomplished as much and perhaps more than the warriors on the battlefield.

It must be admitted that the effect which equal suffrage will produce upon the State and nation is a matter of conjecture. In Utah, the right of women to vote under the Territorial laws did not injuriously affect polygamy, but polygamy there was a tenet of the Mormon religion, and a large proportion of the female voters were polygamists by faith or practice. In Wyoming and Washington, to my knowledge, no extraordinary progress has been made in the line of political reform that can be traced to female suffrage, and in Colorado sufficient time has not elapsed to speak understandingly of the result. Certainly there is little hope of the future, unless women, admitted to suffrage, acquaint them-

* Abbot Kinney, *Conquest of Death*, page 39.

selves more thoroughly than men with political affairs, and "come up with greater zeal to the help of the Lord against the mighty," in providing a remedy for the fearful condition of this nation, the result of the positive acts of conspiring monopolists, and the hitherto criminal negligence of the mass of the voters.

Of course there is nothing in equal suffrage that of itself is partisan. In every State, men of all parties either support or oppose female suffrage, but there is no doubt that in Colorado the women owe suffrage to the Populists. The Populists in the General Assembly nearly all supported the bill, but a majority of the members of both the old parties voted in opposition. The law was recommended by a Populist governor, the bill was introduced by a Populist Representative, at the general election the Populist party in the State supported the measure ; but nearly all the Republican counties and all the Democratic counties voted largely against it.

Equal suffrage is no part of the St. Louis or Omaha platform, but it was at one time a part of the St. Louis platform. Miss Frances Willard and other distinguished advocates of the rights of women secured its adoption in committee at the night session, but it was eliminated because—

1. Suffrage is essentially a State right, and can neither be conferred nor taken away by act of Congress ; and

2. Because it interfered with that stern but common-sense rule that a political platform must not be loaded down with unnecessary issues, no matter how excellent. The only legitimate object of a national political platform is to declare the policy of the party upon the living issues, which must be decided in the pending campaign.

Miss Willard was terribly disappointed, and shook the dust off her gaiters, as her testimonial against the St. Louis Convention, and has ever since, I doubt not, thought many naughty things against the People's Party, but then and there the pathway was made straight for the success of equal suffrage. It was the glorious preamble to the St. Louis and Omaha platforms which stripped the old parties of their disguises, branded them as servile tools of monopoly, and founded the People's Party on the rock of "equal rights for all, and special privileges to none." No Republican or Democratic State will ever confer equal suffrage upon women, because Republicans and Democrats,

as political parties, do not believe in the doctrine of equal rights.

The principle of equal rights for all against which for the past quarter of a century the two old parties have waged relentless war is the sign by which the People's Party is to conquer. It will, at no distant day, not only redeem women from political servitude, but also emancipate man and woman from industrial slavery.

DAVIS H. WAITE.

GOVERNOR CROUNSE:

AT its session held in 1881 the Legislature of Nebraska was induced to pass an Act providing for the submission to the people of a proposed amendment to the State constitution extending the elective franchise to women. This action on the part of the Legislature proceeded not so much from a conviction that the amendment was necessary as it did from a desire to test the sense of our people on the subject. Neither did the amendment grow out of any urgent demand on the part of the women of the State, but it was rather inspired by advocates and agitators from without who supposed Nebraska to be a new and promising field for experiment.

The vote on the proposed amendment, which was taken in November, 1882, was preceded by a campaign of marked activity and earnestness, and if the minds of the women of the State were not awakened to a sense of wrongs endured and rights denied, it was from no lack of teaching and exhortation. The canvass received the benefit and impetus of the National Woman Suffrage Convention which was held at Omaha, the metropolis of the State, in September of that year, and which was largely attended by ladies from all parts of the United States, some of whom had earned a national reputation as advocates of the cause. Many of these ladies under the leadership of the veteran, Susan B. Anthony, distributed themselves throughout the State and labored unceasingly until the close of the polls. Nevertheless, the result showed a vote of but 25,756 for, and 50,693 against, the proposed amendment, while 12,619 voted neither way—or out of a total vote of nearly 90,000, but 25,756 declared themselves in favor of it. It is fair to assume that the 25,756 males who voted for the proposed amendment were actuated by the same gallantry and

spirit of fairness which moved the Legislature to submit it, and voiced the sentiment of all the women who demanded it.

It is also but fair to assume that while some 13,000 were indifferent to the question, the other 50,000 represented the women who were willing to leave the ballot with their husbands, fathers, and brothers, whose good judgment they respected, and whose wisdom and care stood attested by many laws on our statute-books enacted for the protection of their person and property. This adverse vote also included that other numerous class who not only believe there is no necessity for woman's participation in active politics, but who claim as against "woman's rights" the right to be let alone and not to be forced by their bolder and more ambitious sisters into fields which they feel that nature and a sense of delicacy disqualify them from entering. For, argue as we may, the franchise once bestowed, the obligation falls on all women alike to exercise it. When granted, it comes not simply as a privilege or right, but it falls as a duty—a duty which rests especially on the intelligent and virtuous. When the bold, the bad, and the ambitious among the women, like their kind among the males, are moving in the direction of bad legislation and loose government, the educated and refined will be compelled to lay aside their modesty and, willingly or unwillingly, will be forced to oppose them.

Nebraska is an agricultural rather than a manufacturing State and there are no laws of a special character required for the benefit of women. But every reasonable demand short of a grant of the elective franchise seems to have been anticipated by our statutes. The laws have even gone further and given women rights and privileges not bestowed upon males. In common with the statutes of most States, those of Nebraska declare that all property, real and personal, which a woman possesses at the time of her marriage, and any which may come to her by descent, gift, or purchase, becomes and remains her separate property and is not subject to disposal by her husband or liable for his debts. She may also, as a married woman, carry on trade or business on her own account, and the earnings shall be her own, while the husband is liable at the same time for the support of herself and of their family. Should she make the mistake of marrying a husband cruel enough to maltreat her, or one so shiftless as to fail to support her, she can rid herself of him by divorce.

In the election of school officers mothers and taxpaying women are allowed to vote. This right, however, is rarely exercised.

The laws relating to the sale of intoxicating liquors and in which the women of the State are so vitally concerned, have been carefully and wisely considered. Liquors can be lawfully sold only under a license for which the vendor must pay for the benefit of the school fund the sum of $500 at least, or such greater sum as the local authorities may demand, thus enabling localities where the sentiment will sustain the action to fix the price so high as to amount to prohibition. Applicants for licenses must have the indorsement of thirty freeholders certifying to their respectability and standing, and before entering upon their business they must give a bond in the sum of $5,000 that they will not violate any of the provisions of the law regulating the sale of intoxicating drinks. Among these restrictions are those forbidding sale to minors and habitual drunkards, and coupled with these is a special provision for the benefit of married women, enabling them to maintain in their own right a suit on the bond for all damages sustained by themselves or their children on account of liquors sold to their husbands.

By way of comparison it may be remarked that the Nebraska laws relating to the sale of intoxicating liquors are far more thorough and far reaching, and are better observed, than they are in the sister and adjoining State, Wyoming, where woman suffrage has obtained for quarter of a century. In an article on "Woman Suffrage in Wyoming," which recently appeared in the Chicago *Record*, the writer, commenting on reports from correspondents who have been on the ground, says, among other things:

> "At the capital city of the State gambling-houses are abundant and open saloons are as frequent as any other kind of stores, and the charge is made that 'not a single act of legislation aimed at the betterment of the human race has been passed through woman's influence.'"

How true this may be I cannot say, but it is true that in Lincoln, the capital city of Nebraska, a city of more than 65,000 inhabitants, there are no gambling-houses, no houses of prostitution, and the few saloons which exist are held under the most rigid restriction.

The verdict of 1882 stands, in my opinion, as the verdict of to-day. If, however, at any time the general wish of the women

of the State shall be for the elective franchise, I have no doubt that it will be accorded to them. Nevertheless, without it Nebraska's advance in wealth, population, and in the scale of intelligence stands with scarcely a parallel; but what she is stands to the credit of woman as much as to that of man. Nebraska's sons are largely what their mothers have made them, and what the husbands have achieved has been with the advice and support of the wives, whose influence is felt in a thousand ways other than in the caucus, the convention, or at the polls.

LORENZO CROUNSE.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

BISHOP DOANE AND AMERICAN ROMAN CATHOLICS.

THE answer made by the Bishop of Albany to Mr. George Parsons Lathrop's paper on "Hostility to Roman Catholics" in the May number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW is of great interest to American Roman Catholics, who give allegiance to no country but their own. Bishop Doane's utterance manifests the man of education and cultivation, fair-minded, frank, typical of his class. That his words are representative gives them their chief interest in the eyes of Catholics like myself, who are most anxious to discover the reasons why our religion is looked on with suspicion by many who love us personally, and in whose hospitality and kindness we have a cordial and brotherly share. If Bishop Doane were a fanatic or a bigot, his words would simply fill us with despair and indignation. But the Bishop of Albany manifests every disposition to be fair. His words have evidently been weighed and the thoughts they reveal are long thoughts; in fact, they seem to be the convictions of a lifetime. He is an exponent of the broadest non-Catholics in our country. And I have heard it said that there could not be a more Christian or honorable spokesman for cultivated non-Catholic opinion on the relations of American Roman Catholics to the Pope and the Government of the United States.

Still, it is hard to understand why, if Bishop Doane represents their opinions, all Americans of his education and position have not raised their voices night and day against the existence of Catholics in this country. If he states correctly the convictions of some of the best of our fellow-citizens concerning our relations to the Church and State, logical men can hardly excuse them for not banding together, following, of course, more honorable and open methods than the A. P. A. folk, and attempting to extirpate the Catholic Church from this country. As the Bishop of Albany really believes what he says about the position of Catholics in this country, it is difficult to imagine how he reconciles the almost sympathetic tone he uses towards us with our cardinal sin as he sees it.

Many bishops and noble lords and squires of all degrees belonging to that church of which Queen Victoria is the head and Bishop Doane an eminent ecclesiastic have held such views, and consequently persecuted the Catholic Church with conscientious fervor. I say conscientious with emphasis, for, according to Father Busenbaum, of the Society of Jesus, "When men who have been brought up in heresy are persuaded from boyhood that we impugn and attack the word of God, that we are idolaters, pestilent deceivers, and therefore are to be shunned as pestilences, they cannot, while this persuasion lasts, with a safe conscience hear us." And, to go further, how can they

look on us as worthy of confidence as their fellow-citizens if we are governed in all duties of every-day life by a foreign despot, who claims, not only spiritual and moral, but temporal power over us?

If we are, as Bishop Doane believes, the slaves of an alien temporal prince who is unqualified in his assertion of his right to temporal sovereignty and imperial domination and universal control, then the A. P. A. people are justified in their attitude so far as that attitude does not include lies or forgeries and wilful malice. If Bishop Doane honestly believes that Leo XIII. can at any moment order the Catholics of this country to oppose even by force of arms any political measure which may be abhorrent to him, how can he by any stretch of casuistry keep himself from "howling with the wolves" who are now making some parts of the West temporarily hideous?

What doctrine of expediency ought to prevent educated Protestants, whom Bishop Doane represents, from ostracizing every man who says "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church," and who holds that in extraordinary utterances the Pope is infallible? Let us say temperately how far we Catholics deserve the opinion Bishop Doane has of us.

In the Holy Gospel of St. Mark, as given in the Vulgate, we find these words, spoken after Christ had recognized the image and the inscription on the penny which the Sadducees had brought him,—"*Reddite igitur quæ sunt Cæsaris, Cæsari; et quæ sunt Dei, Deo.*" This is paraphrased in a quotation which the Bishop makes from a Catholic source,—"We are bound to obey the laws of the state when they are not contrary to the laws of God." Bishop Doane, speaking of his fellow-citizens, asks, "Who is to interpret this?" If it were left to the private judgment of individuals, or to a political party, or to a secular organization, he would see no immediate cause for alarm; but when the decision is made "by an ecclesiastic organization, nay by a single ecclesiastic claiming sovereignty, temporal as well as spiritual, and accepted and recognized as infallible, the case is enormously aggravated."

Bishop Doane does not mean to imply that the laws of all states are always infallible, and that there ought never to be a conflict between a conviction and a law; nor does he mean to say that the dictum of a political caucus would be more likely to be right on matters of civic importance than that of any ecclesiastical organization—a Board of Bishops, for instance. Ministers are obliged to settle cases of conscience every day for people in their charge. There are, no doubt, ministers and groups of ministers in Albany, under the Bishop's jurisdiction, who do this. In England, when the conscience of certain Ritualists came into conflict with the law of the land, there were men of very similar religious opinions to those of Bishop Doane, who held that the state should be defied. There are many conceivable cases in which the Bishop himself would doubtless refuse to obey a law of Cæsar's because of that "higher law" which is owned by all enlightened consciences. He, however, would probably not do so until he had consulted his friends and guided his conduct by their opinions, and perhaps by the ecclesiastical traditions of his church.

No Catholic yields *absolute* obedience to the Church or to the Pope. No Pope claims temporal sovereignty beyond the territory which was his as a temporal ruler. No Pope claims infallibility in directing the matters of every-day life. No Pope, unless by the consent of nations, could appear among them in the capacity of their temporal head. The Pope is infallible

in matters of faith and morals when he teaches the whole Church as the living voice of Christ. But he cannot make new dogmas. He has never done so. As an infallible teacher his power is limited to the already revealed word of God. The Pope cannot make a moral issue out of a merely political one. No word of his could force American Catholic soldiers to throw down their arms in a cause which they believed to be just. It is hardly possible that a Pope like Alexander VI. can ever reign, unless Platonism and luxury and ambition, like Dante's three beasts, should possess themselves of the human side of the Church at Rome. Alexander VI., in his desire to aggrandize his son, was as infallible as most doting fathers are. In his treatment of Savonarola he was very fallible and very peccable. And the Catholic world, not affected by "Roman malaria" of the time that hung about the base of Peter's column, held him to be so. He was, nevertheless, infallible when he taught from St. Peter's chair in matters spiritual.

If one of the most intellectual men in Europe, Louis XIII., saw an opportunity of gaining the good will of America towards the establishment of his rule, untrammelled by vexatious laws in Rome, by declaring—let us absurdly imagine—in favor of the Populist party, he could do it. We Catholics might conclude that in the platform of the Populist party there was nothing against the Ten Commandments, none of the errors condemned by the *curia* in the famous syllabus, and nothing damnable. We would read the respect of the Holy Father for Populist doctrines with respectful amazement and consideration. It might influence some votes, but not one of Tammany's. No Catholic would feel forced to obey the Pope under pain of loss of salvation. Dante was one of the best Catholics that ever lived, and yet, while exercising all the privileges of a communicant—let us say, "in good standing"—he took violent part against the party of the Pope in Italian politics. Raphael, without rebuke from Rome—with the distinct approbation of Rome—put him among the doctors of the church in the *Disputa*. Dante did not scruple to cast Popes in hell itself. He misunderstood Celestine, and had his reasons for disliking Nicholas, and down they went. And yet I wish from my heart I were half as good a Catholic as that same Dante Alighieri. So much for the infallibility of the Pope in political matters!

"Thus," writes Cardinal Newman, in his answer to Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet on the Vatican Council, "if the Pope told the English Bishops to order their priests to stir themselves energetically in favor of teetotalism, and a particular priest was fully persuaded that abstinence from wine, etc., was practically a Gnostic error, and therefore felt that he could not so exert himself without sin; or suppose there was a Papal order to hold lotteries in each mission for some religious object, and a priest could say in God's sight that he believed lotteries to be morally wrong, that priest in either of these cases would commit a sin *hic et nunc* if he obeyed the Pope, whether he was right or wrong in his opinion, and if wrong although he had not taken proper pains to get at the truth of the matter."

In spite of this, Bishop Doane declares that the "pronounced principles of the Roman Church give the Church a right to control the political action of its members," implying that the conscience of the Pope when he considers secular conditions must override the consciences of all Catholics. This is a monstrous doctrine, and it seems impossible that Bishop Doane should seriously assert it, in the face of history and in the faces of his American Catholic fellow-citizens. The condition of Europe

has changed since Henry went to Canossa; the Pope is no longer the chosen arbiter of all Christendom; and he does not claim temporal rights which were his by the consent of the nations. Spain is the most Catholic nation of Europe,—yet suppose the Pope should declare against the present *régime* and in favor of Don Carlos, would the most pious of Catholics take his utterance as infallible? Would the American Catholics rush to the assistance of the Spanish Pretender for fear of an "interdict" or excommunication?

There is no more loyal Catholic in Europe than Count de Mun. If he had declined to follow the Holy Father in approving of a republic in France there would have been no excommunication, nor would his Catholicism be suspected. It would take too much space to show how limited are the opportunities for the exercise of that "infallibility" of which the Bishop of Albany so often speaks. The Encyclical *Pastor Æternus* explains these. He must interpret the "deposit of faith" left by the Apostles; he has not the "inspiration" of the Apostles; he can add nothing to the Moral Law. "If he enjoins," says Cardinal Newman, "upon the Hierarchy of Ireland to withstand mixed education, this is no exercise of his infallibility."

All of which ought to show that there are other points of view which would enable the gentlemen whom Bishop Doane represents to see things more clearly, if they would not put the blind eye against the telescope. There is no reason why Rome should love the public-school system; no reason why she should concern herself about it; but every reason why she should be anxious that her children should learn the truths of Christianity and the rules of Christian morality. Without these, "universal education" must be a failure from the point of view of thoughtful Christians. As a body, Catholics are not in opposition to the public-school system. Rome has not asked them to interfere with the rights of their neighbors; and when Rome does, it will be time enough to raise a "war-cry." If Catholics were in the majority in this country, they would probably use their share of the school taxes to support their own schools, if they could. It would be a question of the ballot, as it is a question of the ballot now. After all, this school question is a local political question. If the plan of having Sisters teach in public schools has worked well in Poughkeepsie, why should it not work well in other places if the voters want it? It certainly has not destroyed the public-school system there. As the school system depends on votes, the patriotic enthusiasts on universal suffrage show a strange doubt of their God by not trusting it to the voters. If the Sisters turn out bad citizens, it is easy enough to turn them out of Poughkeepsie and everywhere else. Bishop Doane lacks confidence in American ideas, which, perhaps, are not as well understood as they might be in the old Dutch town of Albany. After what Bishop Doane has said—nearly all of which shows a singular neglect to put his keen eye to the telescope—we Catholics must feel that his desire to be kind and charitable exceeds his convictions. The Catholic Church "wields," he said ("because it is a compact body"), "a power which cannot be but infinitely valuable, in its legitimate sphere of religious and moral control over its own people; and infinitely dangerous when it is exercised in matters that lie beyond its sphere."

This is politeness and charity to a degree. He has told us that the claim of the Pope to dominate political affairs will not change. As good Roman Catholics, we are therefore, under the control of a foreign despot: how then can "Abraham and Lot live together"?—for, according to the Bishop

of Albany, we must either give up the Pope or go to the Devil. As we refuse to cease to consider the Holy Father as the Vicar of Christ and the preserver and *ex-cathedra* interpreter of the Scripures and the Traditions of the Church, our friend might as well study our religious position,—or take our word that we are neither blind bigots nor malignant conspirators of the Catiline kind. As some of us have given hostages to society, it would be perhaps easier and kinder to take our word.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

THE PROBLEM OF THE RACING YACHT.

SINCE the beginning of the "Puritan era," in 1885, there has never been such inactivity in the building of racing yachts as there is this year. Hardly a racing keel of any size has been laid in the whole United States. For this, of course, the hard times are largely to blame. Yachts, and especially racing yachts, are essentially luxuries. It is natural that, after such hard times as we have had for the past year, when even the richest have felt the need of economizing, one of the first methods of reducing expenses would be the giving up of a projected racing craft.

But there are other things that have militated strongly against the building of new pleasure craft. The drift of the times has been recognized by the best judges, and many of these feel that there would be little more building than there is, even if the times were better.

Up to the time of the building of the "Puritan," American yacht building, while often very praiseworthy, had been spasmodic and irregular. With the defeat of the "Genesta" in 1885 our yacht designing became more uniformly scientific, and a definite "school" of American designing began to take shape. Not but that there were scientific American craft before the "Puritan," and some of them perhaps as clever for their day as she was for hers, but on the culmination of the sloop-cutter controversy in the new type, the building began to run all in one channel. The "rule-of thumb" boats gradually disappeared, and Mr. Burgess, the designer of the successful "Puritan," naturally had a large share in the shaping of the new order of things.

Mr. Burgess was by taste and temperament essentially a cruising man. He liked the staunch little craft that could take his friends and himself snugly on a little cruise, or that could go out in the bay in a rough nor'-easter, and bring her crew back without the starting of a scarple joint, or the parting of a halliard. This quality was strikingly evident in all his earlier productions, and for years his new yachts were noticeable for their ability to stand hard weather, and their freedom from accidents.

With no spur except the necessity of beating himself, Mr. Burgess could continue for several years to turn out racing yachts, the fleet of one year only a trifle more extreme than the output of the preceding season, and all calculated for the double purpose of racing and cruising combined. To this day the racing boats of 1885 to 1890 are among the best cruisers of the fleet. But with the advent of competition all this was changed. Minerva shook things up a bit, and in various localities other designers began to pick up races. The necessity of making a substantial advance in speed from year to year set to work a hundred different devices, all of which tended to diminish the value of the ex-racers as cruising craft.

The materials for planking and frames were lightened; decks were lightened; cabin fittings became scantier, and all of those cruising comforts were rigidly barred. Spars, rigging, and iron-work were lightened—all in accordance with the unimpeachable principle that weight low down on the keel in lead would serve to carry more sail, and hence produce more speed, than weight distributed in every other part of the ship. More lead on the keel, deepening the draught of the yacht, and bigger sail-plans came into vogue, as these things all tended to improve the speed.

With all these "improvements" our yachts began to develop symptoms of leaking, top and bottom, under stress of weather, and breakdowns became much more common. The owners realized that it was much more comfortable to eat and sleep aboard a friend's comfortable steam yacht than in the bare cabins of their provisionless racers. The next step was the evolution of the "tender," viz., a steam yacht owned by the owner of the racer, which followed the latter about—took off her crew, both amateur and professional, at the conclusion of each race, and gave them food and lodging till the morning of the next race.

Of late years the tendency to divorce the racer and cruiser qualities has been even more strongly marked. Burgess was not a bold experimenter. He professed to work along fairly well-marked lines, departing as little as possible from his successful boats of the past. This is illustrated in the "Puritan," "Mayflower," and "Volunteer," yachts that differed from each other only in very slight degrees, *i. e.*, slight as compared with the rapid changes of the past few years. The development of the fin and kindred types has decreased the accommodation of the yachts, while the full lines and long overhangs have made a model which is as yet untried in very heavy weather, and which has yet to rid itself of the suspicion that it will be most uncomfortable if not dangerous in a gale.

All these things have tended to divide the racer sharply from the cruiser. An owner recognizes that he must build one thing or the other, and he is apt to build neither. When a yacht can be built one year as a racer, as was the case with the old forties, and sold the next year as a cruiser for nearly her cost, it was not so expensive a matter to build. But an owner now feels that he must build a racing toy and sell her for little or nothing at the end of a single season.

Probably this separation of the cruisers and racers has had more to do with the decrease in building than any other cause. So many racing yachts were built and turned into cruisers in the years up to 1890 that the cruising market is still well filled, and building for distinctly cruising purposes may be expected to grow greatly in the next few years.

The more costly work and materials that are being put in our modern racers is another bar to building. Tobin bronze at twenty cents a pound against steel at two cents is one illustration of the rapid strides in the cost of materials, while simple skin planking and steel frames are only indications of a more expensive form of workmanship which has extended to every detail of hull and rig.

The public, and even the racing man, as yet look on the new order of craft as "not yachts, but machines." While there was great interest in the trial and cup races last year, it was an interest that appealed more to the student of naval architecture, who was interested in the mechanical problems involved, than to the general public, and was nothing like the patriotic enthusiasm that backed the "Puritan," "Mayflower," and "Volunteer,"

which were looked upon as fine vessels, able to take their chances at sea in any weather.

For this state of things the designers cannot be blamed. They owe it to their clients and to themselves to produce the fastest racing yachts they can under the rules. It must be from the clubs themselves, in amending the rules, that any improvement can come. It is within the province of the clubs to make any rules they deem expedient for the improvement in preservation of the type. Just as catamarans and shifting ballast have been barred, it is proper and advisable for the clubs to restrict extremes in light building, costly materials or unseaworthy or undesirable types.

Heretofore the clubs have kept their hands off, partly because the problem was a difficult one to grapple with, and partly from a mistaken fear of restricting the "liberty" of design. If it were universally believed that the lack of restrictions was the cause of the stagnation in building, the designers' cry would be "Save us from ourselves." The interests of the designers and the clubs are identical in this matter, as both want to see as much building as possible, as without building there can be no sport. The English designers were practically unanimous in recommending a number of restrictions in the present type to the committee of the Council of the Y. R. A., which considered this matter a year ago last fall, but their recommendations were disregarded.

Absolutely limiting the draught, barring bulb keels, barring metal fins, putting a tax on midship sections of less than a given area, classifying by corrected length so as to curtail sail-plans,—these and other plans have been suggested to remedy the present evils. It does not seem impracticable to have a competent and disinterested board of experts, to whom designers would have to submit their plans of construction, so that the scantling should not be lightened to a dangerous extent.

It is not my purpose to suggest what the restrictions should be. I wish now only to call attention to the situation, and to maintain the principle that the clubs should take some action. It is a difficult problem, and unquestionably some mistakes will be made in the rules that are adopted. As in all changes, the best method is to go slow, prescribing for the most serious ills first, until a code shall be built up that can stand the test of experience.

It is a sign of the times that the only racing class in sight for this year, the twenty-one-foot class of the Larchmont Yacht Club, is based upon a number of restrictions. Probably no two yachtsmen would now agree that this or any other particular code of rules was the best for the purpose, but the movement is certainly in the right direction, and the experiment will be watched with interest.

GEORGE A. STEWART.

CONTINENTAL FINANCES.

THE financial condition of the Continent of Europe at present offers motive for anxiety, the rapid increase of public debt causing a proportionate increase of taxation, while a succession of deficits in recent years in most countries would seem to indicate that all prudence in these matters has been abandoned. We have only to compare the condition of Europe at the close of 1893 with what it was in 1885 to understand a good deal of the growing

spirit of uneasiness observable on all sides, which is a prominent feature in the final decade of the nineteenth century.

There has been since 1885 an increase of 21 per cent. in taxation and 17 per cent. in public debt, and if things go on in this manner we shall probably see some nations bankrupt before long. Not only has taxation reached its limit, but the taxes that press in many countries most heavily on the working classes are out of proportion with the other public burthens. No clearer proof could be adduced of the reckless method of finances in the past nine years than the subjoined table of average annual income and expenditure; and the correctness of the figures is borne out by a statement of the increase of debt in the several countries, according to official returns.

	Annual average, millions, stg.		Debt increase, millions stg.
	Revenue.	Expenditure.	
France	128	138	89
Germany	145	165	183
Russia	90	105	132
Austria	80	88	73
Italy	60	63	30
Spain	32	34	17
Portugal	9	11	20
Other states	52	56	36
Total	596	660	580

About 60 per cent. of this increase of debt (or surplus expenditure) is accounted for by reproductive works, the outlay having been approximately as follows:

	Millions sterling.
State railways	336
Telegraphs, etc	16
Armaments	228
Total	580

Since 1885 the Continental governments have built or purchased more than 16,000 miles of railway, the mileage and capital cost of state railways showing as follows:

Year.	Miles.	Millions stg.
1885	37,560	755
1893	53,830	1,091
Increase	16,270	336

It is undeniable that the construction of these railways has eminently served to develop the resources and industries of the countries in question, but the net earnings of such lines (except in Germany) have rarely exceeded 2¼ per cent., and thus have fallen very short of the interest on the money borrowed to make them. Hence a constant disturbance in the finances.

Military outlay has been another cause of continuous deficits, and it would be impossible without entering into the field of politics to discuss how far one or another nation has been guilty of extravagance under this head. We have, however, no difficulty in ascertaining the cost. According to the budgets of the 16 Continental states the annual expenditure for armies and navies rose from £128,000,000 in 1884 to £146,000,000 in 1895, the average for the intermediate nine years having been £140,000,000, that is £12,000,000 more than in 1884. In order to meet this increase of expenditure

taxes have been augmented on all sides, the aggregate revenues of the said sixteen states showing as follows:

	1885. Millions stg.	1893. Millions stg.
Customs	73	87
Excise	125	151
Sundries	339	411
Total	537	649

Customs and excise fall heaviest on the working classes, because they are the least able to support taxation, and in many states of the Continent excise comes in a most objectionable form. Suffice it to mention the sugar tax in France, which amounts to five francs per inhabitant; the salt tax in Italy, which averages two francs per head; and the sugar tax in Germany, of nearly two marks per head. It is now so long since the salt and sugar duties were abolished in Great Britain that the ordinary Englishman of to-day cannot form an accurate idea of their incidence on the bulk of the people,—that is on the humbler classes. Any one, however, who travels and mixes much with the people (not in large towns, but in the highways and byways) in France, Italy, or Germany soon comes to understand public feeling on this point.

The sum of customs and excise collectively in various countries has increased very remarkably since 1885, viz.:

	Millions stg. 1885.	1893.	Increase.
France	59	68	15 p. c.
Germany	18	30	67 "
Russia	37	48	30 "
Austria	29	35	21 "
Italy	22	24	9 "

The above figures force us to conclude that the extra burthens caused by the enormous military expenditure of late years fall in a great measure on the working classes of the Continent, and that any further increase of customs or excise might produce, not merely discontent, but revolution.

As regards the amount of public debt it is well to note that in some countries there is a large set-off in the form of State railways. The following table shows first the gross debt, and secondly the amount after deducting the value of state railways.

	Millions stg. Gross debt.	State R. R.	Net debt.
France	1,219	42	1,177
Germany	568	487	81
Russia	561	161	400
Austria	543	127	416
Italy	485	127	358
Spain	239	....	239
Portugal	129	14	115
Sweden	22	22	....
Holland	88	17	71
Belgium	86	52	34
Roumania	41	32	9
Various	69	10	59
Continent	4,050	1,091	2,959

Thus we find that one-fourth of the public debt of Continental Europe is represented by state railways, and there is very little to show for the remainder—say 3,000 millions sterling—expended mostly in wars or armaments. This latter kind of expenditure may be termed unproductive, and

the amount of money lost or wasted in this manner since 1885 has averaged 25 millions sterling per annum. How long is this to go on before bankruptcy overtakes one or other of the European nations? What effect must such a crisis have on the trade of the world? Is it possible, in the present political state of Europe, to devise any means for averting a general cataclysm? These are questions of far higher importance to 300 millions of the human race than the observation of the transit of Venus or the discovery of the North Pole. Nevertheless, there are unfortunately few thinking men in Europe who give themselves any concern with respect to a state of things more pregnant with widespread danger and confusion than any that has existed for a century.

M. G. MULHALL.

HOW TO RELIEVE CONGRESS.

WRITERS innumerable have told, some seriously, some humorously, of the difficulties encountered by private persons in getting relief bills passed by Congress, and of the waste of time by Congressmen in attending to this part of their duty. It is not my intention to go over that well-trodden ground, nor to present any fresh statistics. A statement of the case in such form as to bring into prominence the evils of the situation will be sufficient for present purposes.

First: The general laws which provide for the satisfaction of claims against the government were drawn and enacted in language so clumsy or obscure that many just claims are excluded from consideration, or are rejected properly as not admissible under the statute. Second: The only remedy of the injustice chargeable to the general laws is a special act of Congress; and the possible rate of considering cases of alleged injustice, by Congress, being less than the rate of the accumulation of claims, there is a constant increase of arrears. Third: The selection of claims for consideration and final action is not determined by the order of their presentation in Congress, nor yet by the length of time since they were first presented, years ago, nor again by their merit, nor by their urgency. The energy or the popularity of the member who has undertaken to get a relief bill passed, or some one of a variety of accidents, gives the preference which satisfies the claim of one person and passes over that of another person quite as meritorious. Fourth: That part of the work which is accomplished is not always well done. The method of constituting committees does not insure correct judgment on the part of those who are designated to investigate claims; the sessions at which business of this class is transacted are attended thinly, and chiefly by those who are interested for some constituent in the allowance of his claim; and anything like a real sifting of evidence for the equitable decision of the question as to the validity of a claim is simply impossible. A favorable report is usually conclusive if the bill in regard to which it has been made is reached on the calendar. One case on which I stumbled in a random study of this subject will illustrate how uncertain are the ways of Congress. A bill, for the relief of, we will say, James R. Hartington, was introduced in the first session of the Forty-seventh Congress, in February, 1882. It was reported favorably by the committee to which it was referred, but did not come to a vote. It was reintroduced in each of the four following Congresses, usually in both the Senate and the House of Representatives, and had a favorable report by a committee of the

Forty-eighth and Fiftieth, but was not reported at all in the Forty-ninth. The committee of the Fifty-first Congress reported unfavorably in 1890, and the claim has, I believe, not reappeared since that time. An adverse report is usually fatal to a claim. And yet, without any knowledge of the case, it seems fair to suppose that the three reports in its favor should count for as much as the one against it. If the case had been lucky enough to be reached on the calendar in either one of three Congresses, it would have been allowed, probably; and in that event, supposing the last fatal report to have been right, an unjust claim would have been allowed. On the other hand, if the last report was unjust, a man who is entitled to relief from the government has no further chance of obtaining it; yet the final decision against him may have been in reality but the decision of one man, and he the least competent to decide of all those who have investigated it.

To recapitulate: the very existence of these thousands of claims is the severest of criticisms upon the incompetency of those who draft our general laws. Congress is quite unable to keep pace with the accumulation of new claims, much less to clear off the arrears; the selection of claims for adjudication is made upon no system at all; and when the decision upon a claim is reached it may be right or wrong, and is perhaps not twice as likely to be right as to be wrong. Nothing has been said—it is not necessary, for the very statement of the matter brings out the evil—upon the impropriety of employing the time of the legislators for the nation in the examination of insignificant claims.

All these things have been said in great detail many and many a time, but those who have said them content themselves with a statement of the evils, or at most they add a sneer at other people—members of Congress chiefly—for not finding a remedy. Yet it requires no genius to devise measures which would correct every evil now existing and prevent a recurrence of it. The prime requisite is to adopt the principle that Congress, even if it has no higher duties to perform, is an unfit body to investigate and pass upon private claims. All demands against the government which are valid under the law may be heard and adjusted by the executive department or by the Court of Claims. Those which are brought individually before Congress are so brought because they are not valid under the law. We have here the old distinction, now abolished in the courts, between law and equity. But it would be highly improper to confer upon any executive department the right to allow claims, however just inherently, which are not admissible under the express terms of the statute. Consequently some new tribunal must be created to inquire into the substantial justice of such claims. The unfitness of Congress arises from the fact that this inquiry not only is strictly of a judicial character, but requires keener insight, better judgment, and a more impartial frame of mind than it does to determine whether or not the circumstances of any given case make it fall within the scope of a law that has been interpreted by the courts. How unjudicial a judge Congress is has been shown by a long series of partisan decisions upon contested election cases.

The obvious thing to do, then, is to establish a permanent Private Claims Commission. It should be a body of not less than fifteen members at the outset, and might well consist of as many as twenty-five. In time, as the number of unadjudicated claims diminished the membership might be reduced, until five, seven or nine commissioners would be enough to do the

work. It should be composed of upright, intelligent men, of good judicial capacity and of industry, in middle life; for if the Commission were made a retiring place for stranded members of Congress and other superannuated or broken-down politicians, the whole object would be defeated. Section 1,060 of the Revised Statutes of the United States provides that all petitions and bills for private claims founded upon law, or upon a regulation of an executive department, or upon a contract, express or implied, shall, when presented in Congress, be referred by the Secretary of the Senate or the Clerk of the House of Representatives to the Court of Claims. The exact language of the section, save only the insertion of the word *not* before the word "founded," and the substitution of *the Private Claims Commission* for "the Court of Claims," would relieve Congress absolutely of the duty of making the preliminary investigation of all such cases. Such a commission would divide itself into sections, each for the consideration of a special class of claims. There might be three or four sections of three members each to consider pension claims, one for land claims, one for patents, and so on. Doubtful cases would be reserved for the whole commission if the section should be unable to make a unanimous report. And in any event the commission would hold general meetings at stated intervals; and all judgments would be taken as judgments of the whole body.

It would not be proper—probably it might not be constitutional—to permit the conclusions of such a tribunal, dealing in all cases with matters outside the law, to become effective without definite action by Congress thereupon. But detailed reports of its findings, made to Congress, would be the basis of an appropriation bill covering all the claims adjudged to be equitable. As for those upon which an adverse report was made, they might still be brought forward as amendments to the bill, when considered in committee of the whole; and it is easy to see that under such a system few baseless claims would be allowed or just ones denied. Certainly every person who believes that his petition for relief is based in equity should rejoice at the establishment of a tribunal to which he might appeal, with a hope that his case would be heard fairly and promptly. Of course those who had little confidence in their own claim would wish for the continuance of a system in which favor and influence count for almost as much as a just cause. But under the law proposed all applications based upon legal or contract claims would go, as a matter of routine, to the Court of Claims, and all not so based would go to the Claims Commission. Although, by resolution, a case of either class might be withheld from the Commission, and sent to a Congressional committee, it is well known that an attempt to evade a competent regular tribunal excites suspicion.

The great benefits of the measure proposed are the prompt hearing of a great mass of accumulated private claims, the hearing of them on their merits, and the relief of Congress. But, incidentally, the commission might formulate amendments to existing law, so that a great many equitable claims now unprovided for should be brought within the classes ordinarily heard and decided in the departments. In any event, so much time would be gained to Congress by having no longer to pass upon these little private matters—some more time might be saved by the abandonment of the silly customs observed after the death of a member—that we might really hope that important public matters would have better attention than they now have.

EDWARD STANWOOD.

THE CRY OF THE WOMEN.

In the name of common-sense—demands the bewildered reader of the flood of recent books written by the gentler sex—what is the matter with the women? Their voices are all bitter with unsatisfied longing, yet one can distinguish no definite demand. What do they seek? What provokes such outcries as *The Heavenly Twins*, *Keynotes*, *A Superfluous Woman*, *A Yellow Aster*, *The Woman Who Dares*, and their like? They are all stormy with revolt against—*what*? Why can they not say plainly what it is that troubles them and what it is they wish?

A literature has its birth in the current needs and thoughts of a people, and that this recent outpouring of feminine hearts, and these confused voices of discontent, express the mental condition of the woman of to-day, is proved by the greediness with which edition after edition of such books is seized upon by the feminine reading public, and the echoes they awake in the talk of the drawing-room and boudoir.

Yet the sum of all these volumes is like the cry of an infant, intimating a pain without explaining the cause.

Free speech and free thought are new to woman. Her mind, long cramped in the swaddling-bands of repression and convention, moves with staggering uncertainty towards its aim, and she cannot define, even to herself, much less state clearly to the world, the true meaning of the pain she feels. She only knows that she is in revolt against what has been; she cannot yet say what is to replace it. Some cry out for political rights, others are convinced that the abolition of stays and introduction of trousers are all that is needed to bring down a female millennium upon our heads.

"Latch keys!" cry the brow-beaten English young persons, "and freedom to be out after dark like our brothers. Look at them; they are quite happy; it is the possession of latch-key freedom makes them so. Give it also to us!" "No," roundly declares Mona Caird; "what we need is a latch key to let us out of the life-long bond of marriage. It weighs so heavily upon us. Let us go free."

"Nonsense!" contradicts Sarah Grand. "Marriage is all right. What is wrong is man. He comes to marriage with stained, empty hands, while he demands that ours be spotless and heaped with health, innocence, and faith. He swindles us. Reform man if you would make us happy."

"Higher education!" "Equal wages!" "Physical development!" "Expansion of the Ego!" cry the conflicting voices, all missing the true meaning of the trouble and the true remedy.

Morgan, in his "Ancient Society," dealing with the question of Mutter-Recht (mother-right), declares that throughout the earliest period of human existence of which any knowledge is obtainable, descent and all rights of succession were traced through the women of the *gens*, into which primitive man was organized. Women, as being the bearers and protectors of the young, were regarded as the natural landowners, and therefore did not follow the fathers of their children lest they should lose their possessions and rights of inheritance. The men instead married into the sept of their wives. The power and independence of women were lost through the practice of making female captives in war. These had no land, and were the property of and dependent upon the will of their male captor. The men naturally grew to prefer these subject wives. The Arab advised his son, "It is better to have a wife with no claims of kin, and no brethren near to

take her part." Women therefore began to dread capture as the worst of evils. When at last the vast hordes began to move in the racial migrations, with their wars of spoliation and conquest, there was no security save in strength, and the females yielded all power and possessions to the men in return for protection.

Man, thus invested with political superiority, claimed no moral lordship over his mate. Under the pagan rule Roman jurisconsults by their theory of "Natural Law" evidently assumed the equality of the sexes as a principle of equity. Sir Henry Sumner Maine says there came a time "when the situation of the female was one of great personal and proprietary independence; for the tendency of the law was to reduce the power of the guardian to a nullity, while the form of marriage conferred on the husband no compensating superiority." Among the Northern tribes also the woman was held in all moral aspects the equal of man. Alike the blue-eyed wife of the Barbarian and the proud Roman matron were, as the bearers and breeders of the race, the equals of the fighters and rulers of the race. The importance of their functions was fully recognized and respected, and the priestess at the sylvan altar, the vestals serving the fires and the temples at Rome were held worthy to speak face to face with the gods and convey their blessings to man.

It was the humble religion of Judæa, embraced with ardor by willing women martyrs, which robbed them of their last remnant of equality and cursed them with a bitter curse. The very fountain and purpose of woman's being fell under the ban. Her presence in holy places became a desecration, and for the first time her feminine functions were regarded as a shame rather than a glory.

The founder of the faith—superior to all limitations of time or race—had set an example in his own life of reverence and tenderness for the sex, and gave no warrant by word or deed for the insult offered to women by his church, but the Asian, Paul, before that church was organized, was dictating silence to women, covered heads, and submission, and declaring against marriage as a weakness. If a man must marry because of his weakness, why, let him; but not to marry was better. The church accepted his views.

Lecky, comparing the Roman jurisprudence with the Canon law, remarks that "the Pagan laws were constantly repealing the disabilities of women, whereas it was the aim of the Canon law to substitute enactments imposing upon the female the most offensive personal restrictions and stringent subordination."

Marriage, the very meaning and purpose of woman's existence, was degraded. No priest of God might approach a woman. Her very touch was an indelible stain and abomination to the church's chosen, and she herself was encouraged to deny all her wholesome impulses, and endeavor to stifle her natural instincts with the spiritual ecstacies of morbid meditation. Woman, at last, was poor indeed! The Oriental ideal, with its fierce sexual egoism, had triumphed over the ideal of the Occident, and so deeply did the Asian thought stamp itself upon the Western mind that historians do not hesitate to attribute to this scorn of woman and her high mission of childbearing, a long delay in the development of European civilization. The higher, more spiritual natures, being more under the influence of the church, bowed to its suggestions of asceticism and left the baser sort to perpetuate the race, and thus delayed the processes of evolution.

reformation, the first uprising of the Western mind against Asian domination, threw off the yoke of celibacy, but the ingrained contempt of woman was not so easily eradicated. Honor in man became integrity, *wholeness*; but for her it still signified only chastity, and her real work in life was not restored to its ancient dignity and importance. Centuries of such teaching have wrought their wretched work, despite the mighty forces of nature. Virginity instead of purity has become the ideal of the highest type of woman, who shrinks from the fulfillment of her functions as a stepping down, instead of glorying in it as the achievement of her sacred purpose; child-bearing is accepted more as a dull necessity and duty that as the great work of a life, for which all youth should be a time of training and preparation, as man is prepared for his duties—different, but no more important.

Since the beginning of the Christian era woman has learned to accept man and his mental and physical achievements as the standard of excellence, and to humbly admit that she permanently failed of this standard; but with the universality of the democratic idea she has grown restless under a sense of inferiority in value and dignity in the general scheme of things, wherefore this desperate search for some fountain of Salmacis which shall transmute her to the exact likeness of her long time lord and superior.

Let this two thousand-year-old wrong be undone. Let women run the race, paint, write, teach, speak, as her talents dictate, but let her use these things as being only the pastimes, not the work, of her life. Let the young girl learn the tremendous meaning and sacredness of her functions and their exercise, and make her understand once for all that her real work lies in carrying the torch of life from generation to generation; that she is the high-priestess of life, and her body its holy temple; that the noblest possibilities of the race and its upward growth lie in her hands, dependent upon her wholesome vigor and purity, and her wise choice of a mate. Let married love and motherhood be made noble and important in her—the one thing to be done supremely well.

For heaven's sake let the woman cease to set the mental and material achievements of man before her as the standard to which she must perforce raise herself at the sacrifice of her own great talent. Let her get it clearly into her head that equality does not necessarily imply similarity. Let her say with due pride in her work when she contemplates the miracles wrought by the hands of her sons:

"Did man make this? Well, I made those who made this!"

This hoary wrong and error being abolished, and women once more aware of the beauty and importance of their work, such outbursts of restless passion and discontent as have of late defaced their writings will be changed from a cry into a song.

ELIZABETH BISLAND.

A TALE OF TWO CAPITALS.

A FRIEND of mine, recently deceased, told me, if my memory serves me correctly, that he had the following facts from Baron Haussmann himself:

Ordered by Napoleon III. to submit plans for the renovation of Paris, the Baron was for some time at a loss how to meet the twofold requirements of the contemplated improvements, for the new streets had to be at once beautiful and so laid out as to be readily commanded by artillery.

Suddenly he bethought him of modern Washington. He secured a plan of that city, and this seemed on examination so exactly to meet the necessities of the case that he finally submitted it to the Emperor. The result was that the plan in the main was accepted, and modern Paris was built upon the lines of modern Washington. Thus is explained a certain similarity which strikes every one who is familiar with the two capitals, although one might naturally suppose the American city, being the younger, to be the daughter, instead of the mother. But General Washington more than half a century earlier had ordered L'Enfant to design him a plan for his seat of government in much the same manner as Napoleon III. had commanded Baron Haussmann.

Now, L'Enfant was not only a Frenchman, but a resident of Versailles, and he undoubtedly derived his inspiration from his earlier surroundings; consequently Washington was an enlargement of the Royal Park, with its alleys extended into avenues and its numerous flower-beds and parterres enlarged into circles and quadrants.

Thus by a trans-oceanic leap Baron Haussmann took from the New World what he could have secured at his own gate. So much for a merely curious artistic coincidence. But in light of recent events in our capital, a singular inquiry suggests itself—namely, whether General Washington, in laying out the city, did not have in mind the same twofold object that Napoleon the Third had when laying out Paris. To be sure, the present industrial army movement now bids fair to end in ridicule. But at some later date a more desperate one may require to be controlled by artillery, and then the broad avenues and straight streets of the Capital may be appreciated for other than mere æsthetic considerations, and, on the contrary, serve as an additional proof of far-sightedness on the part of the Father of his Country.

To see that fear of the mob was a considerable factor in the early development of our country we have only to look at the locations of our State capitals. Scarcely one of these is the great commercial centre of its State.

Albany, not New York, is the capital of New York.
Annapolis, not Baltimore, is the capital of Maryland.
Harrisburg, not Philadelphia, is the capital of Pennsylvania.
Springfield, not Chicago, is the capital of Illinois.
Baton Rouge, not New Orleans, is the capital of Louisiana.
Sacramento, not San Francisco, is the capital of California.
Columbia, not Charleston, is the capital of South Carolina.
Jefferson City, not St. Louis, is the capital of Missouri.
Salem, not Portland, is the capital of Oregon.
Lansing, not Detroit, is the capital of Michigan.

It were a pity that the too evident motive in the selection of these State capitals should have been displayed merely in their sites and that they should not be marked, like the national capital, by a special beauty of plan, with however sanguinary a purpose this beauty went hand in hand.

H. J. Browne.

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